PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE BRITISH ACADEMY

1915–1916

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ANNUAL PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT BRYCE, O.M.

June 30, 1915.

SINCE our last general meeting a year ago, the Academy has suffered an unusually large number of heavy losses by death. Six of our members have departed, one of them our oldest, Dr. Campbell Fraser, Emeritus Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. He was already well stricken in years when (in 1903) he became a Fellow, but took a keen interest in the work of the Academy, and read at one of our early meetings a paper upon John Locke, on the occasion of the bicentenary of that philosopher's death. A worthy successor of Dugald Stewart, Thomas Brown, and Sir William Hamilton, he was an earnest and efficient teacher, and has enriched the literature of British philosophy by his elaborate edition of the writings of Bishop Berkeley, as well as by his elucidation of the doctrines of that illustrious thinker.

Mr. Arthur Cohen, who left us last spring, after a long illness, was one of those comparatively few practising advocates who never lost his interest in legal theory and that kind of legal learning which has little to do with professional success. For many years he stood in the forefront of the English bar, both as an arguer of points of law and as a giver of opinions ; and had he accepted that offer of a place on the Bench of the High Court which he is understood to have declined out of a sense of loyalty to his political party he would, in the opinion of all who knew him, have made an admirable judge, and have been ere long raised to the Court of Appeal. He was subtle and refined in thought, clear, careful and exact in expression. His mind was eminently philosophical, always searching for a principle and applying the principle when discovered with discriminating precision. At the bar, in Parliament, and in those gatherings of learned international lawyers where he was always welcome, the dignity and sweetness of his character and the courtesy of his manners gained for him universal respect.

Lord Justice Kennedy belonged to a family which has given several distinguished names to English scholarship, and won his first fame in that field, for he was Senior Classic at Cambridge in 1867. After a successful career at the Common Law bar he was raised to the Bench in 1892, and became Lord Justice of Appeal in 1908. When elected a Fellow of the Academy, he took an active part in its work and sat on the Council, where the greatest weight was always attached to his opinions. As a judge he was excellent on the moral as well as the intellectual side, scrupulously anxious to see full justice done, and with a mind too wide to be entrapped by mere technicalities. The interest which never deserted him in the larger relations of the world led him to devote much thought to questions of international law, to which he made valuable contributions, and it added also to his social charm. He was all his life a scholar and a man of letters as well as a lawyer. The simplicity, frankness, and geniality of his character had a youthful freshness to the last; and those of us who attended the memorial service held after his death in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn were impressed by the sincerity of the grief that was there manifested, a grief which had perhaps not been equally felt by the bar for any one of its ornaments since the death of Lord Bowen.

Mr. Ingram Bywater, whose loss we have also to mourn, was a scholar of a type more familiar to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than it is to our own time. When I had the privilege of having him for a pupil at Oxford in 1862, his diligence and pains-taking accuracy already marked him out as one from whom valuable work might be expected; and his career more than justified the expectations that were then formed. He had the true qualities of the scholar—a fondness for research, an untiring industry, a love of truth which deemed no pains too great to reach it and make it certain, however small might seem to be the points that had been left in doubt by previous inquirers. His reputation, first established by his work on the fragments of Heraclitus, and enlarged by his critical edition of Priscian, went on growing during a series of years in which he laboured chiefly on the text of Aristotle, particularly of the *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Poetics*, ground that had been assidu-ously cultivated before, but from which his diligence and acuteness raised a fresh crop. During the years in which he was Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford, he set an example, very fruitful to students there, of admirable skill and judgement in the criticism of texts and the skilful handling of sources, and was recognized by European and American scholars as being perhaps the highest living authority on Aristotelian questions.

Canon Cheyne, formerly Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Scripture in the University of Oxford, had devoted the whole of his long and laborious life to Biblical studies, and attained in them, many years ago, a place in the front rank of Hebrew scholars. Most of his work was done upon Isaiah and the Psalms, but the range of his knowledge included all the Old Testament, and some of his writings were devoted to the elucidation of the history of Israel after the Captivity. Unwearied in his industry, and scrupulously careful in his investigations, he was able to accomplish a great deal; and though one of the hypotheses which he put forward in his later years has been deemed fanciful by other scholars, his contributions to Semitic learning will be long remembered and valued. I may add that he was a man of a singularly simple and amiable nature.

Professor R. Y. Tyrrell, of Trinity College, Dublin, was a scholar of a type different from either of the two just mentioned. He sustained the tradition of the great Irish University which he adorned by treating the classical writers in a literary spirit, bringing to their interpretation a refined taste as well as a thorough mastery of the intricacies of Greek and Latin grammar. His editions of Aristophanes and of Cicero's Letters bear the fullest witness to the union in him of those two gifts, without which no scholar is perfect.

The year that has passed since the last general meeting of the Academy has been an *Annus Mirabilis*, full of unexpected and terrible events. To most of us it has been also *Annus Deflendus*, a year that has brought private sorrow to nearly every household as well as public sorrow to us all for the calamities in which it has involved the nation and the world. The Council has thought it better not to let these events disturb the even tenor of our way, but rather desirable that we should seek in the pursuit of our studies a measure of occasional rest and refreshment of mind from vexing anxieties and dolorous thoughts. The Academy has carried on its meetings and public lectures, making no change save one. The Council has this year proposed no foreign men of learning to be elected as Corresponding Fellows, fearing lest the judgement of their merits might be, or might possibly seem to be, influenced by the political relations in which the country stands. No suggestion has come from any quarter that we should deprive of their position as Corresponding Fellows any subjects of those foreign states who are now at war with Britain. You will be pleased to hear that the same may be said of our illustrious elder sister the Royal Society. The general feeling has evidently been that the more all learned bodies are kept outside the passions of war the better for them and for the nations. When strife has

ended and a period has elapsed long enough to soften the bitterness of feeling which now exists, it will be for learned bodies to try to link up the bonds of personal regard and intellectual co-operation, now unhappily severed, which have in time past served to bind the great peoples to one another.

I have now to present to you a short account of what has been done by and for the Academy during the past year.

At our ordinary meetings five papers have been read. Mr. A. F. Leach gave us some interesting historical notices regarding the provision of lay education in England before the Reformation, tending to show that it was ampler than has been commonly supposed. Professor Haverfield, one of our Fellows, presented his annual report on the exploration of Roman antiquities in Britain, a report always listened to with pleasure and with profit. Canon Charles, also a Fellow, submitted a new view of the text of chapter xx of the Apocalypse of St. John, suggesting that in our *textus receptus* the original order of the verses has been changed, and the view which he advanced with much learning and ingenuity gave rise to an animated discussion. Mr. G. F. Hill, Keeper of Coins in the British Museum, favoured us with an instructive discourse on the coins of Southern Arabia during the early centuries of our era, an obscure subject on which he threw much light. Mr. Ball, Reader in Assyriology at the University of Oxford, carried his audience, which included some eminent Semitic scholars not members of our own body, into a still darker field of inquiry, as unfamiliar to most philologists as the coinage of Arabia is to most historians, and indicated a new view of the relations of primitive Sumerian speech to the languages of the Northern Semites. The bearing of these relations on the ethnic affinities of the peoples of Western and Middle Asia gave to this inquiry a vivid actuality for the student of early Asiatic history.

The lectures on the foundations which are administered by the Academy were all of high interest. Conspicuous among them was the brilliant address of M. Émile Boutroux of the French Academy on *Certitude et Vérité*, in which we equally admired the subtlety and penetration of the thought, and that admirable grace of style and manner in which our friends in France excel all other peoples. Canon van Hoonacker of the University of Louvain, one of those distinguished scholars to whom in their exile our Universities have offered hospitality, favoured us with a valuable discourse upon the Judaeo-Aramaean community in the island of Elephantine (at Syene) under the Achaemenid kings of Persia, from which we drew much instruction and an insight as well into Jewish history as into

the methods of Persian administration in Egypt. Both these lectures were on the Schweich foundation. We also listened with keen pleasure to two admirable addresses by British scholars—the annual Shakespeare lecture, delivered by Professor Gilbert Murray, on Hamlet and Orestes as traditional types in drama, and the Warton Lecture by Professor Oliver Elton of Liverpool, who took for his topic 'The English Poetic Romancers after 1850'.

Regarding the undertakings in the field of learning administered or supervised by the Academy, or in which it takes part with other bodies, there is little to report, because several of these have been interrupted by the war, which has cut us off from communication with some of the institutions of learning on the European Continent. This particularly applies to the critical edition of the Mahabharata, most of the work on which is being done in Germany and Austria. The Encyclopaedia of Islam is, however, making steady progress, the more easily because most of the foreign part of the work is being done in Holland. Dr. Snouck Hugronje of Amsterdam has favoured me with some data regarding it. The Bibliography of British History has suffered from the fact that those engaged on it have been largely occupied with work connected with the war. The photographic reproduction of the Codex Sinaiticus of the Old Testament continues to progress, although slowly.

I am glad to be able to inform you, on the authority of Professor Vinogradoff, that the second volume of the Record Series, for the publication of which the Academy receives a grant from H.M. Treasury, is now almost ready. It embraces a XIIIth Century Survey of the Estates of the Abbey of St. Augustine at Canterbury which presents the fullest account extant of Kentish tenures, and is invaluable for supplementing the notions current regarding the population of Kent and its landholding in feudal times. It will be followed by another volume which will include Kentish deeds of Abbey property. The last volume, containing the Survey of the Honour of Denbigh, was very favourably received by competent critics, and is indeed the most important contribution to the legal and economic side of Welsh history in Anglo-Norman days made in recent years.

It would have been natural on this occasion to review and comment upon the progress made in various branches of learning since last year. There is, however, little to record. Earnest scholars continue to pursue their studies so far as they can tear their thoughts away from the too-exciting present. But they reserve for quieter times the publication of what they have written. The literature of

the last ten months has been mainly what may be called occasional. One cannot say that the Muses have been silent, for we have heard the twanging of many a lyre, but the *vates sacer* is still to seek. It is too soon to expect any epic treatment of this world conflict; and among the voices rousing the youth of Europe to war there has not yet appeared any Tyrtaeus. Of the many pamphlets and articles which passing events have called forth some have been of high literary excellence, and among these may be mentioned those which have proceeded from some of our Fellows, Professor Gilbert Murray, Mr. A. C. Bradley, Dr. Prothero, Professor Vinogradoff, Vice-Chancellor H. A. L. Fisher, and ex-President Dr. Charles Eliot of Harvard University in Massachusetts.

In the absence of a record of work done in the fields which the Academy cultivates, it might be expected that I should offer to you some remarks on the war itself, the causes that produced it, the antagonisms, deeper than most people supposed, which it has revealed, and the changes it is likely to involve. But many of you will have felt, and all will admit, the dangers that surround any one who, influenced by strong emotions and possessing imperfect knowledge, should now commit to print his judgement of the events of the last eleven months. Every one among us must sometimes have had cause to regret, when reading them years afterwards, words which he wrote in the heat of the moment. Time modifies our judgements as it cools our passions. Neither the friendships nor the enmities of nations can last for ever. You remember how Ajax, in the drama of Sophocles, says that he has learnt

> ὅ τ' ἐχθρὸς ἡμῖν ἐς τοσόνδ' ἐχθαρτέος
> ὡς καὶ φιλήσων αὖθις.

It is better that nothing should be said to-day in an address to the Academy which any one of its members, to whatever country he may belong, would feel pain in reading ten or twenty years hence. Newspapers and pamphlets will convey to posterity sufficiently, and even more than sufficiently, the notions and fancies and passions of the moment.

What we may do, not without profit, is to note and to set down in a spirit of detachment the impressions made upon us by the events which our eyes see and watch as they pass into history. Many a pen will for centuries to come be occupied by the events of this year, and endless controversies will arise over them. It is well that whoever has gained from his studies something of an historical sense should in an historical spirit place on record from month to month

the impressions he receives. The record will be almost as useful if the impressions should turn out to be erroneous as if they should be confirmed by subsequent events, because what the historian of the future will desire to know is not only what happened but what people believed and thought at the time it was happening. That which is omitted has also its value. Fifty years hence men will be struck by the significance of things whose significance was not perceived by contemporary observers, and will seek to know why those observers failed to see or comprehend facts which will then stand out in bold relief.

So let me now try to enumerate briefly what are the facts of the present situation by which we are chiefly impressed—facts that make it novel as well as terrible.

The first fact is the immense width and range of the war. Thucydides observed that men always thought the war they were then engaged in the greatest that had ever befallen. But here we have facts which show how much the present conflict does transcend any seen in previous ages. This might have been foretold twenty years ago, assuming that Russia, Germany, and Britain were involved, seeing how vast are the possessions and claims and ambitions of all three states. Yet the reality goes far beyond every forecast. All the six great European Powers and four lesser Powers are involved. So is the whole extra-European Old World, except China and Persia and the possessions of Holland and Portugal. In the New World it is only the Dominions and Colonies of Britain that are affected—a noteworthy illustration of the severance of the Western hemisphere from the broils of the Eastern.

Secondly, there is the prodigious influence of the war upon neutral nations. This also might have been foreseen as a result of the development of world commerce and the interlockings of world finance. But here too the actual results are transcending expectation.

Thirdly, the changes in the methods and character of war have been far more extensive than in any previous period. It took much more than two centuries from the invention of gunpowder for musketry and artillery to supersede completely archery and defensive armour. The long pike, after having been used for some twenty-five centuries at least, was still in use as late as the Irish Rebellion of 1798, and to a slight extent in the abortive rising of 1848. War, however, is now a totally different thing from what it was in the campaign of 1870–71, or even in the war between Russia and Japan of 1904. Chemistry has changed everything by increasing the range and the power of missiles, while electricity, without the wire, supplies new means of communication not only along

battle lines but across hostile territory. Warfare in the air and warfare under the sea were heretofore undreamt of.

Fourthly. The cost of war is greater in proportion to the size of armies, immensely larger as these armies are, than it ever was before. The ten belligerent European Powers are estimated to be spending now more than ten millions sterling a day. At this rate their total expenditure for twelve months could not be less than 4,000 millions, and may be much more. But some competent economists put it at 5,000 millions, figures which are hardly more realizable by us than are those which express the distances of the fixed stars.

Fifthly. In each nation the whole body of the people is more fully and more hotly interested in, and united by, this war than by any it ever waged before. During the eighteenth century it was in most countries only the monarch and the ruling class that knew or cared what was happening. The great European conflict that began in 1793 brought a change. But this war is far more intensely national, in the sense that it has roused the feelings of the whole of each people from top to bottom, than any preceding conflict, and it is everywhere waged with a sterner purpose. In this respect we are reminded of the citizen wars of the small city states of ancient Greece and Italy, and of the Italian Middle Ages. There certainly never was a great war less dynastic than the present.

Sixthly. Some grave moral issues have been raised more sharply than before. Is a state above morality? Does the plea of military necessity (of which it is itself the judge) entitle it to disregard the rights of other states? (Cf. Thucydides v. 84–113, the case of Melos.)

Seventhly. The predictions that the vast interests involved, the increasing strength of defence as opposed to attack, and the growth of a general pacific sentiment, would avert strife have all proved fallacious. The wisdom of the wise, where is it now? Some twelve years ago Maurice de Bloch, in a book that made a great impression at the time, argued that the growing difficulties of conducting military operations on a very large scale would prove an effective deterrent. More recently an accomplished and persuasive English writer has shown how much more a nation has to lose by war than it can possibly gain even if victory crown its arms. Others have thought that a sense of solidarity among the workers in each industrial country would be strong enough to restrain their governments from any but a purely defensive war. Others, again, have declared that democracies are essentially peaceful, because the mass of the people pay in their blood, other classes merely in their wealth.

I do not say that these arguments are unsound, but the forces they rely upon have not proved strong enough for the occasion. For practical purposes the wisdom of the wise has been brought to naught, because the rulers of the nations have been guided by other motives than those of pure reason.

These observations relate to the palpable facts we have witnessed. Let us turn now to some of the reflections which the facts suggest. It is not easy to express these with that cold detachment at which the historian is bound to aim; but the effort must be made.

On that reflection which rose first to our minds when the war began, and which continues to be the sombre background to every aspect it presents—upon this I will not pause. After more than forty centuries of civilization and nineteen centuries of Christianity, mankind—in this case more than half mankind—is settling its disputes in the same way as mankind did in the Stone Age. The weapons are more various and more destructive. They are the latest product of highly developed science. But the spirit and the result are the same.

There has never been a time in which communications were so easy, and the means for discovering and circulating information so abundant. Yet how little is now certainly known as to the real causes which have brought about the war. The beliefs current among different peoples are altogether different, not to say contradictory. Some are almost demonstrably false. Even in some neutral nations such as Holland, Switzerland, and Spain, opinion is sharply divided not merely about the rights but also about the facts. The whole German people seem to hold just as implicitly that this is for them a defensive war as the French hold the opposite; and however clear certain points may appear to us in Britain, there are others which may remain obscure for many years to come.

How few are the persons in every state in whose hands lie the issues of war and peace! In some of the now belligerent countries the final and vital decisions were taken by four or five persons only, in others by six or seven only. Even in Britain decision rested practically with less than twenty-five, for though some few persons outside the Cabinet took a part, not all within the Cabinet are to be reckoned as effective factors. It is of course true that popular sentiment has to be considered, even in states more or less despotically governed. Against a strong and definite sentiment of the masses the ruling few would not venture to act. But the masses are virtually led by a few, and their opinion is formed,

particularly at a crisis, by the authority and the appeals of those few whom they have been accustomed to trust or to obey. And after all, the vital decision at the vital moment remains with the few. If they had decided otherwise than they did, the thing would not have happened. Something like it might have happened later, but the war would not have come then and so.

How swiftly do vast events move, how quickly are vast decisions taken! In the twelve fatal days from July 23 to August 4 there was no time for reflection. Telegrams between seven capitals flew hither and thither like swift arrows crossing one another, and it would have needed a mind of more than human amplitude and energy to grasp and correlate all the issues involved and to foresee the results that would follow the various lines of action possible in a game so complicated. Even the intellect of a Caesar or a Bonaparte would have been unequal to the task. Here the telegraph has worked for evil. Had the communications passed by written dispatches, as they would have done eighty years ago, it is probable that war might have been avoided.

Sometimes one feels as if modern states were growing too huge for the men to whom their fortunes are committed. Mankind increases in volume, and in accumulated knowledge, and in a comprehension of the forces of nature; but the intellects of individual men do not grow. The power of grasping and judging in their entirety the far greater mass of facts to be dealt with, the far more abundant resources at command, the far vaster issues involving the weal or woe of masses of men—this power does not expand. The disproportion between the individual ruling men with their personal prejudices and proclivities, their selfish interests and their vanities, and the immeasurable consequences which follow their individual volitions, becomes more striking and more tragic. There were some advantages in the small city states of antiquity. A single city might decline or perish, but the nation remained; and another city blossomed forth to replace that which had withered away. But now enormous nations are concentrated under one government and its disasters affect the whole. A great modern state is like a gigantic vessel built without any watertight compartments, which, if it be unskilfully steered, may perish when it strikes a single rock.

How ignorant modern peoples, with all the abundant means of information at their disposal, may nevertheless remain of one another's character and purposes! Each of the nations now at war has evidently had a false notion of its adversaries and has been thereby misled. It has not known their inner thoughts, it has misread

their policy. It was said in the days of the American Civil War that the misconception by the Southern States of the Northern States, and their belief that the North cared for nothing but the dollar, was the real cause why their differences were not peaceably settled, and yet they were both members of the same Republic and spoke the same language. European nations cannot be expected to have quite so intimate a knowledge each of the other, yet both their commercial intercourse and the activity of the press and the immensely increased volume of private travel might have been expected to enable them better to gauge and judge one another's minds.

Historians as far back as Thucydides have made upon the behaviour of nations in war time many general observations, which have been brought out in stronger light by what passes from day to day before us. A few of these I will mention to suggest how we may turn to account the illustrations which Europe now furnishes.

When danger threatens a nation its habits change. Defence becomes the supreme need. In place of the ordinary machinery of government there starts up a dictatorship like that of early Rome, when twenty-four lictors surrounded the magistrate and the tribunician veto, with the right of appeal, sank away. The plea of public interest overrides everything. The suspension of constitutional guarantees is acquiesced in, and acts of arbitrary power, even if violent, are welcomed because taken as signs of strength in the ruler. Even the withholding of information is submitted to. The voice of criticism is silenced. *Cedit toga armis.* The soldier comes to the front, speaks with an authority greater than that of the civilian statesman, is permitted to do whatever he declares to be necessary for the nation's safety. So long as that is secured, everything else is pardoned, and success gives enormous prestige.

Whoever watches these things must see how dangerous to freedom is war, except in those communities where long tradition has rooted constitutional habit very deep. In old Greece seditions opened the way to the Tyrant. Napoleon supposed that the Duke of Wellington would, after Waterloo, have made himself master of England. So might a victor of another quality have done who had achieved such a triumph as Wellington's, had not an ancient monarchy and Parliament stood in his way. War is the bane of democracies. If it be civil war, he who restores peace is acclaimed like Augustus. Even a Louis Napoleon may be welcome when he promises security for property. If it be foreign war, the man of the sword on horseback towers over the man on foot who can only talk and administer.

So, too, those psychical phenomena which former observers have

noticed when a country is swept by war or revolution, have become vividly real to Europe now. The same passion seizes on every one simultaneously and grows hotter in each by the sense that others share it. It is said that when sheep, feeding unherded on a mountain, see the approach of a danger they all huddle together, the rams on the outside facing the foe. The flock becomes one, with one mind, one fear, one rage of fear. So in times of danger a human community feels and acts like one man. The nation realizes itself so vividly that it becomes a law to itself and recks little of the opinion of others. The man is lost in the crowd, and the crowd feels rather than thinks. Passion intensified supersedes the ordinary exercise not only of individual will but even of individual reason. Fear and anger breed suspicion and credulity. Every one is ready to believe the worst of whoever is suspected. What is called the power of suggestion rises to such a height that to denounce a man is virtually to condemn him. Lavoisier is sentenced to be guillotined; he pleads that he is a harmless chemist, but is told that the Republic does not need chemists. After the death of Julius Caesar, Cinna, the poet, is seized, and when he protests that he is not Cinna the conspirator is nevertheless killed for his name, the bystander (in Shakespeare) adding, 'Kill him for his bad verses'. A foreign name is taken to be evidence that its bearer is a spy. There is no tolerance for difference of opinion, and to advance arguments against the reigning sentiment is treason. Any tribute to the character or even to the intellectual gifts of an enemy is resented. Sentiments of humanity towards him are disapproved, unless the precaution is taken of expressing these in the exact words of Holy Scripture. The rising flame of hatred involves not merely the government and armies of the enemy but even the innocent citizens of the hostile country. These well-known phenomena are all more or less visible in Europe to-day, though in our own country the coolness of our temperament and the fact that no invader has trodden our soil have been presenting them in a comparatively mild type.

The intensification of emotions includes those of a religious kind, and these not always in their purest form. In most countries, it is only the most enlightened minds that can refrain from claiming the Deity as their peculiar protector and taking every victory as a mark of His special favour. Modern man seems at such moments to have reverted to those primitive ages when each tribe fought for its own god and expected its own god to fight for it, as Moab called on Chemosh and Tyre on Melkarth. True it is that a nation now usually argues that

Divine protection will be extended to it because its cause is just. But as this is announced by every nation alike, the result is much the same now as it was in the days of Chemosh and Melkarth. Oddly enough, the people in whom fanaticism used to be strongest are now responding more feebly than ever before to the appeal of the Jihâd. Is it because the Turkish Mussulmans have infidel Powers for allies as well as for enemies that this war seems to them less holy than those of the centuries in which their conquests were won?

Upon other symptoms indicating a return to the conditions of warfare in earlier ages I forbear (for a reason already given) to comment. It is more pleasant to note that some of the virtues which war evokes have never been seen to more advantage. Man has not under civilization degenerated in body or in will power. The valour and self-sacrifice shown by the soldiers of all the nations have been as conspicuous as ever before. The line of heroes that extends from Thermopylae to Lucknow might welcome as brothers the warriors of to-day, while among those at home who have been suffering the loss of sons and brothers dearer to them than life itself, there has been a dignity of patience and silent resignation worthy of Roman Stoics or Christian saints.

In these and other similar ways we see many a feature of human character, many a phase of political or religious life recorded by historians, verified by present experience. We can better understand what nations become at moments of extreme peril and supreme effort; and those of us who occupy ourselves with history find it profitable to note the Present for the illumination of the Past.

But the Future makes a wider appeal. Every one feels that after the war we shall see a different world, but no one can foretell what sort of a world it will be. We all have our fancies, but we know them to be no more than fancies, for the possibilities are incalculable. Nevertheless it is worth while for each of us to set down what are the questions as to the future which most occupy the public mind and his own mind.

Will the effect of this war be to inflame or to damp down the military spirit? Some there are who believe that the example of those states which had made vast preparations for war will be henceforth followed by all states, so far as their resources permit, and that everywhere armies will be larger, navies larger, artillery accumulated on a larger scale, so that whatever peace may come will be only a respite and breathing time, to be followed by further conflicts till the predominance of one state or one race is established. Other observers of a more sanguine temper conceive that the outraged sentiment of mankind will compel the rulers of nations to

find some means of averting war in the future more effective than diplomacy has proved. Each view is held by men of wide knowledge and solid judgement: and for each strong arguments can be adduced.

The effects which the war will have on the government and politics of the contending countries are equally obscure, though every one admits they are sure to be far-reaching. Those who talk of politics as a Science may well pause when they reflect how little the experience of the past enables us to forecast the future of government, let us say in Germany or in Russia, on the hypothesis either of victory or of defeat for one or other Power.

Economics approaches more nearly to the character of a science than does any other department of inquiry in the human as opposed to the physical subjects. Yet the economic problems before us are scarcely less dark than the political. How long will it take the great countries to repair the losses they are now suffering? The destruction of capital has been greater during these last eleven months than ever before in so short a period, and it goes on with increasing rapidity. It took nearly two centuries for Germany to recover from the devastations of the Thirty Years' War, and nearly forty years from the end of the Civil War had elapsed before the wealth of the Southern States of America had come back to the figures of 1860. One may expect recovery to be much swifter in our days, but the extinction of millions of productive brains and hands cannot fail to retard the process, and each of the trading countries will suffer by the impoverishment of the others.

This suggests the gravest of all the questions that confront us. How will population be affected in quantity and in quality? The birth-rate had before 1914 been falling in Germany and Britain: it had already so fallen in France as only to equal the death-rate. Will the withdrawal of those slain or disabled in war quicken it? and how long will it take to restore the productive industrial capacity of each country More than half the students and younger teachers in some of our Universities have gone to fight abroad: and many of these will never return. Who can estimate what is being lost to literature and learning and science, from the deaths of those whose strong and cultivated intelligence might have made great discoveries or added to the store of the world's thought? Those who are now perishing belong to the most healthy and vigorous part of the population, from whom the strongest progeny might have been expected. Will the physical and mental energy of the generation that will come to manhood thirty or forty years hence show a decline? The data for

a forecast are scanty, for in no previous war has the loss of life been so great over Europe as a whole, even in proportion to a population very much larger than it was a century ago. It is said, I know not with how much truth, that the stature and physical strength of the population of France took long to recover from the losses of the wars that lasted from 1793 till 1814. Niebuhr thought that the population of the Roman Empire never recovered from the great plague of the second century A. D., but where it is disease that reduces a people, it is the weaker who die, while in war it is the stronger. Our friends of the Eugenics Society are uneasy at the prospect for the belligerent nations. Some of them are trying to console themselves by dwelling on the excellent moral effects that may spring out of the stimulation which war gives to the human spirit. What the race loses in body it may—so they hope—regain in soul. This is a highly speculative anticipation, on which history casts no certain light. As to the exaltation of character which war service produces in those who fight from noble motives, inspired by faith in the justice of their cause, there can be no doubt. We see it to-day as it has often been seen before. But how far does this affect the non-combatant part of each people ? and how long does the exaltation last ? The instance nearest to our own time, and an instance which is in so far typical that the bulk of the combatants on both sides were animated by a true patriotic spirit, is the instance of the American War of Secession. It was felt at the time to be almost a moral rebirth of the nation. I must not venture here and now to inquire how far the hopes then expressed were verified by the result : for such an inquiry would detain you too long.

These are some of the questions which it may be interesting to set down as rising in our minds now, in order that the next generation may the better realize what were the thoughts and anxieties of those who sought, *sine ira, metu, studio,* to comprehend the larger issues of this fateful time. It is too soon to hope to solve the problems that are crowding upon us. But we can at least try to see clearly what the problems are, and to distinguish between the permanent and the temporary, the moral and the material causes that have plunged mankind in this abyss of calamity : and we can ask one another what are the forces that may help to deliver it therefrom. This is a time for raising questions, not for attempting to answer them. Before some of them can be answered, most of us who are met here to-day will have followed across the deep River of Forgetfulness those who are now giving their lives that Britain may live.

ANNUAL PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT BRYCE, O.M.

July 14, 1916.

MY first duty is to pay a tribute of sorrow and respect to those of our Fellows who have left this world during the past year. The oldest of these was the Rev. Henry F. Tozer, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, born in 1829. He belonged to that long line of scholarly English travellers who have done so much for the geography and history of the Mediterranean countries. Thoroughly equipped with a knowledge of the literature of Greece, he spent many summers in exploring the less known parts of European Turkey, Albania, Macedonia, and Northern Greece, and in later years visited Armenia and Asia Minor and the islands of the Aegean. All these he described in books exact and careful in their descriptions, and so replete with historical knowledge as to be invaluable to the student. He was an admirable traveller, enterprising and courageous, tactful and conciliatory; and these qualities were even more needed when he began his journeys fifty years ago than they are now, for Pindus and Thessaly were regions some parts of which, not too safe to-day, were more unsafe then. An excellent observer, alert and acute, he always saw what was best worth seeing, and knew how to describe faithfully what he saw. He was also an accomplished Italian scholar, and published in his later life a sound and judicious commentary on the *Divina Commedia* of Dante. It ought to be added that he was singularly kindly and helpful to others, always ready to give from his own rich stores of knowledge.

Sir James A. H. Murray will always be kept in remembrance by that great Dictionary of our language to which he devoted the later half of his long and laborious life. The amplitude of the conception he had formed of what a Dictionary ought to be was equalled only by the extraordinary diligence and accuracy with which he followed out and made real that conception, sparing no pains to ransack every source of information and unravel every difficulty. This great work

is, as you know, now very near its end, and we cannot but grieve that our colleague should not have lived a year or two longer to receive our congratulations on the accomplishment of his vast design.

Sir John Rhys, late President of Jesus College, Oxford, was one of the first, perhaps the first, among our Celtic scholars. He had a mastery not only of Welsh, his mother tongue, but of the Gaelic of Ireland and Scotland, of Manx and of Breton; and he had made contributions of the highest value to the philology of these tongues. We were favoured by him with most interesting papers on the Ogham inscriptions of Ireland and the Gaulish inscriptions of France and Northern Italy. His venerable figure and genial countenance will be sadly missed here as well as in Oxford for many a year.

Mr. A. S. Napier, first Merton Professor of the English Language and Literature at Oxford, and also Rawlinsonian Professor of Anglo-Saxon, was another scholar of great distinction. His work on Old and Middle English, his editing of some of the volumes in the Early English Text Society series and of some Old English charters in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* are admirable pieces of work. If the total quantity of it was not large in proportion to his own learning, it was excellent in its thoroughness and critical quality. It is worth noting now, when the respective claims of natural science and linguistic teaching are being much discussed, that his first devotion was to physical science.

Mr. J. Cook Wilson, Professor of Logic in the University of Oxford, was a pupil of Thomas H. Green, and a disciple of Ingram Bywater. Like the last-mentioned great scholar, he worthily sustained the reputation of Oxford as a home of Aristotelian studies, approaching the writings of that philosopher from the logical side as Bywater approached them from the side of textual criticism. It may interest you to hear of the enthusiasm he showed in a very different field. He had ardent faith in the value of the Volunteer movement, revived it in Oxford after a period when it had been languishing, and was (I think) the first person in England to organize a Volunteer cyclist corps.

Of our Corresponding Fellows we have lost one only, but he was one who had belonged to us from the earliest days of the Academy, and enjoyed in a remarkable degree the private friendship of our members. I speak of Count Ugo Balzani, who died at Rome last February after a very short and painless illness. He was one of the first historians of Italy, learned, exact, eminently judicious and impartial. The chief achievement of his life was his edition of the great

Chronicle of the Monastery of Farfa, one of the most important of all the Italian records of the earlier Middle Age. His finished scholarship and the conscientious accuracy which was never wanting to him are conspicuous in this monumental work. Smaller books were his *Early Italian Chroniclers*, and a short history of the Emperors of the house of Hohenstaufen. Married to a lady of Irish extraction, and speaking our language perfectly, he came frequently to England, and is now mourned by a large circle of devoted English friends. His name is to be commemorated in Rome by an endowment for the encouragement of historical studies.

Passing to the work of the Academy during the past year, I have to mention that six papers were read on the following subjects:

- Mahdiism and Mahdis: by Professor Margoliouth, one of our Fellows.
- The Numbered Sections in Old English Poetical MSS.: by Dr. Henry Bradley, also a Fellow.
- The Academ Roiall of King James the First: by Miss Ethel Portal.
- Notes on an obscure passage in the Elephantine Papyri: by Canon van Hoonacker of Louvain.
- The MSS. of Pelagius: by Professor Souter of Aberdeen.
- Annual Report on results of archaeological work on Roman remains in Britain: by Professor Haverfield, Fellow of the Academy.

All these papers contained matter of permanent value, which was highly appreciated by those who were present at the meetings.

Besides these communications we had the benefit of listening to the lectures delivered in connexion with the various foundations which the Academy administers.

The annual Warton Lecture on English Poetry was delivered by Mr. Edmund Gosse, C.B., who gave a very interesting account of the part played by the brothers Warton in the Romantic Revival in English Literature.

The annual Shakespeare Lecture was made a part of the Shakespeare Tercentenary celebrations, and delivered by Mr. Mackail, one of our Fellows. It was worthy of the occasion, eminently fresh and suggestive, and not least useful in this, that it challenged some commonly received opinions.

The course of lectures on Biblical Archaeology (Schweich Foundation) was delivered by M. Edouard Naville of Geneva, the distinguished Egyptologist. It expounded with much learning an ingenious hypothesis regarding the language in which the older books

of the Old Testament had been committed to writing, and led to an interesting discussion in which eminent Semitic scholars took part.

On the Henriette Hertz foundation the lectures delivered included one by Professor Burnet of St. Andrews (now one of our Fellows) on Socrates, one by Professor Fitzmaurice Kelly on Cervantes, appropriately timed to coincide with the three hundredth anniversary of the death of that great contemporary of Shakespeare, and one to which we listened two days ago by M. Maurice Barrès on the Spirit of France as displayed in old French epic poetry and again revealed in the present war. All these lectures were in their several ways productions of the highest merit, which delighted the audiences that had gathered to hear them.

Another endowment which the Academy administers is that founded by Mrs. Rose Mary Crawshay, to provide a prize for some researches throwing light on literary problems. This prize was awarded to Mrs. Stopes for work upon Shakespeare.

A few sentences will suffice to record the progress made in certain undertakings with which the Academy is associated. One of these, the new critical edition of the Mahabharata, is unfortunately suspended during the war, as some of the learned men who are prosecuting it reside in Germany. Another, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* continues to advance, and may now be said to be half completed. We receive from the India Office a subvention towards its expenses of £200 a year, and trust that this sum will continue to be paid, for as a vast Musulman population is directly or indirectly ruled by Britain, it becomes a proper object for assistance out of Indian revenues. There is also the series called *Social and Economic Records* (i. e. of mediaeval Britain). Of this series two volumes have already been published, and the third is now on the point of appearing. Materials have been or are being collected for two other volumes, and it is hoped that these may see the light within the next few years. You will regret, but will not be surprised, to hear that His Majesty's Treasury has felt itself obliged by the need for retrenchment in public expenditure to suspend the annual grant of £200 a year which had been made towards the cost of this series. We must hope that when the present stringency has passed the grant will be restored. The volumes published, for the supervision of which we have to thank Professor Vinogradoff, one of our most learned Fellows, have been of great interest and value, and those which we hope to publish will, I believe, be no less prized by scholars and historians.

Among the other enterprises which the Academy has been called to promote four deserve special mention. You will remember that in 1914 we were called upon, in default of any other authority that could be expected to undertake the work, to set on foot an organization for the commemoration of the Tercentenary of the death of Shakespeare. This the Academy did by summoning a gathering of many eminent persons interested in letters and learning, and of delegates from a large number of universities and literary societies. The meeting thus convened formed a Committee which thereafter took charge of the arrangements for the celebration on a great scale, and with the concurrence of representatives from other countries, of an anniversary which engaged the thoughts of all the world. The outbreak of the war destroyed the hopes of participation by two of the great countries which had been expected to join, and made it necessary to reduce the celebration to somewhat less magnificent proportions. It was, however, carried out (owing no small part of its success to the zeal and energy of our Secretary) at many gatherings all over the country, including one at Stratford-on-Avon, and led to the production of various illuminative writings and addresses bearing on Shakespeare's life and works, as well as of some interesting dramatic representations, including one of Ben Jonson's play called *The Poetaster*, in which some of the leading dramatists of the time, Shakespeare included, are supposed to have been brought upon the stage.

At the request of some eminent members of the French Academy the Council felt itself called upon to take steps to form a Committee, to act in conjunction with a French Committee, for the purpose of aiding the University of Louvain to create a new library which shall replace that which perished in 1914 at the hands of the invaders of Belgium. This Committee is now at work, and books are being collected here as well as in France to be offered to the University when the time comes for the resumption of its beneficent activities. At a like request from our illustrious Corresponding Fellow, M. Boutroux, the Academy has, in conjunction with the Royal Society, formed a Committee to co-operate with a Committee created in France, and called the *Comité des Études franco-britanniques*, for the purpose of examining a number of questions, belonging to the spheres of learning, science, and economic progress, which have an interest both for ourselves and for those French Allies whose splendid services to our common cause we gratefully recognize.

You will be glad to learn that the School of Oriental Studies, whose foundation is largely due to the exertions of the Academy, has now

been established in London, and the Academy is represented on its Governing Body.

The subject of the transliteration into our alphabet of words, and especially of proper names, belonging to the Slavonic languages and other tongues spoken in the countries of the Near East, has acquired additional importance in recent years, and has been much discussed in the newspaper press. As it is evidently desirable that there should be some uniform usage in this matter, and as there is no other body that seems called upon to deal with it, the Council has decided to appoint a Committee to draw up a scheme for the representation by the appropriate letters of our alphabet of the sounds of words in the above-mentioned languages: and it is hoped that a workable plan likely to obtain general assent may soon be produced.

You have all taken note of the controversy which has been proceeding among us for some time past regarding the respective claims in education of physical science and of what are commonly called the 'human subjects', such as languages, history, philosophy, and economics. Although the official representatives of the sciences of Nature have not (so far as I know) made any suggestions on the subject which would not command assent from most of us, there are those, professing to speak for those sciences, who have been less wise or less guarded, and have advanced demands which would, if conceded, be pernicious to the true interests of education and indeed of all intellectual progress. You will therefore be glad to hear that the Council has been watching the matter with care, and will not, I think, refrain from taking any action which it may think called for, should the studies for the promotion of which the Academy exists seem likely to be injured by the adoption of any ill-considered changes in our system of public instruction.

The last event of the year which falls to be mentioned to you here is not unconnected with this subject. One of our most distinguished living statesmen, Lord Cromer, filled with a sense of the value of those classical studies into which he has thrown himself with youthful ardour in the more leisurely days of his later life, a life long, laborious, and now crowned with the gratitude of his fellow countrymen, has made the Academy his trustee for an endowment designed to encourage the study of Greek literature and history. Entering into his feeling, and believing with him that the poetry and the philosophy of ancient Hellas are still among the most powerful stimuli to clear thinking and wise action that can inspire us to-day, the Academy has accepted this trust. At its last meeting the Council sealed the deed whose terms the Founder had approved, and we hope within a few days to pro-

mulgate the regulations under which the annual prize will be awarded for a piece of literature elucidating some branch or aspect of the subject. You have just elected Lord Cromer to be one of the two first members of our class of Honorary Fellows, but you ought to know that the Council had decided to propose him to you for election before it had the least idea that he contemplated this foundation which we are hereafter to administer.

A year ago, in the annual Presidential address, I mentioned and commended to your reflection a number of phenomena which the war had displayed and which deserved to be noted by historians, because they cast light on divers features of previous wars. To-day I will refer to some other such facts; and in mentioning these, will endeavour to observe that well settled rule which in this Academy forbids references to questions of current politics. It is a wholesome rule, for one who should depart from it might easily be betrayed, under the influence of a natural passion, into words that would afterwards be regretted.

One of these phenomena is the shock given to the rules of international law. Some of the principles that had been thought best established have been virtually destroyed. To use an Aeschylean phrase, they have been pierced with as many wounds as a net. It has become clear that some Governments at least see an advantage to be gained by taking a certain course, international rules forbidding that course will not stop them. Nations, and especially the Powers that are now neutral, are now asking whether there is any use in passing such rules unless some method can be devised for enforcing them. Is it worth while, when the war has ended, to attempt a reconstruction of the fabric of international law unless it can be rebuilt upon far firmer foundations? In war time, it is only the action of neutrals that can effectively punish a belligerent transgressor. Is there any reason to look for such action? One series of breaches in that law is especially deplorable. The respect for the rights of non-combatant civilians which had been consecrated by many years of practice, and which represented the greatest mitigation of the savagery inherent in war that the progress of civilization had effected, has now disappeared. We seem to have gone back to the brutality of the earlier Middle Ages. May this be partly due to the system of what is called 'The Nation in Arms'? If all the men of a country are set to fight, do they form the habit of thinking not only of all the men but also the women and children of an enemy country as enemies to whom no mercy is to be shown? With the increase of such cruelties hatred also has grown. It is fiercer between the warring peoples than ever before. In both these respects our own soldiers have (as we believe)

been so far blameless. But one must desire that the strain should not last too long.

The power of a Government to keep its subjects in ignorance of the facts of a war, political as well as military, has never seemed so complete. This is all the more wonderful in days when the means of learning facts through the press are so much more abundant than ever before. It is a regrettable fact, because it prevents the public opinion of a people from acting as it ought upon its Government. A remarkable instance of this ignorance came lately to my knowledge. No single incident of the last two years has made so great an impression as the destruction by a torpedo of the passenger ship *Lusitania*. Now a medal was struck in Germany and has been widely distributed there—whether or no by the German Government I have been unable to ascertain—which represents the *Lusitania* sinking in the ocean. Her fore part is piled high with cannons and aeroplanes and other war material. Here we see a warning given to the historian who has been apt to rely upon the evidence of works of art contemporaneous with the events they depict. Suppose that five centuries hence nearly all other records relating to the events of May, 1915, shall have perished, and that this medal is then dug up from some ruin. It would be appealed to as affording the best kind of proof that the *Lusitania* was a vessel not only laden but conspicuously overladen with munitions of war.

There has never before been a conflict in which such efforts were made by belligerents to win the favour of neutrals. Able agents have been employed and immense sums expended in attempts to form public opinion through the press. Such efforts have of course been primarily directed towards inducing neutrals to take some measure either positively friendly to the belligerent Power conducting the propaganda or to dissuade it from some measure helpful to that Power's enemies. In this, however, there is implied a tribute to the importance of the opinion of the world at large, and a recognition of the fact that there is such a thing as a moral standard which a nation, even if it deems itself absolved by the law of necessity from obedience to such a standard, knows to constitute the basis whereon the judgement of neutrals will be founded.

The ethical problems which this war has raised are not new, but in their essence and sometimes even in their form, at least as old as the fifth century B.C., when we find the discussion of them reported by Thucydides. But they have been presented on a larger scale, and in a sharper way, than perhaps ever before, and the differences between the standard recognized as applicable to the individual and that fit to

be prescribed for the State have been worked out more thoroughly as parts of a general system of doctrine. It is now asked, Have States, in their international relations, any morality at all? or are they towards one another merely like so many wild beasts, owning no obligations of honour or good faith? Is self-preservation the highest law of a State's being, entitling it to destroy its neighbour whenever it conceives this to be the easiest way to save itself? If the State has any conscience, any morality, what is that morality? How far does it differ from the moral principles which are either embodied in the law, or recognized by the opinion, of each community as applicable to individual citizens within a State? If State morality is lower than the morality of the individual, ought it to be raised; and if so, how can it be raised?

If there has been a retrogression, can this be connected with the substitution of the State as an impersonal entity for the monarch as a person? In the sixteenth century the monarch, if he was not personally a base creature, had a certain sense of honour, and was amenable not only to the censures of the Church but to the dictates of chivalry, which (though chivalry never was quite what romancers have painted it) had still a certain influence. When the Emperor Charles the Fifth put himself in the power of Francis the First of France, who had been his enemy (and indeed his prisoner) before, and was to be his enemy again, he reckoned, and not in vain, upon that sense of chivalry. Francis himself was not the best kind of knight, but he had been the sovereign and the friend of Bayard, the pattern of all knightly virtue. Is any trace of that spirit of chivalry left in our time? Or do those who now administer a State feel themselves to be like the soulless directors of an incorporated company as compared with the individual landlord or employer of former days, who recognized a sort of quasi-feudal responsibility for those who tilled his lands or worked at his bidding?

All these are serious questions, and serious not for States only, seeing that the individual may come to think that the morality which is good enough for the State is good enough for himself.

From noting these phenomena I pass on to a still wider question.

The awful scale of the present war, both in its local extension over the globe and in the volume of ruin and suffering which it is causing, inevitably suggests the question: Is this 'latest birth of Time' to be taken as the last result of civilization? Must we contemplate catastrophes such as that we now see as being likely from time to time to recur? Is a future of incessant hatred between peoples, or groups of peoples, disposing them to inflict economic injury on one another in

time of peace, and breaking out from time to time in efforts to destroy one another in time of war, the future to which mankind, far more numerous than ever before, and better provided than ever before with every material comfort and luxury, must henceforth look forward?

This is a question which has been constantly present to our minds for the last two years It includes three questions:

1. What have been the chief causes of war in the past? Are they diminishing or increasing? Will they further diminish or increase?

2. Are there any and what forces discernible that may tend to counterwork the causes which lead to war; and if so, are these forces that work for peace likely to grow?

3. Can any international machinery be contrived calculated to reduce the strength of the forces that make for war and to strengthen those that make for peace?

As you have all been reflecting on these questions, it is not likely that I shall be able to suggest any new facts or thoughts which may not have already crossed your minds. All I can do is to try to construct a sort of framework into which your ideas may be fitted, or, in other words, to bring up for consideration certain specific points, so that definite issues may stand out, and thinking be so far clarified.

In following the stream of history downwards from its dim and distant sources one is surprised to find it to be a record of practically incessant fighting. War is the rule, Peace the rare exception. Plato said that war was the natural relation between states. So it had been before him, so it has been since. Tribes fought, cities fought, despotic monarchies fought, tiny republics fought, as vast empires are fighting to-day. This was so from the very beginning of our records. The monuments of Egypt and Assyria are almost entirely devoted to war and to worship—generally to both, for the warrior king is usually represented as aided by the national gods who give him victory and receive their share of the spoils. So it was down through the ancient world and through the Middle Ages.

Intervals of peace have been longer within the last two centuries, especially in Europe; but the wars that preceded and followed such intervals have been on a more terrible scale than those of earlier times. The wars of the French Revolution and those of Napoleon covered twenty-three years, with two very short respites. Since 1852 Europe has seen eight wars; and if there be added to these other wars in Asia, Africa, and America, not to speak of civil conflicts (one of which, in the United States, lasted four years), very few years can be found in which the clash of arms was not somewhere heard. Thus there is abundant material for enumerating the causes of war.

These causes may be classed as arising either out of material interests or out of sentiment. In most cases both causes have been operative, though often in unequal measure.

The causes of the former class include:

The desire for plunder, including the capture of women.

The desire for land or new settlements, as when the Teutonic tribes entered the Roman Empire in the fifth century, and the Slavonic tribes in the sixth and seventh.

Disputed successions, in which two or more claimants to a throne have dragged their subjects or followers into the strife.

Interests in the sphere of commerce and industry, as when one State desires to debar another from the trade of a region (as Spain tried to debar the English from South America), or to reduce another State to commercial vassalage, as Austria did in the case of Serbia. By a curious irony, wars of commerce were often waged in an ignorance of economic principles which made even success worthless.

To the other class, where the motive is one of passion or sentiment, may be assigned the following causes of war:

Revenge for some injury to a people or insult to a sovereign, or perhaps only for some defeat suffered in a previous conflict.

The desire of a monarch to win glory.

Religious animosity.

National animosity, due to previous quarrels, and perhaps increased by racial dislike.

Sympathy (usually grounded on religious or racial affinities) with a section of the subjects of another State who are believed to be oppressed by it.

National pride or vanity.

Fear of an attack by another State. This includes what are called Preventive Wars, where a Power which thinks (or professes to think) itself endangered by the designs of another Power seeks to anticipate those designs by striking first.

Few wars can be referred entirely to one cause, and the presence of any one ground for collision naturally tends to intensify the influence of such other grounds as may exist.

Of these causes there is only one which has been almost eliminated. This is religious (or ecclesiastical) hatred. The desire to propagate a faith by the sword is no longer strong even in Islam, though attempts have been very recently made by the European allies of the Young Turks to utilize the preaching of a *Jihad* against the infidel. Among the so-called Christian States, religious antagonism survives only as a secondary source of enmity, disposing to civil strife or

international hostility communities which have been permeated by the traditions of ancient persecution. The sentiment of ecclesiastical unity has, moreover, sometimes contributed to strengthen the sense of a national unity, leading a people to believe in what it calls its mission.

The old desire for territory or booty has now passed from cattle-lifting on land and Vikingry at sea into the form of a desire for more and better colonies, and for a fuller control of the means of production and of the industrial high roads of commerce. The chieftain's thirst for fame appears in the desire to maintain the grandeur of a dynasty. But the ancient motives,—selfishness, rapacity, and vanity—are as strong as ever. In one sense they are even more formidable, because they are often shared by the masses of a nation, and inflamed by an agency more pervasive than any that existed before the telegraph had been added to the printing press.

Is there any one of these causes the disappearance whereof can be expected?

Religious passion has cooled, and ecclesiastical antagonisms may vanish, for the hold of dogmas and church organizations on men's minds has grown weaker. Yet the sort of fervour which expressed itself through those antagonisms, the desire in bodies of men to make other men think as they do, and so to resort to persecution if persuasion fails, may pass into new forms, and in them be again terrible. Of the other causes there is none which we have not seen active in our own time, some perhaps more active than ever before. Nearly all have, as affecting one or other of the now belligerent Powers, borne a part in bringing about the present conflict. It is the gloomiest feature in the situation that to-day the interests and passions of peoples, and not merely those of monarchs or oligarchies, are engaged, for the enmities thus created are more lasting and pernicious. In the old days when philosophers used to ridicule the whims of a king who went to war to revenge a sneer or to provide an appanage for a younger son, the king might be appeased, and the war was sometimes closed by a royal wedding, but now the bitterness which conflict engenders remains to keep jealousy and suspicion alive for many a year. As Mephistopheles says in Goethe's *Faust*, 'the little god of the world bears always the same stamp'. Other things change. Knowledge increases and wealth increases, but human nature has remained, in essentials, much what it was thirty centuries ago.

It may be argued that we must not lay too much stress on the circumstances attending the outbreak of the present war, for the position was abnormal and unprecedented, and the conduct of some at

least of the belligerents is not to be construed as indicating a bellicose spirit. This argument has force, for it is not merely the action of each nation that has to be regarded, but also the temper and motives which determined that action. But after making all allowances the conclusion must be that the forces whence conflicts spring have never shown themselves stronger than in our own time. There is no sign of a diminution either in the spirit of rapacity or in the spirit of arrogance which moves those in whose hands lie the issues of war and peace, be they sovereigns or subjects. The sentiment of nationality, which in the days of Mazzini was deemed an almost unmixed good, has shown (and notably in South-Eastern Europe) that it can be darkened by national selfishness, jealousy, and pride.

So far then this brief review of the causes of war in the past gives little ground for hope.

We may now pass to the second question. Assuming, as it must be assumed, that the causes which have induced war through the whole of history are still present and potent, can we discover any forces already counterworking them, and likely to strengthen in the future the motives that make for peace?

Four such forces have at various times inspired hope.

One is Religion. Of the three great World Religions, one, Islam, is essentially warlike, for it is the duty of every Musulman ruler to propagate the Faith by the sword. The other two are nominally pacific. Into the history of Buddhism I will not enter, except to remark that its practice has in all matters of State fallen so far short of its theory that theory has virtually counted for nothing. As to Christianity, it is enough to look back over the centuries since the Emperor Constantine *Res ipsa loquitur*. What would be the thoughts of one of the Apostles, or of a martyr saint of the second century, who revisiting this planet to-day, should be told that the gospel he preached had overspread the world and was taken as their rule of life by nearly all of the nations on whose strife he looked down?

Are Christian principles more likely to influence the conduct of nations in the future than they have influenced it in the past? That question is as dark to-day as ever it was before. The lesson of ecclesiastical even more than of secular history is that the movements of thought and emotion and the changes they undergo are altogether unpredictable. Where there is an unlimited field of possibilities there is of course room for hope. Christianity is no doubt, at least in some countries, more of an influence making for peace than it was two centuries ago.

Another such force is democratic government. We are often told that so soon as the masses of the people—that is, the numerical majority of the voters—obtain in each nation the full control of its policy towards other nations, the old dynastic traditions that have so often prompted aggression will be eliminated, and the power of the military castes be destroyed. The suggestion is plausible, for the working people have in every country more to lose by war than any other class. They are the first to suffer in loss of employment as well as by slaughter in battle. That sense of class solidarity which has gone further among the wage-earners than in any other section of a nation—even if not nearly so far as had been expected—may dispose them to refrain from indulging in permanent hatred towards another people. Against this view it is urged—apart from the difficulty which no democracy has overcome, of finding a method by which the control of foreign relations may be exercised by the masses—that the multitude is just as liable to be swept away by passion, just as liable to be puffed up by national or racial pride, just as likely to covet the land or the commerce of other nations, as is any other class in the community. These things were seen in the popular governments of antiquity, and seen also in the (far less popular) republics of mediaeval Italy. The experience of modern democracy has been too short to warrant positive conclusions. The two countries most pacific in spirit are free democratic republics, but Switzerland has geographical as well as moral or philosophical reasons for keeping out of war, and the United States have been, since 1783, engaged in three wars, none of which can be called necessary, and one of which (that with Mexico in 1845) is now admitted, by Americans themselves, to have been unjustifiable. The sources of war are to be found not in constitutional arrangements but in human nature. They are ethical, not political.

A third line of argument has been used to show that the extension of commerce, unfettered by any tariffs giving an advantage to the domestic producer, must give each country a larger interest in keeping the peace, because trade is profitable both to the seller and to the purchaser. The more trade the more profit, and therefore the stronger is the motive for continuing the exchange, and the wider are the opportunities for friendly intercourse and reciprocal knowledge.

This theory also has much to recommend it. Those who realize that they will lose by war ought to desire peace. But the doctrine which favours a free interchange of products has not in fact spread or thriven of late years. It appears to be less popular now, even in its ancient British home, than it was fifty years ago, which may indeed

be said of the theory of *laissez faire* generally. Most peoples, even the formerly self-helpful peoples, seem disposed to look more and more to governments to take charge of their affairs and make the prosperity of individuals.

Fourthly, those who see that in some countries the increase in the functions of government and the tendency to sacrifice the individual to the State have been accompanied by the development of a martial and aggressive spirit conceive that the two things are naturally connected. When the State labours to increase the wealth of individual producers by the imposition of tariffs, and by helping its financiers to lay their grasp upon foreign countries, it is expected to go further and acquire new territories, especially if they be rich in minerals, and to open up or even create new markets outside Europe. It is only by military strength that such plans can be carried out. Hence—so the argument runs—militarism becomes popular with the great employers of labour, perhaps even with the employees. Military glory and the prosperity of the State are identified. Great armaments are advocated for business reasons; and a people proud of its military resources is naturally tempted to use them. If, therefore, this doctrine of State omnipotence could be discredited, if the masses of a nation could be induced to revolt against the dominance of State officials and the extension of State activity, the antagonism of nations would be softened, and a fertile cause of war be reduced.

This reasoning finds some support in recent experience, but there are at present few signs of any general revolt against the doctrines which it is desired to discredit. On the contrary, the range of State action tends, in almost every country, to be increased, various classes desiring it for their own special reasons, and a well-marked current of thought running strongly in that direction. This proves little as to the ultimate gain to mankind of a tendency for the moment dominant, for history furnishes instances in which such currents, strong for a while, and sweeping everything before them, have in the long run turned out to have brought more evil than good.

Lastly, there are those who believe that we may look for the growth over the civilized world of a sentiment of friendliness and goodwill for men as men, irrespective of national distinctions, and that this sentiment will ultimately draw the peoples of the earth together and make them realize the conception of a great Commonwealth embracing all mankind, to which all will owe an allegiance higher than that which they bear to their own State and country. To create such a sentiment was of course part of the message of Christianity: and the sentiment has always found its chief support in

religious belief. But as it may exist, and has in some minds existed, apart from Christianity, it deserves to be separately mentioned. Is the sentiment likely to grow till it becomes strong enough to influence national policy? Has it in fact been growing?

To those of us who can look back for sixty years, it seems to be weaker now in most, perhaps in all, countries than it was then, as it was stronger then than it had been in the days when the horrible African Slave Trade was deemed an asset in commercial prosperity. But a lifetime is far too short a period from which to draw conclusions on such a matter. Within our own time we have seen among ourselves a great advance in the sense of responsibility of those to whom Fortune has been kind for those whom she has neglected. We see a more active sympathy and, despite class antagonisms, a stronger sense of brotherhood between the members of the same people. May not such a feeling spread into the wider field of international relations? We perceive that in the English-speaking countries, of which alone we can judge, there exists already a warmer and more general pity than was ever seen before for suffering of every kind in every country; and wherever over the world a cry is raised for help to the victims of some disaster by earthquake, flood, or storm, the response is prompt and generous. That the hatreds and horrors conspicuous to-day grieve us all the more because they seem to be a reversion to a dark and cruel past, is of itself a testimony to the progress which mankind had made, and raises in some minds the hope that what we see may be transient and the next change be for the better.

After thus enumerating these natural causes, if one may so call them, which have made or are making for war or for peace, it remains only to ask what prospect there is that the nations may by a conscious and united effort succeed in establishing some machinery whereby the likelihood of future wars may be at least diminished. No one can examine the wars that have sprung from the causes I have enumerated without perceiving that in the great majority of instances peace might have been kept, without dishonour to either party, and with material advantage to both, had there been more foresight of the consequences of war, and a real desire to avoid it. Many wars have been unjust, most have been unnecessary. Can any means be devised whereby the action of nations other than those two (or more) between whom the quarrel arises can be invoked to prevent the disputants from settling it by arms?

This is a very old problem. It was debated in the fourteenth century, when two great Italians, Dante Alighieri and his younger contemporary Marsilius of Padua, both saw in the authority of the

Roman Emperor the guarantee and indeed the only guarantee for the peace of a distracted world, as others had before their time found it in the spiritual jurisdiction of the Roman Bishop. Five centuries later the problem was again discussed by Immanuel Kant, and, a generation later, a feeble attempt at its solution made by the Holy Alliance, on principles which foredoomed it to failure.

Both here and in the United States sanguine minds are now busy with plans which propose some kind of federation or league or alliance of nations charged with the duty of compelling disputant Powers to refer their disputes to arbitration or conciliation, and to abstain from violent measures, at least until these peaceful methods have had their chance. These ideas can hardly be dismissed as visionary, since they have been blessed both in this country and in the United States by the highest authorities in public life. I do not propose here to discuss them, but may properly supplement what has been said regarding the causes of war by indicating what are the difficulties which all such schemes for the prevention of war have to surmount.

I will mention a few of these.

That statesmen of the old school will dislike new methods which may withdraw from them some of the control they have hitherto enjoyed must be expected. But far more serious is the deep-rooted unwillingness of every nation, and especially of a strong and proud nation, to submit any part of what it calls its rights to the decision of an external tribunal. This has been happily overcome in some recent instances, but in none of those instances were the interests involved of great moment. and even in the countries where arbitration has won most favour there is a feeling, hard to overcome, that the cession of territory is a question on which the country itself must always have the last word. In every nation the fact that statesmen and journalists seek to please their public by constantly asserting the righteousness of its own cause makes it hard to arrange reasonable compromises. An American statesman, than whom there is none wiser anywhere, recently observed that one of the greatest difficulties the negotiator of a treaty has to encounter is the displeasure of his fellow countrymen at any concession, even when he feels his own cause to be none too strong, and believes his country would gain by the removal of friction. Nations seem to be as sensitive on what is called the 'point of honour' as were members of the noblesse in France and England three centuries ago. They hold out against arrangements which individual men would accept. He who suggests the dropping of a doubtful claim is accused of timidity or want of patriotism.

When a nation is invited to reduce its defensive armaments in the faith that the other States which are uniting themselves in a Peace League will join their forces with its own to repel any aggression, doubts will arise whether the parties to any alliance for the preservation of peace can be trusted to fulfil their respective obligations except when it is their obvious interest to do so. Where several allied States are alike threatened by a powerful enemy, a regard for their safety will doubtless require them to hold together. But cases may easily be imagined in which some members of the League, having at a given moment nothing direct to gain by supporting a threatened ally, may, either through unwillingness to fight or through the offer of some advantage for themselves, be induced to find a pretext for standing aside. As soon as one member thus falters, some other member is likely to follow the example, alleging that if one or more fail to stand by the obligation, the rest cannot be expected to fulfil it. The ultimate benefit to all of mutual protection, and of the repression of any disturbance of the general peace, may be admitted. But in politics the avoidance of a near evil is usually preferred to the attainment of a more remote good, for all can recognize the former, and only those of large minds and long views can appreciate the latter.

Another difficulty has received little notice, because those who start these schemes, rejoicing in the excellence of their aim, may forget to examine the means. This difficulty is that of securing persons competent to discharge the functions of Arbitration and Conciliation. Jurists versed in international law can be found fit to determine questions of a purely legal nature, such, for instance, as the interpretation of a treaty. Though there are not many such men in Europe, there may be enough for present needs. But the causes which most frequently lead to hostilities are not of a legal character. In extremely few cases out of all those in which disputes have led to war in Europe since 1815 could the judicial methods of an arbitral court have been profitably used[1] War usually springs from questions of wider range, questions to which no precedents are precisely applicable, questions which involve the passions of rulers or of peoples. To these questions it is Conciliation, not Arbitration, that must be applied; and the conciliators who are to deal with them must be men possessing an intimate knowledge of European politics and a long experience in international statesmanship. They must enjoy a reputation extending beyond their own country, and such as will add

[1] The controversy as to the succession to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein which arose on the death of Frederick VII of Denmark is such an instance. In that case the parties did not wish to arbitrate.

weight to their opinions. They must moreover possess sufficient independence and courage to follow their own views of what is right and wise at the risk of displeasing their countrymen. Few are the persons in whom these qualifications will be likely to meet.

It is better to state and face these obstacles than to ignore them with the complacent optimism which mistakes its own wishes for facts, or assumes that ethical precepts will prevail against the bad habits of many generations. But the obstacles are not insuperable. If the free peoples in the world really desired permanent peace, desired it earnestly enough to make it a primary object and to forego some of their own independence of action to attain it, the thing might be tried with a fair prospect of success. What is needed is the creation, not only of a feeling of allegiance to humanity and of an interest in the welfare of other nations as well as one's own—what in fact may be called an International Mind,—but also of an International Public Opinion, a common opinion of many peoples which shall apply moral standards to the conduct of other nations with a judgement biassed less than now by the consideration of the particular national interests which each nation conceives itself to have.

Could such a moral *iudicium orbis terrarum* be established, it might do more than any arbitral tribunal, or Council of Conciliation, or combination of Powers, to raise the level of conduct in international relations, and restrain the selfish passions even of monarchs or demagogues. Though the nations are still some considerable way from the general diffusion of such a feeling and opinion, we need not assume that the waves of passion will continue to run so high as they do now, and we may even venture to hope that the sentiment of a common devotion to the common welfare of all mankind will, within the next few generations, gradually assert its strength.

This leads me to one more topic proper to be here referred to.

In comparison with all the other sadnesses of this time, with the sorrow and mourning that have entered every home, with the loss of those bright young spirits who would have been the leaders of the next generation, some among them minds that would have rendered incomparable services to learning and science and art—in comparison with these things the evil I am about to mention may seem small. Yet it is one that must be mentioned, for it directly affects the objects for which this Academy exists, and we, together with our friends and colleagues of the Royal Society, are those who best know how grave it is. I speak of the severance of friendly relations between the great peoples of Europe, the interruption of all personal

intercourse and of that co-operation in the extension of knowledge and the discovery of new truth from which every people has gained so much. The study of philosophy and history has done little for those of us who pursue it if it has not extended their vision beyond their own country and their own time, reminding them that human progress has been achieved by the united efforts of many races and many types of intellect and character, each profiting by the efforts of the others, and teaching them that for further advance this co-operation is essential. To restore it is at this moment impossible. But let us at least do nothing to retard its return in happier days. Those days some of us cannot hope ever to see. For the elder men among us there has come a perpetual end of that delightful and mutually helpful companionship which united us with the learned men of two other great nations, a sense of partnership between those who pursued truth which overrode all national jealousies, and was fruitful for the progress of letters and science. This partnership is gone; and the world will for years to come suffer from its departure. Yet the severance cannot last for ever. When a storm has levelled the forest or a waterspout has scarred the slopes of a valley, the eternal forces of Nature, slow and often imperceptible in their working, but restlessly active, begin to repair the ruin the storm has wrought. Young trees spring up to renew the forest, and verdure clothes once more the devastated hillsides.

Two years ago the Spirit of Sin and Strife was let loose upon the earth like a destroying whirlwind. That spirit is personified in the *Iliad* as Até, the Spirit of Evil that takes possession of the soul. She is the power that strides swiftly over the earth, kindling hatred and prompting men to wrong. But the poet tells us that after Até come the Litae, gentle daughters of the Almighty, who, by their entreaties, soften men's hearts to pity. Halting are their steps and their visage withered and wrinkled, but they bring repentance and they assuage the passions which the Spirit of Wrong has kindled. Até has been afoot in the world; and we see everywhere her deathful work. But after a time the Litae, following slowly in her track, will begin to heal the wounds she has cut deep into men's souls. Nations cannot be enemies for ever. The time must come when a knowledge of the true sources of these calamities will, even there where hatred is now strongest, enlighten men's minds and touch their hearts. May that time come soon!

Αἴλινον αἴλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.

AN ATTEMPT TO RECOVER THE ORIGINAL ORDER OF THE TEXT OF REVELATION XX. 4–XXII

By the Rev. CANON CHARLES, D.D.

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

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Before I enter on the study of Revelation xx. 4–xxii there are two facts which should be emphasized. The first is that Revelation is not a pseudonymous book, but was written by the prophet John, whereas all the Jewish Apocalypses from 300 B.C. down to mediaeval times were unquestionably pseudonymous, that is, written under the name of some ancient worthy in Israel of a date not later than Ezra. Is it a mere coincidence that pseudonymity arose subsequently to the legislature of Ezra, or is there a real organic connexion between these two facts? The present lecturer was the first to show that the legislation of Ezra and his school inevitably led to the rise of pseudonymous apocalypses in Judaism. I cannot here naturally repeat *in extenso* the grounds for this conclusion given in my *Eschatology*, pp. 173–206, but I may summarize in a few sentences the results there arrived at. From the times of Ezra onwards the Law made steady progress towards a position of absolute supremacy in Judaism, till in the third century B.C. it came to be regarded, not as the highest expression of the religious consciousness of a particular age, but as the complete and final utterance of the mind of God—adequate, infallible, and valid for all eternity. When the Law thus came to be regarded as all sufficient for all eternity, alike as an intellectual creed, a liturgical system, and a practical guide in ethics and religion, there was no room left for new light or any further disclosure of God's will—in short, no room for the true prophet, but only for the moralist, the casuist, and the preacher. Henceforth in Judaism, when a man felt himself charged with a real message from God to his day and generation, he was compelled, if he wished his message to be received, to resort to pseudonymity, and to issue the divine commands with which he was entrusted under the name of some notable worthy, contemporary with or earlier than Ezra.

But with the advent of Christianity all was changed. Within Christianity the Law was dethroned from the position of absolutism that it had claimed and exercised, and reduced to its rightful office as a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ, while prophecy was restored to the first place, and prophet and seer once more were enabled to fling aside *for a time* the guise of pseudonymity and come forward in their own persons to make known the counsels of God. Thus we have Paul setting forth his apocalypse in Thessalonians, Corinthians, and later Epistles, and in the greatest of all the Apocalypses ever written we have John the prophet writing in his own name to the Christian Churches.

But not only is the Apocalypse from the hand of John, but, when closely studied from an ample knowledge of the period, it exhibits, except in a few passages, and especially in chap. xviii, a structural unity and a steady development of thought from the first chapter to the close of xx. 3. Now this is just what we should expect in an Apocalypse, which is designed to be a philosophy of history and religion from the standpoint of the author. It was a combination of *vision and reflection.* Though the book of a prophet did not necessarily show any structural unity or steady development of thought, it was far otherwise with the Apocalyptist, in whose writings such characteristics were indispensable. While the ordinary man saw only the outside of things in all their incoherence and isolation, the Apocalyptist sought to get behind the surface and penetrate to the essence of events, the spiritual motives and purposes that underlay and gave them their real significance—in fact to lay bare their origin, course, and consummation. It was thus, in short, a Semitic philosophy of religion, and as such it was ever asking Whence? Wherefore? Whither? Apocalyptic, and not prophecy, was the first to grasp the great idea that all history, alike human, cosmological, and spiritual, is a unity—a unity following naturally as a corollary of the unity of God preached by the prophets.

I have emphasized these two points—structural unity and orderly development of thought to the final consummation of all things—as pre-eminently the characteristics of apocalyptic and not of prophecy or of any other form of writing in the Bible. This being so, we are all the more astonished that the three closing chapters of the Apocalypse are all but wholly wanting in these characteristics and—so far from advancing steadily to the consummation that all the preceding chapters postulate—exhibit many incoherences and self-contradictory elements.

To some of these I drew attention in my first edition of the Book

of Enoch in 1893, where on p. 45 I wrote as follows: 'We have here (i. e. Rev. xxi. 1, 2) a new heaven and a new earth, and a New Jerusalem coming down from heaven: yet in xxii. 15 all classes of sinners are said to be without the gates of the city. But if there were a new earth this would be impossible.' This is only one of the many difficulties that confront the serious student of these chapters. Now to make the problem before us clear it will be best to deal shortly with a few of the passages which make it impossible for us to accept the text as it stands.

1. In xx. 7–10, after the close of the Millennial Kingdom Satan is loosed, and the heathen nations (Gog and Magog), which have refused to accept the Christian faith, march against Jerusalem and the camp of the saints, but are destroyed by fire from heaven. Satan also is cast finally into the lake of fire and brimstone, to be tormented there for ever and ever. *Thus the prime source of evil and his deluded followers (Gog and Magog) are removed finally from the world, and their power to influence the world for evil made impossible for ever.*

2 In xx. 11–15 the old earth and the old heaven are given over to annihilation. Then the final judgement takes place, and all the dead are judged according to their works, and death and Hades are cast into the lake of fire, together with all those whose names are not found written in the book of life. *At this stage we have arrived at the final condemnation and destruction of all evil, together with the destruction of death itself.*

3. Now that all evil and death itself are cast into the lake of fire, the new heaven and the new earth come into being, and the New Jerusalem comes down from heaven, and God Himself dwells with men (xxi. 1–4).

It is clear from this passage that we have arrived at the closing scene of the great world struggle between good and evil, and that henceforth there can be neither sin, nor crying, nor pain, nor death any more. In fact, there can be no place at all for these in the universe of God—the new heaven and the new earth and the New Jerusalem that cometh down from God to the new earth.

The conclusion just arrived at is inevitable, if there is a steady development in the visions of the Seer. Now since such a development is manifest in chapters i–xx. 4, when certain verses and glosses are excised and a few disarrangements of the text set right—especially in xviii—we naturally conclude that our author will not lightly fall into contradictions, even of a minor sort, in the last three chapters. But unhappily this is not our experience as we study them; and at last we stand aghast at the hopeless mental confusion

which dominates the present structure of these chapters, and are compelled to ask if they can possibly come from his hand, and, in case they do, to ask further, if they have been preserved as they left his hand. But we must first justify the above statement, though we shall adduce here only the main contradictions in these chapters.

Inasmuch as according to our text the New Jerusalem does not come down from heaven till Satan is bound for ever in the lake of fire, and all sin and death itself are at an end, and the place of the old world has been taken by a new and glorious world, wherein there is neither spot nor blemish nor any such thing, how is it that we are told that, outside the gates of the Holy City which has come down from God to the new earth, there are 'the dogs and the sorcerers, and the fornicators, and the murderers, and the idolaters, and every one that loveth and maketh a lie' (xxii. 15)? A greater contradiction in thought and statement is hardly conceivable. But if this statement were made in connexion with the Millennial Kingdom which was to be established before the Final Judgement everything would be intelligible.

2. Again, since the new earth is inhabited only by the blessed, on whom the second death could have no effect, and since these are all righteous, and God Himself tabernacles among them, how is it that in xxii. 2 the leaves of the tree of life are said to be for the healing of the nations? This statement can have no meaning unless it applies to the period of the Millennial Kingdom. During Christ's reign of 1,000 years the surviving nations have still a further period of grace accorded to them. This evangelizing of the nations during this period has already been proclaimed in xiv. 6–7, xv. 4. It is twice elsewhere referred to in the last two chapters, i. e. xxi. 24, xxii. 14.

3. Only on the supposition that the Millennial Kingdom is still in existence can we explain xxi. 24–7.

> And the nations shall walk by the light thereof:
> And the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it
> And the gates thereof shall not be shut day *or night*.[1]
>
> And they shall bring the glory and the honour of the nations into it:
> And there shall not enter into it anything unclean, or he that maketh an abomination or a lie;
> But only they that are written in the book of life of the Lamb.

[1] A necessary emendation. The corruption in the text arose from the present disorder, and the influence of xxii. 5, 'and there shall be no more night,' where this clause is wholly justifiable.

Now from the above contradictions—the solution of which is in part already suggested—it follows either that (*a*) a considerable part of xx–xxii is not from the hand of our author, or that, (*b*) if it is from his hand, it is disarranged.

Now the first solution (*a*) is that adopted by most of the leading German scholars of the past thirty years. Thus with Volter (*Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 1904), Weyland (*Omwerkings- en Compilatie-Hypothesen toegepast op de Apocalypse van Johannes*, 1908), and J. Weiss (*Die Offenb. des Johannes*, 1908) assume that xx–xxii is derived from three different sources, Spitta (*Die Offenb. des Johannes*, 1889) finds traces of four authors, while Erbes (*Die Offenb Johannis*, 1891) and, on the whole, Bousset (1906) are content with two. Bousset, in fact, regards xx–xxii as the work of the Apocalyptist, with the exception of the fragment xxi. 9–xxii. 5.

But, even though for the time being we accepted as a working hypothesis any one of the theories of these scholars based on a plurality of authorship, we have still two insuperable difficulties to face. (α) The first of these is that *the more closely we study i–xx. 3, the more convinced we become of the structural unity of these chapters*— a fact which does not exclude the occasional use and adaptation of sources—*and the clear and masterly development in thought, working up steadily to a climax. This being so, how is it that xx–xxii shows no such orderly development, but rather a chaos of conflicting conceptions?* (β) But the second difficulty is still greater. The hypotheses of the above scholars, with the partial exception of Bousset, break down hopelessly in the face of the general linguistic unity of xx–xxii. In fact, these scholars had failed to make a thorough study of the style, vocabulary, and grammar of the Apocalypse. Bousset, it is true, has done much to compensate for the deficiencies of his predecessors in this field, but a deeper study of his materials would have precluded his assuming the existence of xxi. 9–xxii. 5 as an independent source, seeing that it is internally self-contradictory and that yet *linguistically it is from the hand of our author.* To the conclusion, in fact, that, with the exception of a few verses, chapters xx–xxii are from the same hand to which we owe the bulk of the preceding chapters, a close and prolonged study has slowly but irresistibly brought me. If, then, this is so, we must conclude that the text in xx–xxii *is disarranged in an astonishing degree and does not at present stand in the orderly sequence originally designed by our author.*

To what cause, we must now ask, is this almost incredible disorder due? It cannot be accounted for by accidental transpositions of

the text in the MSS—a phenomenon with which the students of MSS. in every ancient language are familiar. For no accident could explain the intolerable confusion of the text in xx. 4–xxii, and apparently the only hypothesis that can account for it is that which a comprehensive study of the facts forced upon me in the beginning of 1914, and this is that *John died either as a martyr or by a natural death, when he had completed i–xx. 3 of his work, and that the materials for its completion, which were for the most part ready in a series of independent documents, were put together by a faithful but unintelligent disciple in the order which he thought right.*

This hypothesis we shall now proceed to establish by adequate proofs, though the full evidence can be given only in my commentary, by far the greater part of which is already completed.

1. First of all it is a matter beyond dispute that xxii. 15, xxi. 27, which state that outside the gates of the Heavenly Jerusalem evil in every form exists, but that it can in no wise pass within the gates of the Holy City, prove that *the Heavenly Jerusalem here referred to was to descend before the disappearance of the first earth and the first heaven and the final judgement* described in xx. 11–15. A kindred expectation is found in 4 Ezra vii. 26–8, where the Heavenly Jerusalem,[1] the Messiah, and those who had been translated to heaven without seeing death are to be manifested together on the earth for 400 years. The same view appears in the same work in xiii. 32–6. In this latter passage evil in every form exists outside the Heavenly City.

From later Jewish sources we are familiar with the connexion of the rebuilt Jerusalem and the temporary reign of the Messiah. The advent of the Messiah determines the hour when the Temple and therefore Jerusalem should be rebuilt (Shemoth rab. c. 31). According to the Targum on Is. liii. 5 (cf. Bammidbar rab. c. 13) the Messiah Himself was to build it.

From the above facts we conclude that in our author the account of the Heavenly Jerusalem (xxi. 9–xxii. 2, 14–15, 17) should have followed immediately on xx. 3 as the seat of the Messiah's Kingdom.

2. Verses xxi. 24–6, xxii. 2, 14–15, 17 assume that the nations are still upon earth, that the gospel is preached to them afresh from the Heavenly Jerusalem, that they are healed thereby of their spiritual evils, their sins washed away, that they can enter

[1] Box, it is true, regards vii. 26, which tells of the manifestation of the Heavenly Jerusalem, as an interpolation, but the evidence of our text and later Judaism supports the connexion of the Messiah and the Holy City.

the Heavenly City and eat of the tree of life which was therein. And to this salvation they are bidden of the Spirit and the Heavenly Jerusalem (i. e. the bride, xxii. 17).

Now this expectation is derived from the Old Testament. In Zech. xiv. 16 sqq., when the blessed era sets in the nations are to go up yearly to keep the Feast of Tabernacles at Jerusalem. In Tobit xiv. 6 the conversion of the Gentiles is to synchronize with the rebuilding of Jerusalem in a fashion far transcending all that seer or prophet had hitherto dreamt of—when its gates should be 'builded with sapphire and emerald', and all its walls with precious stones and its streets 'paved with carbuncle and stones of Ophir' (xiii. 16-17). Similarly in 1 Enoch (161 B.C.) we find it prophesied that the conversion of the surviving Gentiles would follow on the setting up of the Holy City, which was to be done by none other than God Himself. Next in the Test. XII Patriarchs, the conversion of the Gentiles is associated with the advent of the Messiah, T Lev. xviii. 9, T. Jud. xxiv. 5, and that of the New Jerusalem in T. Dan v. 12. Like expectations are expressed in the Sibyl. Oracles iii 751-60, 772-3, 1 Enoch xlviii. 4 (where the Messiah is described as the light of the Gentiles), Pss. Sol xvii. 27, 32.

Thus in many books in Judaism the hope is entertained, as in our text, that the Gentiles would turn to the worship of the true God, when either the earthly Jerusalem was rebuilt or a Heavenly Jerusalem set up on earth, or when the Messiah established His Kingdom upon the earth. It is true that Judaism associated this expectation with the First Advent of the Messiah; for it looked for no second. But in Christianity it was different. What had not been realized on the First Advent of Christ was according to many a Christian prophet and seer, as our author, to be realized in a far higher degree when Christ came the second time in glory.

That the conversion of the heathen nations in our text, therefore, was to be accomplished in connexion with the Heavenly City, which as the seat of the Millennial Kingdom was to descend on the earth before the Final Judgement, needs no further demonstration.

3. The facts just stated in the preceding paragraph, that the Gentiles shall still be upon the earth on the advent of the Heavenly City, and have a right to enter therein, are already postulated in the earlier chapters of the Apocalypse. Thus in xv. 4 we read in the song sung by the triumphant martyrs before the throne of God—

Who shall not fear, O Lord,
And glorify Thy name;
For Thou alone art holy;

For all the nations shall come
And worship before Thee;
For Thy righteous acts have been made manifest.

Again, in xiv. 6–7, the Seer recounts a vision in which he hears an angel proclaiming the coming evangelization of the nations of the world: 'And I saw another angel flying in mid heaven, having an eternal gospel to proclaim unto them that dwell on the earth, and unto every nation and tribe and tongue and people; and he saith with a great voice, Fear God and give Him glory; for the hour of His judgement is come: and worship Him that made the heaven and the earth and the sea and fountains of waters.'

Now, according to the present form of the text of the last three chapters of our book, these prophecies, which definitely foretell the evangelization of the nations of the world and their acceptance of the Gospel preached, remain wholly unfulfilled. In fact, according to the present text, the nations are simply annihilated before the advent of the Heavenly City. On the other hand, if the account of the Heavenly Jerusalem as given in xxi. 9 to xxii. 2, 14–15, 17 is restored immediately after xx. 3, then these prophecies are fulfilled; for the nations, according to this account, walk by the light thereof, and the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it, and yet outside its gates there is still evil of every kind.

4. Again, in xi. 15 we read—

The Kingdom of the world is become the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ,
And He shall reign for ever and ever.

These words quite clearly assume that the rule of God and Christ will be extended over the whole world of the nations. But, as the text at present stands, not a single nation is mentioned as being brought beneath its sway, while in the verses (xx. 9–10) that precede the description of the Final Judgement (xx. 11–15) we are led to infer that they are wholly destroyed by fire from heaven. That is one way of establishing authority over the neutral or hostile nations, but it is not God's way. We have only to read chapters xxi–xxii, which deal *ostensibly* with events occurring only after the absolute destruction of all the nations and of the first heaven and the first earth, when we discover the nations, that had presumably passed out of existence, going up in pilgrimage to the Heavenly Jerusalem, each under its own king, passing within its blessed portals, bringing their glory and honour into it, receiving spiritual healing in the Holy City, and assimilating the divine truths that make them heirs to immortality,

that is, eating of the tree of life. That all the nations do not avail themselves of these privileges is plainly asserted in the text; for outside the gates are sorcerers and whoremongers and idolaters and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie

On this ground again we must transpose the description of the Holy City before the Final Judgement, and regard it as the seat of the Millennial Kingdom.

5. Again as we study xxi–xxii we discover that there are in reality two descriptions of the Heavenly City, and not one as has hitherto been universally assumed. The Seer has two distinct visions, and they deal not with one and the same city, but with two quite distinct cities. The first (xxi. 9 to xxii. 2, 14–15, 17) presupposes the existence of the present earth. Thus the Seer tells how the angel, that had showed him the destruction of the great world-capital Rome in xvii, came again to him and carried him off *to a great high mountain* to show him the Heavenly City that was to take the place of Rome as the metropolis of the world. This city the Seer beheld coming down from heaven to earth (i. e. the first heaven and the first earth). It becomes the great spiritual centre of the world. The nations flock up to it from every side to share in its spiritual blessings, its gates are open day and night, and yet none of the evil individuals or nations that are without may enter into it (xxi. 24–26).

It is manifest that since sin, and therefore death, prevail outside the gates of the Heavenly City, the present order of things still prevails, the first heaven and the first earth are still in being.

But there is another Heavenly City (xxi. 1–4[c], xxii. 3–5) described by our author, quite distinct from that just dealt with. The angel in xxi. 9 has apparently had no direct part in mediating this new vision. The vision, just as those in xx. 1–3, 11–15, xxi. 1, seems to be independent of any angelic agency. With regard to this Heavenly City there can be no question as to the hour of its manifestation. It does not appear till the first heaven and the first earth have vanished and their place been taken by the new heaven and the new earth. Hence as distinguished from the first Heavenly City, it is designated 'new', i.e. καινή, that is, of a new sort or quality as distinct from the first, just as the second heaven and the second earth are themselves described as 'new' (καινός and καινή). This epithet is never applied to the Heavenly City described at such length in xxi. 9–xxii. 2, 14–15, 17. Sin, of course, no longer exists in this new world. Hence there is no more crying, nor mourning, nor pain, nor curse, nor death (xxi. 4[abc], xxii. 3[a]), though round about the first Heavenly City—close even to its very gates—sin in every form and death did exist, and even within

its stately walls sorrow for sin and repentance were never absent, for the nations of the earth flocked to it from every side to be healed of their spiritual ills and infirmities (xxi. 24–6, xxii. 2).

6. It is finally to be observed that, since the earthly Jerusalem was in ruins, and never in the opinion of the Seer to be rebuilt, a new city was of a necessity to take its place as the seat of Christ's Kingdom and the abode of the blessed martyrs, who were to come down from heaven to reign for a thousand years with Him. Since this new city was to be the abode of Christ on His Second Advent from heaven, and of the martyrs coming down from heaven with Him in their glorified bodies, it follows that the new city must be from heaven also, if it was to be a fit abode for its inhabitants from heaven. Even as early as 161 B.C. (as we have already mentioned above), we have a like expectation in Enoch xc. 28–38, where it is said in the vision that God Himself set up the New Jerusalem, to be the abode of the Messiah and the transformed and glorified Israel. A like expectation is attested in a work almost contemporary with our author, i.e. 4 Ezra, as we have already shown.

From the above facts the conclusion is inevitable that after xx. 3 *our author had intended to add a description of the Heavenly Jerusalem that was to come down from heaven to earth and be the habitation of Christ and the martyrs that accompanied Him from heaven in their glorified bodies. and also that this very description has been preserved in certain sections of xxi–xxii.*

We have next to determine the extent of this description. Now even the cursory reader will observe that there are two accounts of the New Jerusalem in these chapters, which have been rudely thrust together by the Seer's literary executor.[1] A close study of these chapters will show that the section xxi. 9–xxii. 2 constitutes a unity, though incomplete in itself, as we shall see presently, and gives a description of the Heavenly Jerusalem that was to be the centre of the Millennial Kingdom. Two further fragments of this description are to be found in xxii. 14–15 and 17. This description fits in perfectly with the conditions of the millennial reign of Christ and the martyrs for a thousand years. It is conceived of as a period of beneficent rule and evangelizing effort in regard to the surviving nations who visit the Heavenly Jerusalem and bring all their glory

[1] We might compare 2 Corinthians, which is now recognized by the learned world as consisting of two mutilated Epistles of St Paul edited together as one, the last four chapters belonging to the earlier Epistle. In Cicero's letters Professor Purser shows that in several cases exactly the same phenomenon may be found.

and honour into it. Wickedness, of course, still exists without it, but nothing that is unclean, nor any liar or abominable person is permitted to enter into it (xxii. 15, xxi. 2).

So far for the first description. But what are we to make of the second, which begins with xxi. 1? Only the *disjecta membra* of this description remain. Two fragments of it are recoverable in xxi. 1–4[c] and xxii. 3–5. These should be read together, as the first clause of xxii. 3 forms the fourth line of the stanza, the first three lines of which are preserved in xxi. 4[a b c]. In this second description the former heaven and earth have passed away for ever, with all the sin and sorrow and pain that prevailed on the former earth. Death itself shall be no more throughout the new heaven and the new earth and the New Jerusalem, xxi. 4. And whereas in the Heavenly Jerusalem that came down from God for the Millennial Kingdom the saints who had been martyred reigned only a thousand years, in the later New Jerusalem all the saints are to reign for ever and ever (xxii. 5).

We have now dealt with the chief difficulties in xx–xxii. There are, of course, many of a subordinate nature affecting the original order of the text in xxii, but they are treated shortly in the introductions to the various sections of the rearranged translation that follows. Chapters xx–xxii should provisionally be read in the following order.

xx. 1–3. Vision of the chaining of Satan for a thousand years.

xxi. 9–xxii. 2, 14–15, 17. Vision of the New Jerusalem which comes down to be the abode of Christ and the glorified martyrs, and the centre of a new evangelization of the nations for a thousand years.

xxii. 8–9. John falls down to worship the angel who had showed him these things but is forbidden to do so by the angel.

xx. 4–6. Vision of the glorified martyrs who reign with Christ for a thousand years.

xx. 7–10. Vision of the loosing of Satan, and the attack of Gog and Magog on the Holy City: of the destruction of the latter, and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire.

xx. 11–15. Vision of the great white throne, of the vanishing of the former heaven and earth: of the judgement of the dead, and of the casting of death and Hades into the lake of fire.

xxi. 5[a], 4[d], 5[b], xxi. 1–4[c], xxii. 3–5. The outworn world has vanished: God creates the world anew. Vision of the new heaven and the new earth: of the New Jerusalem descending from God to the new earth, in which the saints are to reign for ever.

xxi. 5[c]–8. Admonition of God conveyed through the Seer to his contemporaries.

xxii. 6–7, 16, 13, 12, 10, 18a. Declaration of Christ as to the truth of the words of the Seer: His assurance of His almighty power and His speedy advent: and His command to the Seer to publish the prophecy; for the time is at hand.

xxii. 8–9, 20. John's testimony and closing words regarding Christ.[1]

xxii. 21. The closing benediction.

REARRANGED TRANSLATION

(xx. 1–3. Satan chained for a thousand years, and the nations set free from his deceivings.)

1 And I saw an angel coming down from heaven,
Having the key of the abyss
And a great chain in his hand.

2 And he laid hold on the dragon, the old Serpent,
Which is the Devil and Satan,
And bound him for a thousand years

3 And he cast him into the abyss,
And shut and sealed it over him,
That he should no more deceive the nations,
Till the thousand years should be fulfilled.

After this he must be loosed for a little time.

(xxi 9–xxii. 2, 14–15, 17. Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem, which descends from heaven and settles on the ruined site of the earthly Jerusalem. This Heavenly City is at once the seat of the Messianic Kingdom, the abode of the glorified martyrs, and the centre of the evangelizing agencies of the surviving nations on the earth, during the millennial period. Though it is not stated, we must conclude that alike the glorified martyrs and the Heavenly Jerusalem are withdrawn from the earth before the final judgement.

The tree of life (xxii. 2, 14) appears to be for the new converts (xxii. 2; cf. xi. 15, xiv. 6, 7, xv 3, 4) and not for the martyrs, since the martyrs were already clothed with their heavenly bodies and were not subject to the second death. They had already eaten of it in the Paradise of God (ii. 7).

As one of the seven angels of the bowls showed Rome—the capital of the kingdom of the Antichrist—to the Seer (xvii. 1), so he now shows him the heavenly Jerusalem.)

[1] xxii. 11–18b, 19 are most probably later additions.

xxi. 9 And there came one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls, who were laden with the seven last plagues, and he spake with me, saying, Come hither, I will show thee the bride, the 10 wife of the Lamb. And he carried me away in the Spirit to a mountain great and high, and showed me the holy city Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, having the glory of God 11 her light was like unto a stone most precious, as it were a jasper 12 stone, clear as crystal. she had a wall great and high, she had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children 13 of Israel. on the east were three gates, and on the north three gates; and on the south three gates, and on the west three 14 gates. And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and on 15 them twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb And he that spake with me had for a measure a golden reed to measure 16 the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof. And the city lieth foursquare, and the length thereof is as great as the breadth; and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs · the length and the breadth and the height thereof are 17 equal. And he measured the wall thereof, a hundred and forty and four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of an 18 angel. And the building of the wall thereof was jasper and the 19 city was pure gold, like unto pure glass. The foundations of the wall of the city were adorned with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, 20 chalcedony; the fourth, emerald; the fifth, sardonyx, the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolite; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, topaz; the tenth, chrysoprase; the eleventh, jacinth, the twelfth, amethyst.

21 And the twelve gates were twelve pearls ·
Each one of the gates was of one pearl,
And the street of the city was pure gold, transparent as glass.

22 And I saw no temple therein,
For the Lord God Almighty is the temple thereof,
And the Lamb ⟨is the ark of the covenant thereof[1]⟩.

23 And the city hath no need of the sun nor yet of the moon to shine upon it;
For the glory of the Lord did lighten it,
And the lamp thereof is the Lamb.

[1] A probable restoration; the original is lost. The English versions conceal this loss by transposing the words 'And the Lamb' into the preceding sentence. Cf. xi. 19, where the temple and the ark of the covenant are spoken of as the earlier centres of the manifestation of God

24 And the nations shall walk by the light thereof,
And the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it,
25 And the gates thereof shall not be shut day *or night.*[1]

26 And they shall bring the glory and the honour of the nations into it,
27 And there shall not enter into it anything unclean, or he that maketh an abomination or a lie
But only they which are written in the book of life of the Lamb.

xxii. 1 And he showed me a river of water of life, bright as crystal,
2 Proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb, in the midst of the street thereof.
And on this side of the river and on that was the tree[2] of life,
Bearing twelve manner of fruits,
Yielding its fruit every month
And the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.

xxii. 14 Blessed are they that wash their robes,
That they may have the right to come to the tree of life,
And may enter in by the gates into the city
15 Without are the dogs, and the sorcerers,
And the fornicators, and the murderers, and the idolaters,
And every one that loveth and maketh a lie.
17 And the Spirit and the bride[3] say, Come·
And let him that heareth say, Come
And let him that is athirst come.
Whosoever willeth let him take of the water of life freely.

xx. 4–6. (Vision of the glorified martyrs who reign with Christ for a thousand years)

xx 4c ⟨And I saw⟩ the souls of them that had been beheaded for the witness of Christ.
And for the word of God,

[1] The text reads 'for there shall be no night there'—a corruption due in part to xxii. 5. As in Isa lx. 11, the text clearly ran as I have emended. 'Thy gates . . . shall not be shut day or night.' The alternations of day and night still prevail on the earth. It is otherwise in xxii. 5, where the New Jerusalem has come down from God to the new and glorified earth. Besides, the parallelism is against it.

[2] The term is used generically The text implies that there are two rows of trees, one on either side of the river.

[3] Since the term 'bride' designates the Heavenly Jerusalem in our author (cf. xxi. 2, 9) it has no doubt the same meaning here, but the idea of the Christian *community* rather than of the city is here brought forward.

And which had not worshipped the beast,
Nor yet his image,

And had not received the mark upon their forehead
And upon their hand,

And I saw thrones and they seated themselves thereon,
And judgement was given to them.[1]

And they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.
5 But the rest of the dead lived not till the thousand years were fulfilled,

6 Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection·
Over these the second death hath no power:

But they shall be priests of God and of Christ,
And shall reign with him a thousand years.

(xx. 7–10. Close of the Millennial Kingdom and of its evangelizing activities. Thereupon follows the loosing of Satan, the march of Gog and Magog against the beloved city, their destruction by supernatural means, and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire. The Seer does not say what became of the Heavenly Jerusalem, but its withdrawal from the earth before the final judgement is presupposed. Since 'the beloved city' in xx. 9 is the Heavenly Jerusalem, the saints referred to in the same verse must include the risen martyrs.)

xx. 7 And when the thousand years are finished,
8 Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall come forth to deceive the nations which are in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to the war· the 9 number of whom is as the sand of the sea. And they went up over the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the *beloved city*· and fire came down out of 10 heaven, and devoured them. And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where are also the beast and the false prophet; and they shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.

(xx. 11–15. Vision of the great white throne and of Him that sat thereon. Disappearance of the former heaven and the former earth. Judgement of the dead. Death and hell cast into the lake of fire.

[1] This couplet occurs immediately at the beginning of verse 4, where alike the context and the grammar are against them.

xx. 11 And I saw a great white throne and him that sat thereon,
And from his face the earth and the heaven fled away,
And no place was found for them.

12 And I saw the dead [the great and the small] standing before the throne
And books were opened, and another book was opened [which is the book of life],
And the dead were judged out of the things written in the books [according to their works].

xx. 13 And the *treasuries*[1] gave up the dead which were in *them*;
And death and Hades gave up the dead which were in them:
And they were judged every man according to his works.

14 And death and Hades were cast into the lake of fire,
[This is the second death, the lake of fire[2]]
And all that were not found written in the book of life
Were cast into the lake of fire.

(xxi. 5^a, 4^d, 5^b; xxi. 1–4^{abc}; xxii. 3–5. Declaration by God that the former things have passed away and that He creates all things new. The creation of the new heaven and the new earth. Descent of the New[3] Jerusalem adorned as a bride for her husband. God tabernacles with men. No more grief or pain or tears or death All the faithful are to reign with Christ for ever and ever (xxii. 5), whereas in the Millennial Kingdom only the risen martyrs were to reign for a thousand years.)

xxi. 5^a And he that sat upon the throne said
4^d The first things have passed away,
5^b Behold, I make all things new.

[1] The text here reads 'sea', but the context requires a reference to the abode of righteous souls, since Hades is the abode in our author only of wicked souls, and as such is cast into the lake of fire, xx. 14^a The change of 'treasuries'—the normal word in Judaism (50–100 A.D) for the abode of righteous souls—into 'sea' was made in the interests of a bodily resurrection. But the sea has already vanished with the first heaven and earth (ver 11). According to the present text only wicked souls have part in the General Resurrection and Final Judgement. In 4 Ezra vii the text dealing with the General Resurrection and Final Judgement has also been tampered with, with a view to enforcing belief in a physical resurrection. The result of the tampering with the two texts is interesting: while in the Apocalypse only the wicked rise and are judged, in 4 Ezra only the righteous rise and are judged!

[2] A marginal gloss repeated from xxi. 8^f, where the clause is full of meaning, but it is wholly out of place here with regard to death and Hades.

[3] Even the Heavenly City of xxi. 10, which had been withdrawn from the earth before the Judgement with Christ and the Saints, is also *renewed*.

6[a] And he said unto me: They have come into being.
xxi. 1 And I saw a new heaven and a new earth,
For the first heaven and the first earth had passed away,
Nor was there any more sea.

2 And the holy city, New Jerusalem, I saw,
Coming down out of heaven from God,
Made ready as a bride adorned for her husband.
3 And I heard a great voice from the throne saying:

Behold the shekinah of God is with men,
And he shall dwell with them,
And they shall be his peoples,
And God himself shall be with them.

4 And he shall wipe away every tear from their eyes,
And death shall be no more:
Neither shall there be crying nor mourning nor pain,
xxii. 3 Neither shall be any more curse.

And the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it,
And his servants shall serve him,
xxii. 4 And they shall see his face,
And his name shall be on their foreheads.

5 And there shall be no more night;
And they have no need of light of lamp or light of sun,
For the Lord God shall give them light,
And they shall reign for ever and ever.

(Declaration of God to be conveyed by the Seer to his contemporaries.)
xxi. 6 I am the Alpha and the Omega,
The beginning and the end.
I will give to him that thirsteth of the fountain of the water of life freely:
7 He that overcometh shall inherit these things,
And I will be his God,
And he shall be my son.
8 But for the cravenhearted and unbelieving,
And abominable and murderers,
And fornicators and sorcerers,
And idolaters and all liars—
Their part shall be in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone:
Which is the second death.

(xxii. 6–21. Here more than anywhere else in chapters xx–xxii we have the *disjecta membra* of the Poet-Seer. We have already assigned xxii. 14–15, 17 to the section dealing with the Heavenly Jerusalem which comes down to earth during the Millennial Kingdom. We have now to arrange, if possible, the rest of this section in the order intended by the Seer. It is, of course, fragmentary. With a view to its arrangement, we observe first of all that Jesus is the speaker in 12–13, 16, and likewise in 6–7; for in these last two verses the speaker is distinguished from the angel who showed the Seer the things which must shortly come to pass, and the words 'behold I come quickly' in 7 are naturally spoken by Christ. Moreover, as Konnecke and Moffat have recognized, 12–13, 16 can be restored to their original order by reading them as follows 16, 13, 12. Thus this section is to be read as follows 6–7, 16, 13, 12. Verse 10—still the words of Christ—comes next, 'And He saith unto me, Seal not up the words of the prophecy of this book; for the time is at hand.'

I have bracketed 11 as conflicting with xxi. 6–8, which apparently refer to evangelistic appeals during the Seer's lifetime. xxii. 18ᵃ as coming from Christ gives His imprimatur to the book.[1] xxii. 8–9 as describing the action of the Seer in relation to the angel at its close, and xxii. 20–1 from the lips of the Seer form the natural close of the Apocalypse.)

(Declaration of Christ.)

xxii. 6 And he said unto me, These words are faithful and true and the Lord, the God of the spirits of the prophets, sent his angel to shew unto his servants the things which must shortly 7 come to pass. And behold, I come quickly. Blessed is he that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book.

16 I Jesus have sent mine angels to testify these things for the Churches.
I am the root and the offspring of David,
The bright, the morning star.

13 I am the Alpha and the Omega,
The first and the last,
The beginning and the end.

12 Behold, I come quickly;
And my reward is with me,
To render to each man according as his work is.

[1] xxii. 18ᵇ–19 are against the style of our author.

10 And he saith unto me, Seal not up the words of the prophecy of this book; for the time is at hand.

11 [He that is unrighteous, let him do unrighteousness still:
And he that is filthy, let him be made filthy still
And he that is righteous, let him do righteousness still
And he that is holy, let him be made holy still.][1]

18 To every one that heareth I testify the words of the prophecy of this book. [If any man shall add unto them God shall add unto
19 him the plagues which are written in this book and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part from the tree of life, and out of the holy city, which are written in this book.]

(The Seer's testimony and closing words.)

xxii. 8. And I John am he that heard and saw these things And when I heard and saw, I fell down before the feet of the angel which showed me these things. 9. And he saith unto me, See thou do it not I am a fellow servant with thee and with thy brethren the prophets, and with them which keep the words of this book worship God.

20 He which testifieth these things saith, Yea. I come quickly.
21 Amen: come, Lord Jesus The grace of the Lord Jesus be with the saints.

[1] I have with some hesitation bracketed this verse as a gloss. It refers to the Seer's contemporaries. But if xxi. 6-8 refer also to his contemporaries, then there is still hope for them, if they repent.

THE ANCIENT COINAGE OF SOUTHERN ARABIA

By G. F. HILL

Read May 5, 1915

THE ancient coinage of Southern Arabia is one of the most obscure branches of numismatics. In origin it is Greek; but in development it is Semitic. For the proper study of it a numismatist who is equally well equipped on the Greek and Semitic sides is required; and such a scholar has yet to be discovered. What is more, the study of South Arabian epigraphy is at present in a somewhat inchoate stage; vast quantities of inscriptions have been discovered, but only partly published; an extraordinarily bitter personal feud, with wide ramifications, has done anything but quicken progress; and of the scholars who have devoted themselves to this branch of archaeology, only one, Mordtmann, has paid serious attention to the coins. In fact, the divorce between numismatics and archaeology is as painfully evident here as in any other place. That must be the excuse for me, as a numismatist with hardly the most rudimentary Semitic equipment, if I venture to deal with the subject; my wish is merely to put the numismatic material together in a form in which Semitic scholars may be able to deal with it effectively.

According to Strabo,[1] whose information is based on Eratosthenes, there were four leading tribes in occupation of Southern Arabia, or rather of that portion which may be described as lying over against Aethiopia. First there are the Minaeans, in the part near the Red Sea, with their chief town Karna or Karnana; adjoining them, the Sabaeans, with their metropolis Mariaba; third, the Katabanians, who extend to the Straits and the crossing of the Arabian Gulf; their royal city is called Tamna; and farthest to the East, the Chatramotites, whose city is Sabata. The absence of the Himyarites from this list is due to the fact that they did not rise to power until after the time of Eratosthenes.

[1] xvi. 768.

Hitherto the coins of Southern Arabia have always been classed together as 'Himyarite'. It will be seen that the greater part of them must be divided between Sabaeans and Himyarites, and also that there is ground for distinguishing two small groups of coins, one attributable to the Minaeans, the other to the Katabanians (people of Kataban), although this latter group can only be regarded as subordinate to the main Himyarite series. Three out of the four tribes mentioned by Strabo are thus provided with a coinage.

Since the rise of the Himyarites to power probably did not take place before the middle of the second century B.C., when their capital at Sapphar regia (*Ṣafar*, near *Yerim*) superseded the old Sabaean capital at Mariaba (*Marib*), the earliest series of the coins with which we are concerned should strictly be regarded as Sabaean rather than Himyarite. Nevertheless, the chronology is so uncertain, and the series are interlaced in so curious a way, that it is very difficult to draw any line between them. Roughly speaking, we may assume that the earliest coins, which are direct imitations of the earlier Attic coinage, belong to the Sabaean period, while the later, flat coins (of that which we may for convenience call the Ṣan'â class),[1] with a reverse type derived from the Attic coinage of the 'New Style', the small coins with names and heads of various kings, and the 'bucranium' series must certainly belong to the Himyarite period. But there are certain single coins, or small groups, which, although in fabric and types they look fairly early, seem by their monograms and inscriptions to be intimately connected with the Ṣan'â class, apparently so much later.

The following is an attempt at a provisional classification of the various series.

I. Imitations of the Older Attic Types

a. Obv. Head of Athena. *Rev.* Owl, with olive-spray, crescent, and AΘE, more or less blundered; traces of incuse square on some specimens (Plate I. 2).

The largest coins which appear to belong to this class are reproductions of the Athenian tetradrachm; the only specimens known to me are at Berlin.[2] One is countermarked on the obverse with X

[1] Since the great majority, if not all, of the known specimens in silver seem to have come from the great hoard discovered there and described by Schlumberger, *Le Trésor de San'â* (Paris, 1880).

[2] D. H. Müller and J. W. Kubitschek, *Südarabische Altertümer* (Vienna), 1889, p. 76, I, nos. 474 and 183–7. I cite this work henceforward as 'M. u. K.'. All these coins were brought from South Arabia by Glaser or Mordtmann.

(Sabaean ה) and A, another has something like a Sabaean monogram scratched on the reverse.

But these large coins are quite exceptional, and we are justified in regarding as the ordinary unit the smaller coins of 5·55 grm. maximum.[1]

These units all show the Sabaean נ on the cheek of Athena; the halves, when legible, are similarly marked with נ; the quarters with ה;[2] the eighths with ש. The same system appears to be followed on the series next to be described. On the Ṣanʿâ coins, however, we find the halves marked sometimes with נ, sometimes with ג, while a cross (which may be meant for ה, though that is not certain) occurs on the reverse of some of the Ṣanʿâ units which have נ on the obverse. The ᛚ (ל) which is found on one half (Schlumberger, Pl. III. 56) may perhaps be really Γ (ג). Schlumberger has suggested that the נ is the initial of Nejran (Νέγρανα) But if he is right, it would seem to follow that the other letters mentioned above are also mint-initials,[3] and that, at least in the earliest period, the four different denominations were issued from four different mints. If this seems improbable, it is, for the following reasons, equally difficult to accept the view, which suggests itself upon the consideration of the earlier series, that the letters are the initials of denominations. Schlumberger records (p. 79) an early Attic *tetradrachm* which has been countermarked with a Sabaean נ,[4] and, as already stated, the נ is found on halves of the Ṣanʿâ class. We have also seen that the Berlin Museum possesses[5] a piece of about the weight of the Attic tetradrachm (16·95 grm.), imitated from the earlier Attic types, with two countermarks, viz. X and A, of which the former may be the Himyarite ה; and this letter, as we have seen, is found on the quarters.

The coins of the class with which we are dealing bear nothing Sabaean or Himyarite about them save their style and the letter on the cheek of Athena (the 'tetradrachms' at Berlin being without even the latter distinguishing mark of Arab origin). They still retain traces of the incuse square, and were dated by Head[6] about

[1] The standard is discussed below (pp. 79–80)

[2] Except one published by Mordtmann, *Num Zeit.*, 1880, p. 293, Taf. V, no. ii, which appears to have ơ (ע).

[3] For ג, the city of גבר, associated in an inscription with Nejran, has been suggested (see *C I. S.*, iv. 7)

[4] It must be remembered that the Sabaean נ is hardly distinguishable from the same letter in some other Semitic scripts

[5] M. u. K., p. 76, no. 474.

[6] *Num Chron*, 1880, p. 310.

400 B.C. It is, however, clear from the treatment of the eye that they are imitated from the comparatively late Attic coins (Plate I. 1) which may themselves be dated to the fourth century (*circa* 393–322 B.C. according to Head).[1] The earliest imitations themselves are scarcely earlier than the third century.[2]

β. Similar to series α, but slightly broader in fabric and later in style; on the reverse, Sabaean letter or monogram; traces of incuse square rarely if ever present (Pl. I. 3). The units, halves, and quarters are marked with the same letters as in series α; no eighths seem to be known.

These coins must cover a fairly long period of time; for in proportion to the number of specimens known (the collections in London and Vienna provide all or nearly all of them), the number of varieties is comparatively large, at least nineteen different letters or monograms being represented; while to strike the thirty-eight specimens of the unit in the British Museum alone about twenty-nine obverse and twenty-seven reverse dies were required. The series may be dated to the second century B.C. The lower limit is furnished by the fact that some coins which resemble this series in fabric and style are intimately connected by monograms and inscriptions with the flat coins of the Ṣanʿâ class.

Some eighteen or nineteen letters or monograms occur on coins of this series, they range from single Sabaean letters to elaborate monograms. The most remarkable is a group of two signs, one exactly resembling the Sabaean ┐, the other being forked above, with a wavy tail (Pl. I. 4, 5). The latter has been the subject of considerable discussion. The points to be remembered are. first, that the two signs are frequently found together in a position of importance in lapidary inscriptions; second, that the forked sign is always much larger than the other, which is almost always of the same proportions as the ordinary letters, and may therefore be taken as the letter ┐. An examination of all the evidence makes it fairly clear that the forked sign has some symbolic significance. It is possibly a degenerate pictograph derived from the bucranium and associated with ʿAthtar;[3] but still more probable appears to me the derivation from the Babylonian twin-dragon sceptre. The earliest example[4] of the twin-serpent-sceptre *motif* is found on

[1] *Hist. Num.*², p. 374.

[2] I do not speak of the 'tetradrachms', having seen none of those at Berlin, but of the units and smaller denominations

[3] This suggestion is not new; see *C I. S.*, IV, no. 366, p. 12

[4] I owe what follows to my colleague, Professor L W. King.

a libation vase in the Louvre of dark green steatite dedicated by Gudea, patesi of Lagash, to Ningishzida, his patron deity, about 2450 B.C.[1] Ningishzida in his chief aspect was a war-god and a Sumerian prototype of the god Ninib in his later character, whose emblem was the twin lion-headed sceptre; so that the twining serpents with natural heads are the direct ancestors of the lion-headed serpents of the later emblem, as we get it, for instance, on a boundary-stone of Nazimaruttash,[2] about 1330 B.C. I take it that the wavy form generally assumed by the tail of the Sabaean sign in question is a relic of the spirals of the serpents' tails.

The other sign, as I have said, is usually if not always represented of the same size as the ordinary letters of the inscription, and is doubtless only ד̄. Weber and the editors of the *C. I. S*, however, regard it as a special symbol, the former elaborating a most ingenious theory, which identifies it with the double curved symbol which occurs so frequently upon the later coins (see below). If he were right in this last identification, then (1) the voided and solid forms of the curved symbol must be distinguished, because (2) the solid form, at least, of the curved symbol occurs occasionally *in connexion with and addition to* the group of signs which we are discussing. But that the solid and voided forms of the curved symbol cannot be distinguished in significance is clear from the fact that both are used indifferently in the same context on coins of the Ṣan'â class.

γ. In a small group of coins, comprising two specimens at Vienna,[3] one at Paris, and one in the British Museum, we find on the obverse, instead of the head of Athena, a beardless male head with curly hair, in which the Viennese scholars see a resemblance to the portrait of Philetairos on Pergamene coins. There is no letter on the cheek. The owl is more erect than on the series α and β, and ΑΘΕ is absent. The monograms are more elaborate, and there are two on each coin. In spite of the very different drawings of the monograms on the two coins given in the Viennese publication, they appear from the photographs to be meant for the same; that on the right is also the same as appears on the Paris and London coins, which are incomplete on the left. The Paris coin shows a פ below the right-hand monogram, which thus consists of ה̄ + ע̄ + מ + י + פ. The left-hand monogram, judging from the photographs, consists of ימ with נ above;

[1] L. Heuzey, *Catal. des Antiquités chaldéennes*, 1902, p. 280; the same, *Découvertes en Chaldée par E. de Sarzec*, vol. II, 1912, Pl. 44.

[2] *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, p. 274, Fig. 7.

[3] M. u. K., p. 68, II, nos. 1, 2.

but Müller and Kubitschek draw it as a more elaborate combination.[1]

δ. The latest of the coins imitated from the older Attic coins (Plate I. 5) retain the old types, the נ on the cheek of Athena for the units, the broken down ΑΘΕ and the pair of signs discussed above on the reverse; but they introduce certain new features, viz. the Yanaf monogram, the curved sign (see p. 66), and the very puzzling inscription [inscription].[2] One of these coins in the British Museum appears to have a bare male head on the obverse, instead of the head of Athena; but in its present condition this is not certain.

The monogram [monogram] (= ינף, Yanaf) represents a regal surname ('exalted'). Mordtmann has remarked[3] that this name occurs as the surname of three kings of Saba, all called Samahʿali; of a king whose name is missing on an inscription of Ṣafar,[4] and elsewhere; while in the form ΙΑΝΑΑΦ it is inscribed on one of the later Aethiopic coins. Mordtmann further notes that since the word has no significance in Aethiopic, the equation ΙΑΝΑΑΦ = ינף helps to confirm Gutschmid's theory that of the two names which occur on the Axumite coins one represents the under-king of Yemen. It is obvious that all the Sabaean or Himyarite coins with the Yanaf monogram are not necessarily to be attributed to one ruler on account of that monogram only. Nevertheless, it would be unreasonable on the ground of fabric alone to separate the coins of the group now under consideration from those of the Ṣanʿâ class which are connected with them by the Yanaf monogram, the Aramaic inscription, and the pair of signs (Pl. I. 7, 8). We may therefore attribute them to the same ruler, to whom must be due the introduction of the coinage imitated from the 'New Style' Attic coins.

To the elucidation of the Aramaic inscription I am unable to contribute anything definite. Mordtmann (*loc. cit.*) holds that it should be inverted, and reads it V l a g a s h, i.e. Volagases, an Arsacid

[1] The apparent lower part of the monogram on the Viennese coin, Taf. XIV. 13 (Babelon, *Traité*, Pl. CXXVI. 21), is evidently only due to double striking of the monogram. The נ doubtless has the same significance here as when it occurs on the cheek of Athena.

[2] For convenience I call this henceforward the Aramaic inscription. M. u. K., p. 67, no. 14, give an additional letter on the right, which is, however, the remains of the Α of ΑΘΕ.

[3] *Num. Zeit.*, 1880, pp. 296 f.; *Z D.M.G.*, xxxi, p. 90.

[4] 'Amdan Bayyin, who struck coins at Ṣafar (Raidan), was also called Yanaf (see below, p. 74); may his then be the missing name?

name. He points out that the writer of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* says that part of the coast of Hadramaut and the island Massyra (Sarapidis insula) belonged to Persia, so that Yemen may have been in relation with Persia before Sassanian times. Nevertheless, his reading is improbable for at least two reasons. First, the position of the Yanaf monogram and other details of the design show that the inscription should be read as here printed, and not outwardly. Second, the two letters on the extreme left cannot reasonably be given different values. The general character of the script recalls the Characenian Aramaic.[1] It might accordingly be read גתעתהה (g-th-ʿ-th-h-h).[2] It is possible that the inscription indicates the intrusion of some conqueror from the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf, who ruled in Yemen for a time, and introduced the new style of coinage. But if so, why did he retain the distinctive Sabaean or Himyarite Yanaf monogram on his coins? Another possibility is that the inscription was added to the coins by a native ruler in order to facilitate commerce with some tribes who used the script in question.

II. Imitations of the Later Attic Type

(Ṣanʿâ class.)

As stated above, the change from the old to the new Attic type probably took place during the reign of a single ruler; nevertheless, for purposes of classification it seems better to keep the two types separate. Head[3] dates the coins of the Ṣanʿâ class as follows:

Group with Arab head on obv., Aramaic inscription and monograms on rev. (Pl. I. 7, 8). *Circa* 70–40 B.C.

Group with similar obv., monograms only on rev. *Circa* 40–24 B.C.

Group with Augustan head on obv., monograms on rev. (Pl. I. 9). After *circa* 24 B.C.

This classification is generally much more acceptable than that of Schlumberger.[4] It is true that the Attic coinage of the New Style by no means came to an end, or was even seriously restricted, under Sulla, as was formerly supposed; we now know that it went on until the time of Augustus. But the rule that a barbarous imitative coinage begins when the supply of originals falls off must not be

[1] See the alphabet given by Drouin, *Rev. Num.*, 1889, Pl. VII.

[2] Col. Allotte de la Fuye partly agrees with this, though he would prefer קק for the last two letters, and thinks the first may possibly be א. Schlumberger has suggested that the inscription may after all be Sabaean; but it would be odd to find a cursive form like this side by side with monograms showing the ordinary monumental forms.

[3] *Num. Chron.*, 1880, p. 310.

[4] *Le Trésor de San'â* (Paris, 1880)

rigidly interpreted. It would, for instance, be inconsistent to insist on this rule, in order to find a date *post quem* for the earliest Ṣan'â type, and yet fix the adoption of the later type, with the Augustan head, by the expedition of Aelius Gallus in 24 B.C. But if the rule applies at all here, it is worthy of notice that the supply of the New Style Attic coinage shrank considerably during the periods *circa* 146–100 and 100–86 B.C. According to the latest chronology[1] of these coins we find that in

Class				
Class	I,	*circa* 229–197 B.C.,	there are	17 series
„	II,	„ 196–187 B.C.,	„	9 „
„	III α,	„ 186–147 B.C.,	„	31 „
„	III β,	„ 146–100 B.C.,	„	14 „
„	IV α,	„ 100–86 B.C.,	„	9 „
„	IV β,	„ 86–Augustus	„	30 „

The time of greatest scarcity of Attic coinage was therefore from 146 to 86 B.C., and the date of the beginning of the corresponding Himyarite coinage may fall within this period.

If, on the other hand, ignoring this rule, we seek to associate the reform with some event in Himyarite history, we may find it in the inauguration of the Himyarite era in 115 B.C.,[2] a date which, curiously enough, corresponds to within a single year with the middle of the period 146–86 B.C. It appears to me quite reasonable, on grounds of style, to place the accession of the ruler represented by the Aramaic inscription about this time, and to date the Ṣan'â coins with that inscription during the period *circa* 115–80 B.C. The other Ṣan'â coins with the Arab head may then be dated *circa* 80–24 B.C.; and the Augustan type during the last quarter of the century.

The head on the obverse of the pre-Augustan Ṣan'â coins is seen by its head-dress to be that of an Arab king or god. The encircling of the type by a wreath has been referred by Schlumberger to Seleucid coins,[3] and the strange border made up of small vases to the fillet-border on the same series; and, as we shall see, there are no chronological objections to this view. The resemblance of the ringleted head to certain heads on Ptolemaic and Roman coins is doubtless purely a coincidence. It is indeed remarkable that there are so few signs on the coinage of this district of that Ptolemaic influence which is so evident in Nabataea. Possibly, however, the

[1] Head, *Hist. Num.*², pp. 380 ff.

[2] Glaser, *Skizze der Gesch. Arabiens*, i, as quoted by Mordtmann in *Z.D.M.G.*, xliv (1890), p. 175.

[3] Cp. the coins of Demetrius I (162–150 B.C.): B. M. C. *Seleucid Kings*, I. XIV 2.

weight of the gold coin discussed below may point to a connexion with Egypt.

It is exceedingly difficult to decide whether the head[1] represents a god or a ruler. The head on one coin (Plate I. 7) is curiously like that of Obodas III of Nabataea in general effect. That on another (Plate I. 8) shows a very different individuality. It is probable that both gods and rulers would be represented in the same sort of head-dress, even to the wearing of the ornament (globe-in-crescent) which appears on the head in some specimens, and which is doubtless the symbol of the moon-god.[2]

There are about fourteen different groups of the coins of the Ṣan'â class, falling into two main divisions according to the type of the obverse, which is (*a*) an Arab head, (*b*) a head derived from the coins of Augustus.

(*a*) With Arab head.

Of these, the group containing the unique gold coin must first be mentioned. The British Museum specimen (Pl. I. 6) is the only known gold coin of this class; another gold piece at Berlin is catalogued by Muller and Kubitschek[3] in their sixth class, i.e. among the later coins with two heads. Its reverse is described as a clumsy attempt at a cornucopiae; can this be the curved sign which we shall discuss presently?

The weight of our coin is 2·48 grm. = 38·3 grn. This may perhaps be regarded as one-third of a Phoenician didrachm of 7·44 grm. It is possible that Egyptian gold coins may have been in circulation in Yemen. As we know nothing of the ratio prevailing between gold and silver, it is wiser not to speculate on the question of the value of this gold coin in silver units.

Although it does not bear the mysterious Aramaic inscription, this coin is connected with the groups which do bear it by its fabric, the Yanaf monogram, and the curved sign[4] which appears in so many varying forms on the remaining Himyarite coins. Some of

[1] The coins are sometimes so badly double-struck as to give the appearance of two heads jugate. This is seen, for instance, in a British Museum specimen; and doubtless the coin in the E. F. Weber Collection (Hirsch, *Katal.*, xxi. 4331) was similar.

[2] Compare the coins of Carrhae. The globe in a crescent is found on various inscribed Himyaritic stones, as *C. I. S.*, iv. 226, 285, 362.

[3] p. 78, no. 216, wt. 0·31 grm.; i. e. $\frac{1}{8}$ of our coin.

[4] I regard all the forms, whether voided (ribbon-like) or solid, as variations of the same sign, for both voided and solid forms occur in precisely the same relation to the other details of monogram, &c. Otherwise, since in one series we find the solid form on one side of the coin and the voided form on the other, it might have seemed that they represent two different signs.

them are reproduced in Fig. 1. This same sign, often resembling a sort of ribbon, is found also in lapidary inscriptions,[1] and has been regarded as a non-significant terminal or initial sign, or even as a misunderstood or degenerate cornucopiae, derived from a symbol on some Attic coin which started the fashion. Neither explanation will stand in view of the fact that the object occurs alone as a symbol in the field of certain coins, and of the importance which is assigned to it in the lapidary inscriptions. The editors of the *C. I. S.*[2] see in it the symbol of a deity, possibly Ilmaqah or Ilmuqah.[3] It occurs on a remarkable little inscribed stone,[4] a dedication to ʿAthtar and Sahr, with four other symbols, thus (from r. to l.): 'gazelle-bucranium', dragon's head, curved symbol, a second smaller bucranium, and the standard (?) sign to be discussed later. Since Ilmaqah is not mentioned in this dedication, the curved sign can hardly be regarded as exclusively, if at all, his symbol. Weber's[5] theory that

Fig 1.

the voided form of this symbol is only another form of the sign for ה is not tenable for reasons already given. Prof. L. W. King has here again solved the difficulty, so far as tracing the origin of the object is concerned; for it is exactly like the curved weapon, consisting of three or more strips bound together, which is held, for instance, by King Eannatum on his stele in the Louvre[6]

It seems doubtful whether the other gold coins which according to rumour have been found in Yemen were Himyaritic. Mordtmann[7] quotes Cruttenden as saying that rectangular gold coins were often offered for sale by shepherds in the neighbourhood of Marib, and Mohl for the story of the finding in the same place of a chest full of gold coins, which were melted down. There is no reason to suppose that any of these last were Himyaritic rather than Persian or Aethiopic. As to the rectangular gold coins, they must be something otherwise quite unknown; for the gold mohurs of Akbar never, to our knowledge, circulated in those parts.

[1] e. g. M. u. K., Taf. IX. 23; *Brit. Mus.*, Pl. III (in the margin); 36, Pl. XVII; *C. I. S.*, iv. 2, Tab. IV, no. 393.

[2] Commentary on iv, no 366, pp. 11 f.

[3] On this deity see D. Nielsen, *Mitt. d. Vorderas Ges.*, 1909, 4.

[4] *C. I. S.*, iv. 458. This is in the Marshall Hole Collection at Bulawayo.

[5] *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, pp. 276 f.

[6] L. Heuzey, *Catal. des Antiquités chaldéennes*, pp. 102 ff.; *Découvertes en Chaldée*, vol. ii, 1912, Pl. 3 bis.

[7] *Num. Zeit.*, 1880, p. 289.

In the same class as the gold coin must be placed the silver coins at Vienna of the same style, viz a half (2·38 grm) and a minute denomination (0·16 grm.).[1] These have the same symbols as the gold, and the larger one, at any rate, is exactly similar in other details (reverse border with pellet in crescent at top). The larger silver denomination has not yet been found.

All the remaining coins of the Ṣan'â class are of silver, and of fairly good quality.

I do not propose here to go into details, which can only be done satisfactorily with a lavish use of special type. But I may mention the following groups, taking first those which have the Arab head on the obverse. First, the group already discussed with the Yanaf monogram, the blundered remains of AΘE, the Aramaic inscription, and the combination of the curved and forked signs with the letter ᛖ, which connect this group with the latest groups of the coins imitated from the earlier Attic style, and show that those must come down to a much later period than has usually been supposed. Second, three other groups without the Aramaic inscription, but with the Yanaf and other monograms, one of which may possibly contain the name of Madar, a place in the Hamdan district which contained no less than fourteen fortresses.

Third, two groups on which one of the monograms seems to contain the name Shammar (Shammar Yuhar'ish was king of Saba and Raidan, but seems to belong to a later period).

Fourth, two groups which show a monogram which is generally accepted as giving the name of Yada'il, a name which was borne by no less than five Sabaean kings; and another monogram which has been read Ḥadur, the name of a mountain fortress near San'â. But this same monogram occurs on coins which as we shall see were struck at Raidan, so that it is most probably a personal name. It must be remembered that a great many personal and place-names in Himyaritic inscriptions are identical in form, places being named after their founders.

Coming now to (*b*) the San'â coins with the Augustan head on the obverse, we find a group which has the same pair of monograms as those just mentioned, and which is therefore presumably the earliest of this division. There is, however, only one other group in this division (Pl. I. 9), and that bears a monogram which may possibly contain the name of the Sabaean castle Salḥin, near Marib. This coinage cannot have lasted long.

[1] M. u. K., p. 69, nos. 10 and 8, Taf. XIV 22 and 19.

III

There remain two more series of Himyaritic or similar coins, that with the names of kings and a head on each side, and that with a human head on one side and an animal's head on the other. The latter[1] (Pl. I. 10, 11) may be dealt with first, since, poor in character though they be, they have certain points of connexion with the Ṣan'â class, the monograms on some of them being found also on coins of the Ṣan'â class. All the coins of this class show the curved sign in two forms, the solid form on the obverse, the voided one on the reverse. The border on the reverse looks like a degenerate descendant of the amphora border of the San'â class. The other sign, like a standard, on the obverse is probably not a monogram, but some sort of religious symbol. It occurs in the relief of the five symbols dedicated to 'Athtar and Saḥr mentioned above.[2]

A small coin at Vienna (M. u. K., no. 12, Taf. XIV. 28) omits the ordinary types on both sides, and bears only the monograms or symbols.

The metal of these coins is very poor. One in the British Museum contains practically no visible silver; and there is a large proportion of base coins in the Vienna series.[3]

The curious type of the reverse is evidently connected with the animals' heads carved on certain of the inscribed stones from Yemen. We have already found them on the Bulawayo stone. Again at Vienna[4] we find two bucrania, each with a sort of plume between the horns, and a somewhat similar bucranium occurs on a stone at Paris already mentioned.[5] Stylized bucrania also form the decoration of another Vienna stone.[6] On an altar in the British Museum[7] the design is simplified into almost pictographic form.[8]

[1] Coins of this class were first published by Schlumberger in *Rev Num*, 1886, pp. 370 f.; then (the same coins) by Casanova, *Rev. Num.*, 1893, p 183.

[2] Weber (*Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, p. 275) recognizes its likeness to the spear-head of Marduk, which however lacks the cross-piece.

[3] M. u. K, p. 70, nos. 1-12.

[4] Hofm. 24; M. u. K., Taf. IX. Muller holds that the bucrania here cannot have anything to do with bull-worship, because the inscription shows that the bucrania are used with a magical object: a complete *non sequitur*. It is to be noted that both on the Bulawayo stone and on that at Vienna the two bucrania are of different sizes, and presumably represent two different deities.

[5] Casanova in *Rev. Num.*, 1893, p. 181.

[6] Hofm. 123, M. u. K., Taf. XII.

[7] Birch, Pl. XV, no. 29.

[8] For other instances see Weber in *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, pp. 271 ff.

Casanova has noticed that the head on the Paris stone resembles a bull in its muzzle and a gazelle in its horns. There can be little doubt that it is the sacred beast of some deity, probably 'Athtar, as Derenbourg has suggested, since on some of the inscriptions it seems to be associated with that deity.[1]

IV

There is a general agreement that the Himyarite coins which are inscribed with the full names of a series of kings, and which bear a head on either side, come last in the series in point of time (Pl. I. 12–17). It is also regarded as probable that Prideaux is right in his identification of Karib'il Watar Yehun'im, who struck coins at Raidan, with the Karib'il Watar Yehun'im,[2] king of Saba and Raidan, known from a number of inscriptions, and with the Χαριβαήλ who was reigning at the time when the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* was written, that is about A.D. 70.[3] But since there were three rulers called Karib'il, it must be admitted that the last-mentioned equation, of the Charibael of the *Periplus* with the king who struck the coins, is open to dispute. Glaser, for instance,[4] is inclined to identify the Charibael of the *Periplus* with the first of the kings of the name Karib'il, who apparently bore no extra titles. If this is so, then the Karib'il of the coins must come down a generation or two later. But he will still probably fall within the second century after Christ. It may be remarked that if we have to pick out our king who struck coins from among three kings of the same name, our choice will naturally fall upon that one who, like the Charibael of the *Periplus*, was in close relations with Rome, because such relations seem to indicate commercial prosperity.

Müller assigns the rulers who, like Karib'il, call themselves 'Kings of Saba and Raidan', to the last period of Sabaean history, ending about A.D. 100. Ilsharḥ Yahḍib, king of Saba and Raidan, who is also mentioned in inscriptions, may be the Ἰλάσαρος who was king

[1] Nielsen, on the other hand, prefers to connect the stylized bull's head on the monuments with Ilmuqah, as the Sabaean moon-god (*Mitt. Vorderas. Ges.*, 1909, 4, p 52).

[2] Of the five kings called Karib'il mentioned in inscriptions, it is the son of Dhamar'ali Bayyin to whom the coins must be attributed (Prideaux and Müller, *Burgen u. Schlosser* in *Sitzber. Wiener Akad.* 97, p. 994).

[3] W. Christ, *Gesch. d. gr. Litt.*[3], 672. Glaser (*Die Abessinier*, p. 140) claims to have fixed the date between A.D. 56 and 67. The *Periplus* describes Charibael as reigning over the Homeritae and Sabaeans in his metropolis Sapphar, and being in constant diplomatic relations with Rome.

[4] Op. cit., p. 37.

of Mariaba or Marsyabae at the time of the expedition of Aelius Gallus (24 B.C.).[1] Since his father Fara' Yanhub is called king of Saba only, the change from Sabaean to Himyarite domination, with the corresponding transference of the capital from Mariaba to Raidan, may, Muller suggests, have been connected with the expedition of Gallus.[2] On the other hand, Mordtmann[3] would date the transference of the capital about the middle of the first century of our era; and if the coinage inscribed with regal names began with this transference, his date seems to suit the numismatic evidence better.

If the identification of Ilsharḥ with Ἰλάσαρος is correct, one might expect to find a monogram representing the name on some coin of the Ṣan'â class; but there is nothing of the kind. Another curious fact is that of the kings whose names can be read in full on the coins so few seem to be mentioned in the inscriptions.[4] It must, however, be remembered that many more inscriptions remain to be published. It is only nine years since the inscription containing the names of two Katabanian rulers, to whom as we shall see coins can be assigned, was first made known.

Longpérier sees a general resemblance of the coins of the class now under consideration to those of the Characenian Arabs of the first and second centuries of our era,[5] and suggests as the inferior limit for the coinage the breaking of the dam of Marib, which he supposes to have happened in the second century. But the date of this critical event is extraordinarily uncertain.[6]

This much is certain, that all these small coins, showing little change of style, belong to a comparatively restricted period. It is highly improbable that they should overlap with the large flat coins of the Ṣan'â class; the non-numismatic evidence as to the date of Karib'il points to the second half of the first century after Christ; and since the tendency to a scyphate fabric, perceptible in these

[1] Strab., xvi. 782.

[2] Cp. Muller in *Z D M G.*, xxxvii (1883), pp. 10, 11. But it is doubtful whether the titulature of the kings on these inscriptions is so rigid that we can base an argument of this kind on it.

[3] *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxi, p. 72.

[4] Cp. Glaser, *Die Abessinier*, p. 32 n.

[5] There is no resemblance to the Characenian coinage in *fabric*

[6] Some authorities, as Redhouse (*The Pearl-Strings*, vol. iii, 1908, p. 7), place it in the time of the Achaemenidae; Sale, soon after the time of Alexander the Great; Caussin de Perceval, about A.D. 120; de Sacy, about A.D. 150–170; and Glaser, not before A.D. 543! Of course there may have been more than one breaking of the dam; but that which caused the dispersion of the Arabs was the one that mattered.

coins, is a sign of decadence, we cannot reasonably date any of the kings who struck them much earlier.

On the whole we shall not be far wrong in assigning the coinage of this class to a period beginning about A.D. 50, and lasting about a century.

The following is an attempt at the description and classification of this regal coinage.[1]

The general types of the coins are:

i. *Obv.* Head of the usual Himyarite type, with ringlets, usually with a monogram behind it.
Rev. Smaller head of the same type, between two monograms; above, king's name; below, mint-name.

ii. Generally similar to i, but without any king's name. (See M. u. K., Taf. XIV. 36, 37, 39 a, 40, 41, 42, 44, 46.)

iii. *Obv.* Monogram.
Rev. As in ii.
(See M. u. K., Taf. XIV. 38, 39.)

The second and third types are confined to small denominations and, so far as I know, are represented only in the Vienna Cabinet among the coins from the Glaser Expedition, with the exception of a single specimen of the second type in the British Museum.

The two heads on the two sides of the coin are so much alike[2] that it seems natural to assume that they both represent persons of the same class; that is to say, they are both human beings or else both deities. The inscriptions sometimes mention two brothers reigning jointly, but if the two heads on the coins represent joint rulers, it is strange that the name of only one is inscribed, and that too against the smaller head on the reverse. That smaller head, since the king's name is written against it, may be regarded as representing the reigning king. Is the larger head on the obverse the founder of the dynasty? Or have we here merely a repetition

[1] The references to Mordtmann are to his useful article in *Num. Zeit.*, 1880, where (pp. 307–316) he classifies this coinage under seven heads. To avoid confusion, it may be remarked that he calls the convex side obverse, the concave side reverse; but the convex side was obviously the anvil side, and therefore the obverse, of the coin. Glaser (*Die Abessinier*, pp. 32 n., 37) speaks of coins bearing the name 'Jahmal', who may possibly be the Ilṣharh Yahm (?) . . . of the inscription Glaser 686. I have not been able to trace any specimens of this coin.

[2] Mordtmann, p. 308, says that the head on the rev. (his obv.) wears a wreath; but the distinction certainly does not hold in most cases. Longpérier (*Rev. Num.*, 1868, p. 173) takes the two heads to represent the reigning king and a subordinate prince.

of the process which it is suggested took place on the Nabataean coinage, so that both heads represent the same person, the head on the reverse being repeated from the obverse when a type was required to take the place of the original owl?[1]

i. *Coins with kings' names*

a. Karib'il Yehun'im Watar (כרבאל יהנעם ותר), son of Dhamar'ali Bayyin[2] (Pl. I. 12). The coins were first identified by Prideaux,[3] who showed that the monogram on the obverse is the surname Watar,[4] which the king bears in the lapidary inscriptions.

On his no. 2 Mordtmann reads a ת in the border above the head, and behind it a monogram consisting of the letters ע, מ, ד, ן. This contains the same elements as the names of two other kings who struck coins ('Amdan or 'Umdan). Since it cannot be a place-name (the mint-name being given on the other side), or another surname of the king, we may assume that it and the other monograms on the reverse represent magistrates of some kind (possibly one of them may be an eponym). Or it may represent the man who actually became king afterwards, in a subordinate capacity. So far it has not been possible to discover any definite rule about the use of monograms on these coins.

On the reverse, the king's second name is sometimes written without the *ain*. The mint-name is always רידן, Raidan, the castle of Ṣaphar; the regular title of the rulers of this period is מלך סבא ודרידן, king of Saba and Dhu-Raidan.[5] In front of the head is always the sign ⚲ (found also in slightly varying forms on coins of all the other kings of this period except Yeda'ab Yanaf, Shahar

[1] A somewhat similar problem arises in regard to the two heads on Axumite coins, and is discussed by Littmann (*Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, i, p. 46). But there the two heads differ in their dress, one being crowned

[2] *C. I. S.*, iv. 372; cp. 37; Muller, *Burgen*, as above, p. 994.

[3] Muller, loc. cit.; Prideaux, *J. A. S B.*, vol. 1, 1881, p 98 Others are published by Mordtmann, p. 307; M. u. K., p. 72, nos. 16, 17, p 77, nos. 224, 483 and 481 (but the last two are Mordtmann's specimens).

[4] This solution of the monogram was found independently by Mordtmann, p. 308.

[5] TOY PAEIΔAN in the famous inscription of Aeizanas, *C. I. G*, iii. 5128. Hommel, in the *Enzyklopadie des Islām*, i 395, says that the kings took their territorial title from 'the mountain Raidan near the Kattabanian capital Tamna' to the SE. of Ma'rib'. But see M Hartmann, *Der Islamische Orient*, ii, pp. 168 f. There seems no reason to reject the statement of Hamdani that Raidan was the castle of Ṣafar.

Hilal, and Waraw'il Ghailan). This appears to be not a monogram, but some kind of symbol, analogous to the religious symbols on the coins of the Ṣan'â and bucranium classes; for it occurs in inscriptions.[1] On the left of the head, the British Museum specimens show monograms, which probably occur also on other specimens, although they have not been noticed. One of these consists apparently of א and מ (or ו and מ). Mordtmann (p. 314) describes it as having marks in the body of the rectangle which he takes for ו, thus reading it as אום, which is the name (1) of a place where the god Ilmaqah was worshipped; (2) of a god, perhaps the sun-god called *Αὔμου* by the Nabataeans. But among the many instances of this monogram which occur on coins of this class I have seen no trace of the interior signs.[2] It is noticeable also that the rectangular part of the monogram shows no signs of incurving sides, as the Himyarite מ normally does. The interpretation must therefore remain uncertain.

There seems to be no possibility of deciding whether the other kings, whose coins remain to be described, are earlier or later than Karib'il.

β. 'Amdan (or 'Umdan) Yehuqbiḍ (עמדן יהקבץ̄)[3] (Pl. I. 13). Specimens of the coins of this ruler were first published by Mordtmann[4] and Prideaux.[5] One of Mordtmann's specimens has no monogram (or an obscure one) on the obverse; on the other we find a monogram which he resolves into ר+צ̄+ח+ה+ל+י.[6] On the British Museum specimens we have four different monograms, one consisting of צ̄+ב+ק+ה+ש (i.e. in all but the first letter the same as the king's name); another apparently מ+נ+י (?); a third = ב+נ+י (?); and a fourth consisting of מ+ב+ח+ל (the double slanting line on the right is not quite certain). On the reverse, we have the sign ⚴, and on two out of four specimens the monogram which Mordtmann reads as אום. The mint is always Raidan.

γ. 'Amdan (or 'Umdan) Bayyin (עמדן בין) (Pl. I. 14). The coins with this name are usually all attributed to the same ruler, but it

[1] Mordtmann, p. 309.

[2] An exception may be Mordtmann's no. 9, Taf V. 9; but may not the marks be due to accident?

[3] Glaser (*Die Abessinier*, p. 32 n), having found an inscription (567) with the mutilated name . . . . n Bayyin Yehuqb . . , suggests that this king probably, though not certainly, corresponds 'dem 'Amdân (*sic*) Bajjân Juhakbidh der Munzen'. But what coins are there of any 'Amdan with both these titles?

[4] p. 310.

[5] *J A S.B.*, 1881, p. 99, Pl X. 3, 4, 5. See also M. u. K., p. 77, nos. 487 and 477 (Mordtmann's specimens).

[6] Kubitschek's drawing of the monogram, p. 78, note 1, Fig. 16, does not entirely bear this out.

is to be observed that they may be divided into two groups, according to the presence or absence of the Yanaf monogram. Coins were first published by Prideaux and Mordtmann.[1] Taking first those with the Yanaf monogram (which are the less numerous), we find that they are on the whole better executed and of better quality than the others. The border on the obverse resembles a serpent.[2] The mint is always Raidan; and the sign on the reverse takes the form or.

On the other hand, those without the Yanaf monogram, besides being as a rule of poorer work and alloy, include smaller denominations, and seem to belong to a later stage of development. On the obverse we find a number of monograms. One of these can be read סלחין, with which compare the name of the Sabaean castle Salḥin (see above, p. 67). Another is the monogram of חצר (Ḥaḍur) already discussed.

The improbability that these monograms can represent places, since the mint-name appears on the other side, has already been pointed out.

The mint of all these coins is Raidan, with one exception which is of barbarous workmanship, and has the mint-name Ṣaiṭ (ציט).[3]

The differences noted above seem to point to a distinction between two rulers, an earlier, ʿAmdan Bayyin Yanaf, and a later, ʿAmdan Bayyin; but they are probably not separated by any great interval.

δ. Tha'ran Ya'ub (תארן יעב) (Pl. I. 15). The surname is sometimes written without the *ain*. A king Tha'ran, son of Dhamarʿali Yuhabir, son of Yasar Yuhasdiq, is known from an inscription.[4] Longpérier and Mordtmann, who first published his coins,[5] misread his name, the form of which is however quite clear on other specimens. Of the monograms occurring on the obverses one may be read either Yarim or Riyam. The former is the name of a place in Yemen, and also of a Sabaean king Yerim or Yarim 'Aiman.[6] רים on the other hand is a surname ('the exalted'), and this interpretation is preferred by Mordtmann, although, as he admits, it is used by Minaean rulers, whereas the Sabaeans prefer the equivalent

[1] See Mordtmann, pp. 310, 311; M. u. K., p. 71, nos 8–15, Taf. XIV. 32–5; p 77, nos. 194, 192, 225–31. It is a curious fact that one of the British Museum specimens was acquired by Dr. Buresch in the Hermos plain near Sardes.

[2] Cp. M. u. K., Taf. XIV. 33, and the specimens in the British Museum.

[3] Vienna, M. u. K., p. 73, no. 1.

[4] *C. I. S.*, iv. 457.

[5] *Rev. Num.*, 1868, p. 169; *Num Zeit.*, 1880, p. 312. See also M. u. K., p. 71, nos. 1–7.

[6] *C. I. S.*, iv. 401.

ינף (Yanaf). We have also two monograms comprising respectively the letters ו+ה+ד+מ and ה+ד+מ. These two, being evidently meant for the same name, show that the last letter of the name must be ו, since that is not present in both. Madhuw (מדהו) is the name of a deity.[1]

The mint is always Raidan. The head on the obverse occasionally bears a letter on its cheek in characteristic Ḥimyarite manner; ה on one in the British Museum, ב on a coin published by Longpérier.

ε. Shamnar Yehun'im (שמנר יהנעם) (Pl. I. 16). So, rather than Shamdar, I read the name on the rare coins in the British Museum and in Mordtmann's collection; his illustration does not, at any rate, conflict with this reading.

On the obverse of these coins we have a monogram ה+ר,[2] and on one of the two known coins the cheek is marked with ע. The mint is Raidan.

Omitting a broken coin with an apparently blundered inscription,[3] we have now given the list of all the coins bearing kings' names which have the characteristic sign ⚲ or ⚲. The coins with kings' names on which this sign is absent are much fewer in number.

ζ. Yeda'ab Yanaf (ידעאב ינף) (Pl. I. 17). Mordtmann points out that the name Yeda'ab occurs in inscriptions with the surnames Bayyin and Ghailan, but these are kings of Hadramaut;[4] on the other hand the name is found with the surname Dhubain (דבין) as the name of the son of a Katabanian priest-king, and we shall see later that the other rulers who struck coins at the same mint (Ḥarb) as this Yeda'ab were Katabanians. The name also occurs among the deities and kings invoked at the end of certain inscriptions mostly found at Kharibat Se'ud,[5] a day's journey north-east of Marib. All Glaser's[6] Katabanian inscriptions came from the country between Marib and Shabwat, and they give as the name of the chief city תמנע, which is the Tamna of Eratosthenes, the Thomna of Pliny, the Thumna of Ptolemy, and, according to Glaser, the modern Tamna' in Wadi Baiḥan el Qaṣab. Now Eratosthenes says that the

[1] Mordtmann u. Muller, *Sabaische Denkmaler*, pp. 80, 102.

[2] This, and not the simple letter ה, seems to occur on Mordtmann's specimen as on ours; on his, the head on the obverse appears to be turned to l., not to r.

[3] M. u. K, p. 72, no. 18. I have already noted that Glaser (*Die Abessinier*, p. 32 n., p 37) speaks of coins with the name Jahmal, and that I have not been able to trace these coins, of which he gives no details.

[4] *C.I.S.*, iv 155, 308, cp Mordtmann in *Z.D.M.G*, lii, p. 399.

[5] Halévy, 630, 631, 632, 635; *Z.D.M.G.*, xxx, p 291, no. 5.

[6] See his *Abessinier*, p 112.

Katabanian country, which he mentions between the Sabaeans and the people of Hadramaut, came down to the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. It looks therefore as if in his time the Katabanians occupied a good deal of the country which afterwards belonged to the Himyarites. There has been a general tendency to look for the capital Tamna somewhere in the south-west corner of the peninsula; but it is difficult to reject the evidence of the inscriptions.

Now the coins of Yeda'ab Yanaf bear in their exergue, in the place where the mint-name normally comes, the name Ḥarb. Mordtmann has accordingly suggested that Ḥarb may be Kharibat Se'ud, the place where the inscriptions with the name of Yeda'ab were found, and that both may be Caripeta, the furthest point reached by Aelius Gallus.[1] Kharibat, however, merely means 'ruins', and there are various places of that name.

The name Ḥar(i)b, again, is not singular; Manzoni marks one place of the name about 55 km. E. by N. of Ṣan'â on the way to Marib; and there is another more important Ḥarib south-east of Marib, about half-way to Nisab. Since the Katabanian coins were struck at Ḥarb, is it not probable that it may have borne the same relation to the capital Tamna as Raidan did to Ṣafar, i.e. that it may have been the stronghold of the Katabanian kings?

The mint of Ḥarb was also used by two other kings, who can be identified in a most satisfactory way with kings mentioned in inscriptions, and are represented each by a unique coin:

η. Shahar (or Shahir) Hilal (שהר הלל). This is presumably the Katabanian king, known from an inscription. The coin proves that Weber is right in correcting the reading of his second name from Yalil or Yagil to Hilal.[2] His third name was Yuhargib (יהרגב).

The only known coin of this ruler is in the Vienna Cabinet,[3] and weighs 0·77 grm.

θ. Waraw'il Ghailan (ורואל עילן), whose third name was Yehun'im, the son of Shahar Hilal, just mentioned. The inscription on the coin is incomplete,[4] but it is quite certain that it is to be read

[1] Glaser (*Skizze*, ii, p. 58) is inclined to identify Pliny's Caripeta with *Kharibat Ṣirwah* (a long day's journey west of *Marib*). In the same work he distinguishes Strabo's Marsyabae from Mariaba, and thinks that Gallus never reached the latter; but in his *Abessinier* (p. 35 n.) he seems not disinclined to admit that Marsyabae is *Marib*.

[2] D. Nielsen, 'Neue katabanische Inschriften' in *Mitt. Vorderas Ges.*, 1906, 4, p. 17; O. Weber, 'Studien zur sudarab. Altertumskunde', ib., 1907, 2, pp. 12 ff.

[3] M. u. K., p. 73 β), no. 4.

[4] Ibid., p. 78, no. 191. Berlin, wt. 1·52 grm.

as Waraw'il Ghailan, the Katabanian king who is known from the same inscription as his son Shahar.[1]

The solitary coin of this ruler is in the Berlin cabinet, and weighs 1·52 grm.

The above identifications with Katabanian rulers perhaps justify us in regarding the group of coins without the characteristic mark ⚲ as distinctively Katabanian. And if our dating of these coins to the period A.D. 50–150 is approximately correct, Glaser's theory[2] that Kataban was absorbed into Hadramaut in the second century B.C., and that at the time of the expedition of Aelius Gallus the Katabanian kingdom had ceased to exist, needs considerable revision.

ii. *Coins with two heads, but without the king's name*

With the exception of a single piece in the British Museum, all the coins of this class known to me are in the Vienna Cabinet. They all belong to small denominations, and it may be assumed that the absence of the king's name is merely due to lack of space. They fall into five groups, distinguished mainly by the inscriptions in the exergues, where on the fully inscribed coins the mint-name is usually placed. These five inscriptions are (1) רידן (Raidan), (2) נעם (Na'am), (3) יעב (Ya'ub), (4) יהבר (Yuhabir), and (5) חרב (Ḥarb).

If we assume, as Müller and Kubitschek assume (and it is difficult to take any other view), that the names in the exergue of the reverses of these five groups represent mints, it is strange that three out of the five mints should be known only from these poor little coins. Ḥarb itself may be a man's name.[3] As to Na'am, it can be both a man's name and the name of a castle.[4] Ya'ub and Yuhabir, on the other hand, seem to be known, apart from their occurrence on these coins, only as surnames of kings of Saba and Raidan.[5] One of these kings, Tha'ran Ya'ub, struck coins at Raidan. The other, Dhamar'ali Yuhabir, was the father of a Tha'ran, presumably this same Tha'ran Ya'ub. This is a remarkable coincidence, if it is nothing more. We have to choose between two alternatives: either the names Yuhabir and Ya'ub on these coins represent not mints, but the two kings in question, or they represent mint-places which

[1] D. Nielsen and O. Weber, as above. [2] *Die Abessinier*, pp 77, 114 f.

[3] See Mordtmann u. Muller, *Sabaische Denkmdler*, p. 100, *C. I S.*, iv. 345.

[4] *C I S.*, iv. 154; cp. iv 21 and 1 Chron iv. 15. The name is a place or clan name (*C. I. S.*, iv. 37, v. 4; 74, v. 18; 117, v. 1; *Z D.M.G.*, xxix, p. 227; cp. Hartmann, *Der islam Orient*, ii, p. 291).

[5] Tha'ran Ya'ub, whose coins are described above, and Dhamar'ali Yuhabir, *C. I. S.*, iv. 365 and 457.

were founded by and named after these kings, just as the fortress of Na'am was named after its founder Na'am.[1]

The Yanaf monogram occurs on the Raidan coins, and suggests that they may have been struck by 'Amdan Bayyin Yanaf; it is less reasonable to attribute them to Yeda'ab Yanaf because that king's coins were struck not at Raidan but at Ḥarb, and do not bear the sign ⚲.

On the Na'am coins we find, combined with the sign ⚲, the letters י and ה. These might possibly stand for יהנעם (Yehun'im), the surname of Karib'il and Shamnar, or יהקבצ̄ (Yehuqbid), the surname of 'Amdan. It is a curious coincidence that the supposed mint-name נעם in the exergue of these coins, if read in continuation of the two isolated letters, gives the name Yehun'im.

The Ya'ub coin may conjecturally be attributed to Tha'ran Ya'ub, and the Yuhabir coin to Dhamar'ali Yuhabir, his father, even if we suppose the names in their exergues to be the names of mints; for we must then assume that these mints were established by the persons whose names they bore.

The Ḥarb coin bears a monogram of י and ד, which may represent Yeda'ab, whose fully inscribed coins were struck at Ḥarb.

The above attributions may appear to be ultra-ingenious, and they are only submitted for the consideration of scholars more competent to decide.

iii. Finally, there are two coins which bear on the obverse a monogram, on the reverse a head, the mint-name Raidan, and the sign ⚲.[2] One of the monograms is already familiar to us from coins of the Ṣan'â class (above, p 67) and of 'Amdan Bayyin (above, p. 74). Possibly the coins were struck by the last-named.

Here also may be mentioned a coin which Kubitschek has placed in a seventh class by itself.[3] On the obverse it has an elaborate monogram; on the reverse the word Watar, and the curved symbol below it. It is natural to give this coin to Karib'il Watar Yehun'im; but it must be remembered that there were other kings bearing the name Watar.[4]

[1] *C. I. S.*, iv. 154.

[2] M. u. K., p. 72, nos. 24, 25, Taf. XIV. 38, 39. On the second coin there is another sign to the left of the monogram, but it is half obliterated; if Kubitschek reads it right, it is the forked sign of the earlier coins.

[3] p. 74, viii 1, Taf. XIV. 50 Æ plated; wt. 0 24 grm.

[4] As Yatha' 'amar Watar (*C. I. S.*, iv. 490) and Watar Yuha'min (ibid., iv. 10 and 258).

The Standard of the Coinage

As Kubitschek[1] has remarked, the standard in use was based on the Babylonian drachm of 5 6 grm. (86·4 grains troy). The highest weight recorded for coins of this denomination of the earlier class is 5 55 grm.[2]

On the other hand, among the coins of the Ṣan'â class we find the maximum of this denomination reaching 5 62 grm. (86·7 grn.).[3]

The maxima of the various denominations are given in grammes in the following table (based on the coins in the British Museum and Schlumberger's and Kubitschek's lists):

	Three units.	Unit	Half	Quarter.	Eighth.
Earlier Class	16 95	5 55	2 61	1 35	0·55
Transitional Class		5·41		1 48	
Ṣan'â Class		5·62	3 10	1 33	0 40

The high weight reached by the half in the Ṣan'â class is remarkable; but it is possible that the two coins at Vienna and Berlin,[4] weighing 3·10 and 3 05 grm. respectively, are accidentally over-weighted, since otherwise the maximum of this group is 2·35 grm.[5] The weight 0·16 grm. is reached by two small coins at Vienna,[6] but the weights of these minute denominations are apt to be irregular, so that it is impossible to say what they represent.

The Berlin Museum, as already stated, possesses six[7] coins of approximately the weight of the Attic tetradrachm (ranging from 16·95 to 16·35 grm.), imitated from the earlier Attic type, but differing from the smaller coins in the absence of any Sabaean letter on the obverse. All appear to have come from South Arabia, having been acquired from Mordtmann and Glaser. A tetradrachm of purely Attic origin was acquired by the British Museum along with the Himyarite coins purchased from Salunjie of Aden. It is clear therefore that the Arabians were not only familiar with the Attic tetradrachm, but made imitations of it of somewhat low weight. Nevertheless, in consideration of the comparative rarity of these larger coins, and of the steady persistence of the piece of about 5·62 grm. as the dominant denomination throughout the period of the coinage, we are justified in regarding the latter as

[1] M. u. K., p. 66. [2] Ibid , p. 76, no. 217.

[3] A specimen in the British Museum.

[4] M. u. K., p 69, no 12, and p. 76, no. 218

[5] British Museum specimen [6] M. u. K , p. 69, nos 8, 9.

[7] Ibid., p. 76, nos. 474 and 183-7. One of these is the countermarked coin already mentioned.

the unit. The pseudo-Attic tetradrachm, as Kubitschek has pointed out, is a tridrachm expressed in terms of the piece of 5·62 grm. In the same way, in the little group of coins attributed below to the Minaeans, we have an Alexandrine Attic tetradrachm or Babylonic tridrachm of 16·72 grm.; but the relation to this of the two small denominations of respectively 1·78 and 0·41 grm. is difficult to conjecture.

The weights of the coins of the class with the bucranium reverse are very irregular, and the metal is frequently very base, so that any attempt to ascertain their standard is likely to be futile. Twenty-four specimens of which the weights are available range almost continuously from 0·30 to 3·58 grm.

The denominations employed for the latest class of Himyarite coins are so small that here again it is difficult to come to any conclusion about the standard.[1] The maximum weight seems to be 1·82 grm., which is reached by a coin of Shamnar Yehun'im. From this weight there is a fairly continuous decline to about 1·00 grm. The average weight of the coins weighing more than 1·00 grm. comes to about 1·45 grm., and a curve of frequency reaches its highest point at 1·50 to 1·69 grm. Taking the coins weighing less than 1·00 grm., we find another highest point in the curve of frequency at 0·70 to 0·89 grm., which would represent the half of the higher denomination, and a very distinctly highest point at 0·30–0·49 grm., which would represent the quarter. It is possible that the highest denomination corresponds to the old quarter, but as it is distinctly higher than that weight it may represent an attempt to bring the standard into relation to the Nabataean drachm. Three of these Himyarite coins weighing 4·35 grm. (on an average of 1·45 grm.) would be fairly equivalent to the Nabataean drachms of Obodas III (average 4·41 grm.) or Aretas IV (average 4·36 grm.).

MINAEAN COINAGE

The remarkable imitation of an Alexandrine tetradrachm in the Cabinet of the University of Aberdeen, the Arabian source of which was first recognized by Head,[2] stands quite apart from the rest of the South Arabian series in every particular except the script. I follow Head's description:

[1] It is unfortunate that Mordtmann's weighings of his coins are hard to reconcile with those given by Kubitschek for the coins acquired from Mordtmann by the Berlin Museum.

[2] *Num. Chron.*, 1880, pp. 303 ff.

Obv. Head of young Herakles right, in lion's skin. Border of dots.

Rev. אביתע ('Abyatha') in the Himyarite character. Figure imitated from or rather suggested by the Zeus on the coins of Alexander, seated left on throne, his feet on footstool. He rests with his left arm on sceptre. The upper part of his body is naked, the lower limbs draped. The face is beardless, and the hair falls in curls, in the Arab fashion. In his right hand, instead of the eagle, he holds apparently a flower. Outside the inscription and parallel with the sceptre is a long perpendicular line of dots. In the field in front of the figure is the Himyarite letter *Alif*.

Æ 8½ [30 mm.]. Wt. 258 gr. [16·72 grammes]. [Die-position ↖]. Pl. XV. 3 [here Pl. I. 18].

The apparent radiation round the head on the reverse seems to be due to creases in the impression from which the cast photographed by Head and the electrotype now in the British Museum were made.

The original Alexandrine from which this piece was imitated belonged to Muller's Class V. Head remarks that the original was doubtless struck about 200 B.C. We may date the coin itself to some time in the second century B.C.

Since this coin seems to belong to a different category from the other South Arabian coins, which form one connected series attributable to the Sabaean and Himyarite rulers, we are justified in looking for its origin in one of the other two great Arabian tribes, viz. the Minaeans or the Chatramotites. Now it happens that a typical Minaean name is אבידע, 'Abyada'. Mordtmann has already remarked[1] that the Abyateh who was subdued by Assurbanipal in the middle of the seventh century B.C. must have been king of Ma'in, because his name, which is to be equated[2] with אבידע, is peculiar to the Minaean royal race. We seem therefore to be justified in removing this coin from the Sabaean-Himyarite series and placing it in a separate class as Minaean. But to which of the kings 'Abyada' who are mentioned in the inscriptions it is to be attributed depends on the dates of those inscriptions, a question on which I do not feel competent to pronounce. D. H. Muller[3] places 'Abyada' Yathi' in the second group of Minaean kings; if his third and last group was contemporary with the latest Himyarite dynasty of which we have coins (the fixed point among which is Karib'il, about

[1] *Z.D.M.G.*, xliv (1890), p. 183

[2] The form אביתע occurs in the Obne inscription; see Hommel, *Südarab. Chrestomathie*, p. 119.

[3] *Burgen u. Schlösser*, as above, p. 1012 Muller's arrangement is disputed in certain details by Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, xlvii, pp 407 ff. See further M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, ii, pp 126 ff.

A.D. 70), then kings of his second group may possibly have been reigning during the second century B.C.[1]

The reverse type of a small coin at Vienna[2] is also imitated from the Alexandrine coinage, with less modification than the tetradrachm above discussed; the obverse shows a bare male head, with short curly hair, and a skin (lion-skin?) fastened round his neck. Now this obverse is very close in style to the coin in the British Museum (Pl. I. 19) weighing 1·78 grm. (27·5 grn.), which it is very difficult to fit into the ordinary Sabaean-Himyarite series. I am inclined, therefore, though of course quite tentatively, to place these two small coins along with the tetradrachm of 'Abyatha' in the Minaean group.

The ancient Minaean capital is probably represented by important ruins at Ma'in, about 1½ hours east of El-Hazm Hamdan, in the middle Jauf.[3] The ancient writers give Karna as the name of the capital. Important Minaean sites are also at Es Sud and Beraqish.[4] These are all in the interior, whereas the statement of Eratosthenes that the Minaeans lived ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἐρυθρὰν μέρει seems to point to the coast.[5] Probably the geographer's use of the phrase merely implies south-western Arabia generally, which is bounded by the Arabian Gulf (the Red Sea in the modern acceptation) and the Gulf of Aden. Both these pieces of water were included by the ancients in the Red Sea.

To sum up we have seen that the coinage of Southern Arabia Felix may be divided into (1) the coinage of the Sabaean dynasty, merging into that of the Himyarites, with a small group that can be assigned with practical certainty to the Katabanians; (2) a small group which stands apart, and may be attributed to the Minaeans. It is doubtful whether any of the coinage is earlier than the third century B.C., although the Attic prototype is of the fourth century. The influence of Athens is dominant as regards morphology, that of

[1] The Minaean dynasty was still flourishing in the third century B.C., by the evidence of Eratosthenes (see Mordtmann in *Z.D.M.G.*, xliv, p 184). Hartmann, op. cit., p. 132, thinks it came to an end about 230 B C

[2] M u K, p 70, Taf XIV 23. Wt 0 41 grm. ($\frac{1}{10}$ of the Alexander drachm)

[3] J. Halévy, *Rapport sur une mission archéologique dans le Yémen*, 1872, p. 75.

[4] See Mordtmann in *Z D.M G*, xlvii, p 408; Ma'in = Qarnau, Beraqish = Yathil

[5] Glaser accordingly (*Abessinier*, p. 111) supposes that Eratosthenes cannot mean the Minaeans of the period of the Minaean kingdom, known from inscriptions, since these inhabited the Jauf; and that at most he could mean the Minaeans whom Pliny describes as living in the immediate neighbourhood of the frankincense country.

Persia in the standard. The coinage probably comes to an end in the second century of the Christian era.

These are the purely numismatic results of the enquiry. Are there any worth mentioning from a broader point of view? First, we may observe the almost entire absence of relations with Egypt. The trade route which brought the Attic coins to Yemen must have come down the western roads of the peninsula, more or less by the Pilgrims' route, from Syria and Southern Palestine. There is evidence, which is partly given below, of the circulation of Attic coins at an earlier period, i. e. in the fifth century, in Southern Palestine, the district round Gaza, and in the region round the Gulf of Akaba, or the Land of Midian. Thence the coinage gradually penetrated southwards. There seems to have been no connexion with Egypt. Second, the monetary standard in use points to relations with the dominant empire of the East, Persia. Here we have a curious parallel with the state of things which prevailed at Aradus in Phoenicia. There the influence of Athens is perceptible in two ways: first, in the general aspect of the coins; second, in the weight of a rare, if not unique, variety of the coinage, which is Attic, and which occupies the same place in relation to the rest of the Aradian issues of Babylonic or Persic standard, as the rare Sabaean tetradrachms of Attic weight do in relation to the ordinary Sabaean or Himyarite coins. We seem, in fact, in this dual origin of the coinage on the fringe of Hellenic civilization, to have another illustration of the familiar truth that the Greeks gave form and organization to the crude economic material already in existence in these districts. One other point of contact with the civilization of the region of the Persian Gulf is perhaps worth emphasizing. The origins which we have found for the symbols which are used on the Arabian coins show that the contact goes back to a very remote antiquity. It is curious to observe that in this distant 'sphere of influence' of Babylonia such symbols lingered on in a worn-down, perhaps no longer intelligible form, long after they had disappeared in the country of their origin.

Note on Imitations of Athenian Coins from Northern Arabia Felix

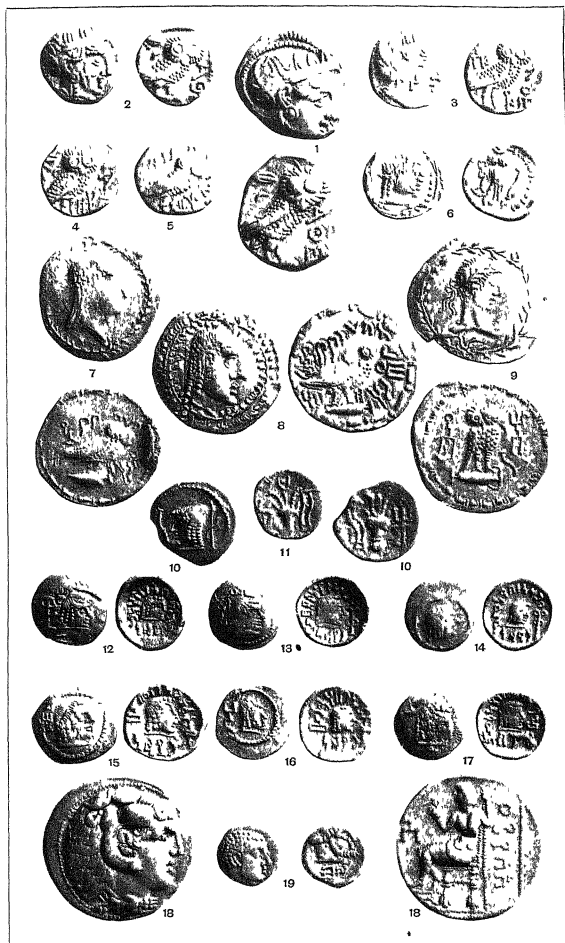
Head has published[1] a small group of very barbarous imitations of the earlier Attic type, some of which come from the Land of

[1] *Num. Chron*, 1878, pp 274, 283, Pl XIII 17–22.

Midian. Although the Arabian provenance is only proved for the small denomination, they seem to belong to one class, and may therefore be described here. Burton obtained at Macna (Mukna') on the east coast of the Gulf of Aïla an ancient plated coin copied from one of the earlier Attic tetradrachms. Unfortunately Head did not illustrate this, and it is not clear how precise he intended to be in describing it as of the same class as the coin next to be mentioned. This is now in the collection of Mr. J. Mavrogordato,[1] weighs 10·81 grm., and is of copper without trace of plating. It is said to have been found in Babylonia by Loftus. This is not in favour of its Arabian origin, though it may well have passed across the neck of the Arabian peninsula to the head of the Persian Gulf; but Head points out that it is the prototype of small coins which were acquired by Burton at Mukna'. On these the degradation has proceeded still farther, the types being almost unrecognizable, and the fabric similar to that of the small bronze coins of the Jewish rulers in the late second and first centuries B.C. 'Among them,' says Head, 'and at first sight hardly to be distinguished from the rest, I have found coins struck by the Maccabaean princes, Alexander Jannaeus and Alexander II, a coin of Herod Archelaus, and several coins of Tiberius, one struck in A. D. 30 by Pontius Pilate, also a few coins of the Nabathaean king, Aretas II, 7 B.C. to A.D. 40.'[2] Clearly then these imitations, although derived from the earlier Attic type, must have been made as late as the first century B.C., since their fabric is that of coins which would only have come into circulation in North Arabia in the last third of the second century.

The British Museum possesses another imitation of the Athenian tetradrachm which, although its provenance is not known, differs from any other Eastern imitations in certain peculiarities which seem to connect it with Mr. Mavrogordato's coin. These are, on the obverse, the large curve on the cheek under the eye, and, on the reverse, the treatment of the olive-spray, which, with a little more formalization might well develop into the form which it takes on Mr. Mavrogordato's coin. It still retains traces of the incuse square, and is evidently, to judge by the treatment of the eye, copied from a quite early variety of the Athenian coinage. It may, therefore, be tentatively regarded as an early example of the Arabian imitations circulating in the northern part of the peninsula.

[1] Who acquired it at the Philipsen Sale (Hirsch, *Katal.* XXV, lot 3075). The Photiades coin (Froehner's *Catalogue*, lot 785) seems to be something of the same kind.

[2] For the last words read 'Aretas IV, 9 B. C. to A D 40'

ANCIENT COINAGE OF SOUTH ARABIA

SHUMER AND SHEM

SOME PHILOLOGICAL COINCIDENCES AND SEQUENCES

BY C. J. BALL, D.LITT.

FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON

Read June 3, 1915

THAT the Semitic settlers in Babylonia readily adapted themselves to the existing culture of their adopted country may perhaps be regarded as a generally admitted fact in what is still a very obscure field of historical research. Even the laws of Hammurapi would appear to be little more than a version of an older Sumerian code or collection. And naturally so; for such laws or traditional usages as sufficed to regulate the life of nomadic tribes would be far from sufficient for the needs of prosperous and highly-organized agricultural communities—not to mention the commercial side of the complex life of Babylon and the subordinate city-states In much the same way, we may suppose the Israelite nomads to have adopted the main features of the civilized code which they found prevalent in Canaan, and which may equally have had their source in the old Sumerian system. We are, it is true, at present unable to say definitely when this primitive legislation was first established in the West. It may have been as early as the age of Sargon I and Narâm-Sîn (third or fourth millennium B. C.), or even considerably later, in the time of Hammurapi. But the close relation of the laws of Hammurapi (i. e. the Semitic version of the old Sumerian code) to the laws preserved in Exodus and Deuteronomy no longer admits of reasonable question. Behind the remote figures of 'the god' Sargon and 'the god' Narâm-Sîn stretches the indefinite past, in almost unrelieved darkness. We cannot even guess when Semites and Sumerians first came into contact with each other. The evidence of language, however, though only partially available at present, seems to indicate certain affinities even more startling than any yet generally recognized, and to point to an intimate intercourse between the two races at a period long anterior to the fourth millennium B.C. Nay, if Semite and Sumerian were not originally one, as I sometimes incline to think, a comparison of the two languages, both from the

material and the formal side, may suggest that as the Semitic nomads borrowed so many other elements of civilization from their predecessors in the plains of Shumer-Shinar, so they derived at least a very substantial portion of the stuff of articulate speech from the same mysterious source.

Leaving all questions of race on one side, it is a familiar fact of history that the language of a conquered people may, in process of time, supersede that of their conquerors; and failing that, may yet profoundly influence both its structure and its vocabulary. Most scholars, for example, would admit a considerable Semitic element in hieroglyphic Egyptian; and the triumph of English over Norman-French in our own country is another pertinent instance. It must be freely recognized that the ethnological problem remains very obscure. We can hardly lay much stress upon the apparent evidence of racial diversity afforded by the few recovered fragments of early Sumerian sculpture. It is difficult to believe that the basreliefs of Urnina and his family, with their rudely conventional eyes and a profile which is mostly nose, and more suggestive of birds than of the human species, can be regarded as portraits of any human beings that ever existed.

My principal aim, however, in the present paper is to demonstrate the fact, not unimportant from a philological point of view, though hitherto unknown or disregarded, that what we know of the old Sumerian language throws considerable light upon the analysis and origin of Semitic Roots, and even upon some of the principal Formative Elements of the Semitic Verb and Pronoun. What I have to say, therefore, may be regarded as supplying certain gaps in the etymology and lexicography of Semitic and especially Hebrew speech.

Triliteralism, as we all know, has been the main line along which Semitic has for ages pursued its development. But a prior Biliteral stage has always been suspected by inquirers who felt any curiosity about the beginnings of a structure so elaborate and symmetrical (though also, it must be confessed, monotonous in its extreme regularity) as the classical Arabic, which many scholars doubtless still believe to be the perfect norm, if not the aboriginal fountain, of all Semitic speech. For, as a matter of fact, a certain number of Biliteral and virtually Biliteral forms faces us at once in the Hebrew lexicon itself, with which we probably begin our Semitic studies. A process once started is apt to continue, as it were, by its own momentum. In language, as in other departments of activity, the mind is economical of invention. It prefers to go on using an old

and familiar expedient, instead of devising a new one whenever occasion might seem to suggest the necessity. And so we may suppose that, when once the expedient of triliteralizing the Biliteral Root had been utilized for the more exact expression of variant shades of meaning, the process came to be applied with ever-increasing frequency until its scope became well-nigh universal, and Triliteralism was established as a standing characteristic of Semitic speech. The final triumph of this tendency was, of course, accelerated by the instinctive preference of the human ear for sounds to which it has grown accustomed; a fact which may be held to explain the otherwise needless and purely formal Triliteralization of primitive monosyllabic words, where no modification of the meaning is intended; so that the change, so far as effected, is only an instance of instinctive or subconscious striving after uniformity of sound. Take the Semitic words for *father* and *mother* as examples. The first thing to strike one is that these words are really primitives, both as being monosyllables for which no plausible Semitic derivation can be suggested, and as being destitute of any formal indication of the difference of gender. The latter is especially noteworthy; for, if ever a mark of gender might be considered indispensable, it would surely be in the case of a term like *mother*. But these very two features, *essential Biliteralism and the absence of any formal indication of gender*, are known characteristics of that ancient Sumerian tongue which the earliest Semitic invaders of Babylonia found already in possession of the land. Such facts, taken by themselves, would seem to suggest the possibility of a prior stage of Semitic, when its general features presented a far closer resemblance and affinity to primitive Asiatic idioms like Sumerian or Chinese or Wîgûr than is now the case after long centuries of separate and independent development

But let us take a closer look at our instances. The Semitic term for *father* appears in its simplest form in the Canaanite אב (Heb., Phoen., Mo.), Eth. አብ:, and was long since recognized by Gesenius, the illustrious founder of modern Hebrew lexicography, as a primitive Biliteral, although (on the ground of the Stat. Constr. אבי) he also propounded a weak Triliteral Root אבה (distinct from אבה *velle*) as a formally possible Stem—a concession, no doubt, to the fixed idea then generally prevalent that all Semitic Stems, whatever disguise they may assume, are necessarily and inevitably of Triliteral origin. Gesenius himself, however, preferred to regard אב as a true Biliteral, and, in fact, as an onomatopoeia or imitative word, based on the labial sounds which are supposed to be the first utterances of an

infant in its instinctive endeavours to speak. He compares Gk. *πάππας*, Lat. *papa*, Sanskr *pitā*, Chinese *fu*, Tk. and Pers. *bābā* (in all of which the labial precedes the vowel, contrary to the Semitic analogy), but also Gk. *ἄππα*, *ἀπφά*, *ἀπφύς*, from late poets and grammarians (forms perhaps derived from Oriental sources). Even the Oxford edition of Gesenius gives אב under a √ II. אבה, with the warning 'existence and meaning wholly dubious'; and then, after citing Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch's opinion that the √ is אבה = Assyr. *abû*, 'to decide', so that אב would strictly mean *decider*, it adds a reference to the onomatopoetic alternative, quoting *πάππας*, *pappa*, *papa*, and a supposed Assyr. *bab* (really the Sumerian PAP or PAB, *abu*, perhaps from an earlier BAB: *CT.* xii. 16, 5 R. 38, 47 def.). I cannot verify an Assyrian *abû*, 'to decide'. The nouns *abîtu*, 'will', 'wish', 'command' (e.g. *abît šarri*, 'the king's command') and *abûtu*, 'will', 'pleasure', are evidently cognate with I. אבה 'to be willing', which we find in Hebrew. But this √ does not seem a probable source for a primitive word like אב. On the other hand, I do not believe greatly in the 'bow-wow' or 'pooh-pooh' theory of language. Certainly no such hypothesis is necessary in the present case, for אב (Aram. אַבָּא) was Sumerian before it was Semitic; and the same is true, as we shall see, of its correlative אם *mother*. In Sumerian AB, ABBA, 'father' (Assyr. *a-bu*), appears as an honorific designation of divine beings (cf. Mal. 1[6]), both in hymns (*CT.* xv) and in royal inscriptions; as when Entemèna speaks of *EN-LIL* [= *ELLIL*, Damascius's *Ἴλλινος*], *the Sovereign of the World*, *ABBA DINGIR-DINGÍRĒNEGE*,[1] i.e. *the Father of the Gods* (see Thureau-Dangin, *SAK*, p. 36 n). As a term of respect, AB is also used of persons skilled in the mysteries of writing and the other arts of the time, and so qualified to guide and instruct others. A sage or savant, a master of wisdom, a wise director or overseer of others, gods or men, is an AB-GAL, *a great Father* (written ≻𒐉 𒁹≻ *great + word*). Cf. the use of אב in Gn. 45[8], 1 Sam. 10[12]. That AB, ABBA, is also explained *šîbu* or *šêbu*, 'old man', almost goes without saying, just as UM, 'mother', is a respectful term of address for an old woman.

The general agreement of all this with the Hebrew uses of אב will be apparent. We have not, however, arrived yet at the original force and peculiar significance of the term. Here the primitive script, the linear Sumerian character which retains clear traces of its

[1] Delitzsch's objection (*SG.* § 62 *e*] is countered by SANGU-SANGU-NE, 'the priests' (Uru-ka-gi-na, SAK, p. 48) And would not 'der hohe Vater' be AB-AN or AB-AN-NA, rather than AB-BA-AN?

pictorial origin, may help us to a decision or at least a plausible conjecture. The linear AB, cuneiform is one of the symbols for house or dwelling (AB, *aptu*, also read ESH, *bîtu*, 'house', 'temple'); and it seems quite intelligible that the head of the family or household should have been spoken of respectfully as 'The House'. In that case, it was not so much the physical relationship of the father to his offspring as his social status as representing and, in a sense, including the entire 'house' or family, that was predicated by this primitive designation AB, ABBA.

Another interesting Semitic biliteral word, יָם *yām*, 'the sea', which like אֵם *'ēm*, 'mother', gains a semblance of Triliteralism by duplication of the second radical (but cf. Assyr. *ia-a-me* = *yāmē*, as syn. of *tâmti*, in the name of a certain marine plant), may be akin to another Sumerian AB which is defined *tâmtum*, 'the sea'. The interchange of the labials *m* and *b* is not surprising to any one acquainted with the Chinese dialects or with Sumerian, where we meet with such equivalences as BAR = MAŠ and ÁB, AM, 'wild ox' (of different species?); while on Semitic ground we may compare instances like Ar. زَمَن, Heb. זְמָן = Sam זבן, Aram. זִבְנָא 'appointed time'. [Z-M-N = Z-B-N may be a case of Internal Triliteralization of a √Z-N, which we see in the Sumerian word E-ZEN, 'festival', 'fixed time' (*isinnu*; also written *ezennu, izunnu*; cf. Chinese 旬 *sün*, period of seven or ten days. זן = זמן = זבן!)] The Oxford Lexicon classes יָם under a √ימם assumed *ad hoc*, but cautiously observes: 'actual existence and meaning dubious'.

There is yet another Sumerian AB, ABBA, denoting apparently 'fresh growth' or 'vegetation'. The month Ṭebitum or Ṭebeth was called ITI or ITU (= Chinese *ut, yet*, 'month') ABBA, 'month of verdure', and ITI ABBA E, 'month of vegetation coming forth'; while vegetation (*šer'û*) was called AB-SIM, AB-SIN. It seems at least plausible to compare Ar. أَبّ *'abb*, 'herbage', and the Heb אֵב 'fresh growth' or 'green shoots' with this Sum. AB.

If now we turn to the Semitic for *mother*, we notice at once that, like its correlative, it bars comparison with the widespread *pa*- and *ma*-terms by the fact that its vowel precedes instead of following the consonant. And אֵם, Assyr. *ummu*, Ar. أُمّ and إِمّ, 'mother', agrees both in this particular and in the absence of any mark of gender with the Sumerian ( ) UM, 'mother' (*ummu*). The archaic symbol is 'a full vessel' of some sort (not, surely, 'a bust prostrate on its face, with hands extended above the head', as

Professor Barton suggests with a prudent query). The symbol thus indicates the idea of pregnancy; and the word UM (variants UMU, UME, UMA) is actually explained *târîtu*, 'pregnant woman', as well as *ummu*, 'mother': cf. UMME = UMME-DA, which is a fuller expression for *târîtu*. (UMME-DA = *ummu rapaštu*, 'mother great', scil. with child.) Other closely related words are: EM, EME, *târîtu*; AM, EM (A-MA, E-ME), *ummu*, *ilittu*, 'mater', 'genitrix' or 'parens'. Lastly, we have UM-MA (ÚMA, UM) 'old woman' (*puršumtu*, *šîbtu*), strictly *Mother*, as a term of respect. The character is 'house' (*bîtu*) with 'god', 'heaven', 'high' (AN, AM), inserted as a Phonetic suggesting the sound, and also significant of the exalted position of the mother in the family. We may perhaps recognize here a trace of the Matriarchate; cf the phrase AMA A-A, 'Mother and Father', which the Assyrian translator naturally renders by *abi ummi*, 'Father and Mother' (4 R. 1. 25–28 b), the usual order in Semitic as also in the old lyrical poetry of China (the Shi King), where the sovereign is styled the *fu-mu* or 'father and mother' of his people. It may be added that in Chinese we have the character 妊 C. *yêm*, F. *eing*, H. *nyim*, J. *nin*, Kor. *im*, P.M. *žên*, 'pregnant'—of women only, and 孕 *yun*, C. *yén*, H. *yin*, F. *eing*, W. *yang*, N. *yung*, K. *in* or *ing*, id., both of women and animals. The virtual coincidence of these sounds with the Sumerian UM, EM, AM, considered above, cannot fairly be dismissed as a mere effect of chance.

It appears, then, that the common Semitic terms for *father* and *mother*, although destitute of any convincing or probable etymology within the bounds of Semitic itself, are found to exist in Sumerian, not as arbitrary figments or merely imitative counters of speech, but as sounds originally significant of essential characteristics of those particular relations of humanity.

Consider for a moment another Semitic monosyllable, רוּחַ, *wind*, *breath*, *spirit*, with its cognate רֵיחַ, *smell*, *odour* In Ar. we have رِيح *rîh*, 'wind', 'breath', 'puff', 'gust', and رُوح *rûh*, 'the soul', 'spirit', 'breath'. The verbs, Ar. رَاحَ 'be windy', Syr. ܪܘܚ 'to breathe', Eth. ሮሐ፡ *rôha*, 'to fan', are derivv. How can we avoid comparing this common Semitic stem with the Sumerian RIG, RI, 'a blast' or 'gust' of wind (*ziqqu*), 'to blow' (*zâqu*), which we see in the phrases IM-RI, *zîq šâri*, and IM-RIA, *šâru iziqamma*?

Now the character with which this primitive vocable RI(G) is written is which originally represented a bird of some

kind, whether we connect it with [cuneiform sign], the ordinary Determinative of birds, to which it has certainly been assimilated in the gradual development of the cuneiform script, or regard it as an *inverted* modification of the symbol for the wind (see below), to which also it presents some features of likeness. It is not therefore surprising to find that this Sumerian vocable RI(G) also meant *parášu*, 'to fly', as in the phrase KISHI RI-RIGA (=RIG-RIGA), 'flying locust' (*zirbâbu muttaprišu*) or in the sentence ǴU-DIM KI-DAGALLA-KU ǴA-BA-NIB-RIGA, 'bird-like, to the open country let him fly!' (Assyr. *kîma iççûri ana ašri rapši littapraš!* 4 R. 4 b, 1, 2). When one remembers the bird-action attributed to the Creative Spirit in Gn. 1[2] (ורוח אלהים מרחפת על פני המים; cf. ירחף Dt. 32[11]) and the Descent of the Spirit (τὸ πνεῦμα = הרוח) 'like a Dove' in the Gospels (Mk. 1[10] Mt. 3[16] Lk. 3[22] Joh. 1[32]), and the way in which the older Hebrew prophets and psalmists speak of the 'wings of the wind' (Ho. 4[19] ψ 18[10] 104[3]), we seem to discern additional grounds for the suggested connexion between the primitive Asiatic (Sumerian) RI(G), 'to fly', 'to blow', 'a blast', 'gust' or 'gale of wind', and the Semitic רוח 'wind', 'spirit', and its cognates. (In Ezek. 37[9,10] the word appears in both senses, the plur. רוחות denoting the four winds, and the sing. רוח the vital breath or spirit of man. Like R.V., we may well hesitate over the translation.) The Egyptian hieroglyphic script, as is well known, figures the soul (*ba*) as a man-headed bird, apparently a hawk; and the conception of the wind as a bird may be illustrated by reference to the Sumerian lion-headed eagle, the attendant of Ningirsu, the god of Lagash, whose name is written with the Determinatives of *Deity* and *bird*; [cuneiform signs] DINGIR + IM + DUGUD + ǴU *god* + *wind* + *heavy* + *bird*, i.e. divine storm-bird. This group of signs is an instance of what the Chinese would call *hwui-i*, a 'Suggestive Compound'; suggestive, that is, of the meaning, but not directly of sound (see my *Chinese and Sumerian*, p. 16). It is, of course, improbable that IM-DUGUD, which means a violent wind or tempest, was the actual name of the mythical Stormbird. Perhaps the group was read ZI or ZU; cf. the Assyr. equivalent *Zû* (which might be derived from either ZI or ZU) and Sum. ZI, 'life', 'soul' (*napištu*), 'to breathe', 'to blow' (*napáḫu*; נָפַח Je. 15[9]). The ordinary Sumerian symbol for *wind* ([cuneiform signs]), which I formerly supposed might represent a sail, like the Egyptian character for *wind*, may originally have figured a soaring bird; the head, beak, eye, and outspread wings being

conventionally indicated. Indeed, allowing for the usual substitution of angular for originally rounded forms, under the exigencies of chiselling in hard stone, and the attenuation of others into straight lines, we may recognize an essential likeness of the linear Sumerian symbol to either of two Egyptian bird-characters which denote flying (pa; ḫen).—As for ריח 'scent', 'smell', it is certainly not due to accident that the character , denoting *odoriferous* trees and plants, was read RIG as well as SHEM, SHIM. This RIG prob. represents the Sum. original of Assyr. *riqqu, riqqê,* and Heb. רקח and ריח.

The character IM, which as we have seen properly denotes the wind (IM, *šâru*), is also used for several homophones of diverse meanings. Thus we have IM, 'point of the compass', 'region' or 'quarter of heaven', 'side' (*aḫu*), as indicated by the winds; IM, 'heaven', 'rainy sky', 'rainstorm' (*šamû, zunnu*); and IM, 'earth' or 'land' (*irçitu*), 'clay' or 'mud', 'clay-tablet', 'clay-oven' or 'baking-jar' (*ṭîṭu*; *tuppu*; *tinûru*). These may be called Phonetic uses of the Wind-symbol (cf. the Chinese *Hiai-shing* or *Hing-shing*: and see my *Chinese and Sumerian*, pp. 17 sq.). In Egyptian we find such examples as *nefr*, 'lute', and *nefr*, 'good'. No doubt the association of ideas, as well as identity of sound, suggested such extensions in the use of characters. But how are we to account for the surprising transition from *heaven* to its opposite *earth*? We can only do this by reference to etymological considerations From 2 R 52, 73 c (IM-KI *read* en-ni-gi) we gather that the character had the sound of EN or ÍN as well as IM—a dialectic variation which might have been inferred from analogy, even if we had not this bit of direct evidence, which is further strengthened by the actual occurrence of IM in the sense of 'lord'; i. e. as an equivalent of the common word EN or ÍN, 'lord' (Br. 8358). In like manner, ALAM, 'image' (*çalmu*), S^b 376 is ALAN in Gudea's inscriptions (A. 3^2, &c.). 'warrior' is both ERIM and ERIN, is SUM and SUN, and AN is also read AM (Br. 11391, 11393). This interchange of the final sounds *n, m,* is a familiar characteristic of the Chinese dialects (*sin, sim,* 'heart'; *kan, kom,* 'sweet'; *lin, lim,* Korean *nim, im,* 'forest').

Now we know that while AN is the usual term for 'heaven' (*šamû*), EN also has the same meaning (e-nu, *šamû*).

Further, both AN and EN mean 'high', 'on high', 'what is above' (*šáqû, êlû*); and this is perhaps the root-meaning common to EN, IM, 'heaven', and [EN], IM, 'earth' (unless the latter use of IM depends on the idea of region or quarter of heaven, which again is associated with the idea of the four winds). The earth, we may remember, was conceived by the Sumerians as a huge mountain, rising out of and high above the primeval ocean (see Jensen's *Cosmologie*). With [EN,] IM, 'rain' or 'rainstorm' (*zunnu*), similarly corresponds AN, [AM,] in a similar if not identical sense (*šamû ša zunni*): cf the Japanese *amè*, 'the sky' or 'heavens'; *amè*, 'rain'. In Hebrew, moreover, we have the so far unexplained יָוֵן *mire*, closely connected with טִיט (cf. IM, *ṭîtu*) in ψ 40[3], and with מְצוּלָה 'the Deep', in ψ 107[24], which may possibly represent a Triliteralization of EN, ÍN = IM, 'earth', 'mud', 'clay' (cf. Chinese *yin*, 'mud', 'slime', 'dregs'; Giles, 13257); and this same IM, 'mire', suggests another origin for the Heb. יָם, 'sea', as if it denoted the *miry* or *slimy*: cf. Is. 57[20] כַּיָּם . . . . וַיִּגְרְשׁוּ מֵימָיו רֶפֶשׁ וָטִיט:—a description which would suit the muddy sea at the mouth of the silt-laden Babylonian rivers. (Cf also perhaps Jap ウミ *umi*, 'the sea', 'ocean' The Chinese 洋 *yang* or *yam*, 'the ocean', curiously resembles יָם, and like it is applied to great rivers such as the Ho.)

The words NIM, NUM (nu-um-ma, *êlîtu*), 'high', 'above' (*šaqû, êliš*) and E-NIM, 'heaven' (*šamû*) suggest the possibility that IM, 'heaven', is really a worn form of NIM. The same change is exemplified by the Chinese 飲 *yom, yim, yang, yin*, Kor. *im*, J. *in, on*, 'to drink' (G. 13269) as compared with the Japanese ノミ *nomi* (*nomu*), 'to drink'. Nor will the phenomenon surprise any one who is aware that the Chinese 妊 'pregnant' (p. 6), which sounds like *yêm* (*yŭm* or *yòm*) in Cantonese and *im* in Korean, is *nyim* in Hakka and *nin* in Japan (cf. *nin-yō, kwai-nin, nin-shin*, 'pregnant'). So also in Sumerian itself we have NIN, 'land' (*mâtum*), also read MIM (=WIM), which may be compared with IM, 'earth', and, further, with NAG (=*nang*=*nam*), NAM, LAM, in the compounds KA-NAGGA, KA-NAM, KA-LAM (*CT.* xii. 27), the 'land' or 'country' (*mâtu*); lit. perhaps 'face of the land' (פני הארץ). This NAG or NANG may be recognized in NANGA, 'land', 'district' (*nagû*). In Semitic it re-appears, not only in the Assyrian *nagû*, but also in Aram. (Targ.) נְגוָון, נְגְוָותָא. In NUN, 'great', 'prince' (NUN, *rabû, rubû*) we see

another cognate of NIM, NUM, 'high', and of EN, IM, 'lord', 'high', as well as of NIN, 'lord' and 'lady'. This last NIN, with its younger form SHÍN (; Br. 11016), presents an exact parallel to the old Chinese 人 *nin*, modern *zhin, jên* (French *j*), which may mean either *gentleman* or *lady*. So the Mandarin dialect says *zhin* (*jên, žon*) instead of *nyim, nin*, 'pregnant'. The transition from an earlier initial *ni* or *n* to a sibilant sound is proved for Chinese not only by the older dialects as compared with the Mandarin, but also by the Buddhist transcriptions of Sanskrit words, from the fifth century A.D. downwards, which represent Sanskrit initial *na-* or *nya-* by Chinese characters which are now pronounced with initial *zh* (*j*). In Sumerian, of course, the corresponding change is very much older. Other examples of this curious transition of sounds may be seen in *Chinese and Sumerian*, p. 13. Our present interest is concerned in the fact that it appears to supply a link between the Semitic terms for 'sky', 'heaven', Assyr. *šamû, šamâmu*, Aram. שְׁמַיָּא, Heb. שָׁמַיִם, Ar. سَمَاء, &c. and the primitive Sumerian NA(M, N), 'high', 'heaven' (*êlû, šamû*), of which NIM, NUM, 'high', and E-NIM, 'heaven', are evident cognates. The equation NAM = ŠAM*, SAM*, shows that שָׁמַיִם is etymologically a synonym of מרומים 'the heights' (ψ 148¹). Similarly, אָשָׁם 'offence', 'fault', 'trespass', may be regarded as triliteralized from another root SHAM* = the Sumerian NAM, 'sin', 'trespass', 'offence' (*annu, arnu*).

In the same way, the common Semitic (י, א, ה)שקה, 'to give drink', 'to water', 'irrigate', Assyr. *šaqû*, Ar. سَقَى, Sab. סקי, Eth. ሰቀየ:, may be connected with the Sumerian NAG, 'to drink', 'to give drink' (*šatû, šaqû*), through the possible newer form SHAG.[1] The Heb. שָׁתָה, Assyr. *šatû*, Eth. ሰትየ: 'to drink', is a mere modification of the same root, such as is seen also in the Chinese 啐 *shoh, so, tsut, sut*, Jap. *set-*, An. *swêt*, 'to sip' (G. 10208) as compared with 食 *shih, shik, shit* (*Hakka*!), *sik, zi*, Jap. *seki, shoku*, 'to eat', 'to drink' (G. 9971). The Assyr. *šikaru*, 'strong drink', 'date-wine', *šakkûru*, 'drunken', Heb. שֵׁכָר, שִׁכּוֹר, and the corresponding verbs, may spring from the same SHAG, 'drink', triliteralized by the addition of the postposition R (Sum. RA, RU, -R, 'into', 'for',

[1] NAG itself reappears in the Assyr. *naqû*, 'to pour out', esp. libations, Syr. *naqqî*, id The phrase GA-NAG, used of a sucking ass-foal (lit. 'milk-drinking'; GA = Ch. *k'au*, 'milk'), is rendered *mqî šispi*, 4 R² 18*, no 6, Rev. 1, 2. Heb נָקָה must belong here

'at', 'in', &c.). We find NAG-NAG ('drink-drink') rendered *šakkûru* in the phrase KASH NAG-NAG, *šakkûrum ša šikari*, 'drunken with strong drink'. The character NAG was also read *imme-li*, i. e. IMME-LI, *šikru*, 'intoxication', or perhaps 'intoxicated', 'in drink'. (Cf Creation Tab. III, 136?) We may equate IMME (as due to Vowel-harmony) with IMMA, IM, 'thirst' (*ṣûmu*); and as this IM also may have lost initial N (NIM, IM), we may recognize here the origin of the Semitic *ṣûmu, ṣummû, ṣûmû*, 'thirst', צָמָא 'thirst', צָמֵא 'to be thirsty', ظَمِىَ id. (See the preceding examples of the sibilation of initial N.) Cf. also DIM, DE, 'watering', 'irrigation'; 'to water, of a field' (*šiqîtum*; *šaqû ša eqli*). (The linear form of this last character seems to figure a vase with water rising from its mouth, such as we see on a well-known seal of Gudea. Handcock, *Mesop. Arch.*, p. 299. The primary idea is that of *pouring out.* Hence, apparently, the character is also used for SI, SU, SI-MUG, *nappaḫu*, a *founder* or *smelter* of metals.)

The Aramaic עַמְרָא 'wool', Heb. צמר, may well be connected with אמר 'lamb' = Assyr. *immeru*, 'lamb', 'sheep', in view of the above comparisons; and hence we may derive a clue to the etymological meaning of both words. In Hebrew, wool was a proverb of *whiteness* (Is. 1[18], cf. ψ 147[16]); and bearing in mind the observed interchange of initial *n*, *s*, and the instability of initial *n*, we may infer a relation between the stem נמר, Assyr. *namâru*, 'to shine', and צמר, אמר. The connexion between the ideas of brightness and whiteness hardly calls for remark. In Chinese *pai žih*, 'the white sun' = the bright sun. See Giles, 12469. In Sumerian the Sun-character ( ) BABBAR, BABAR, stands for both 'bright' and 'white' (*namru, piṣû*), and also 'the shining of day' (*namâru ša ûmi*) and 'the light of fire' (*nûrum ša išâti*). But the equivalence of the labials *m*, *w*, and the easy coalescence of the latter with kindred vowels, leads us to suspect the ultimate identity of *namâru* (=*nawâru, nâru*) with *nûr* (נור) and the Sumerian SIR, SHER, 'light', 'to shine' (*nûru, namâru*). For the Semitic נהר, שחר, שהר, צהר, טהר, and other internally triliteralized offshoots of the same primitive root, see my paper *Sem. and Sum.* in *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, p. 37. The fact, already signalized, of the frequent loss of initial *n* and related sounds enables us to discern a relation between *namâru*, 'to shine', and *amâru*, 'to see', strictly *to be* (or *to have*) *light* (cf. Mt. 6[22]); which latter (since *amâru* = *awâru*) is itself cognate with אור 'light',

Assyr. *urru* (=*ûru*) 'light', 'daylight', 'day' (=Sum. AN-NE, heaven's flare'; NE=NER=SHER?).

The seemingly isolated *t. t.* of Hebrew prophecy נאם 'oracular utterance', and the NH. נום[1] 'to speak', may now be regarded as instances of Internal Triliteralization from the root NIM, which we see in the Sumerian INIM, ENEM, 'word' (*amâtu*) and INIM-NIMMA, 'spell', 'incantation', 'magical formula', 'exorcism' (*šiptu*). The common EN id. (*šiptu*) is probably a dialectic variation of NIM (=IM, EN: see p. 9 *supr.*). Traces of IM* may be recognized in Assyr. *amû* (אמה) 'to speak', 'say', whence *amâtu*, 'word', and in Aram. אֲמָא, אֲמִי, id., יְמָא 'to speak' (Tg. Jer.), 'to swear'; possibly also in אָמַר 'say', 'tell', 'command' (אם + ר Postpos.). With this root NIM, (IM) EN, we may compare Ch. 念 *nym, nien, neing, nei*, Kor. *nyom*, J. *nen, ten*, 'think', 'repeat' (liturgies), 'utter' (charms), 'recite' (G. 8303); 吟 *yêm, yin, nyim, nging, nying*, Kor. *im*, Jap. *gin, gon*, 'to mutter', 'to hum over' (verses), 'to chant' (G. 13258). And since N-M may become Z-M, the rare Ar. زمّ 'to speak', 'talk', Aram. זן 'to sound' (buzz, hum, ring, chirp), Heb. זָמַם 'to think' (inward speech; cf. אָמַר='think', Gn. 20[11]), and even זמר=زمر to 'sing into' or 'play on a reed' may belong here.

The common Semitic שם (Assyr. *šumu*; Aram. *šêm, šûm*; Eth. *sem*; Ar. *'ism, 'usm, sim, sum*; Sab. סם), 'name', which Lagarde referred to √ושם = Ar. وسم *wasama*, 'to put a mark on a thing', e.g. a garment, 'to brand' cattle, is perhaps more directly connected with the Sumerian [cuneiform] NAM, SIM, 'to call', 'name' (SIM-SIM, *nabû*): cf. [cuneiform] NA (from NAG, NAM) *nabû* and [cuneiform] SA (from SAG, SAM?) *nabû*. The resemblance of Sum. SIM to Ch. 姓 *sing, hsin, sang*, 'surname', is as evident as that of Sum. MUN, MU, '(personal) name' (*šûmu*), to Ch. 名 *ming*, J. *mei*, 'personal name'.

The Semitic יום (Ar. *yaum*, Syr. *yaumâ*, Eth. *yûm*, Assyr. *ûmu*), 'day', compared with Phoen. ימם, Aram. יְמָמָא, ܐܝܡܡܐ *'îmâmâ*, Assyr. *immu*, suggests double Triliteralization of a Biliteral Primitive. Inasmuch as dawn and daylight are celestial phenomena, we might be inclined to think that we have here another disguise or transformation of the Sumerian IM, *heaven, sky*; cf. EN (EN-E, EN-A), UN(ÙNA),

[1] The other נום, meaning 'to sleep' (Ar., Aram., Eth., Heb.) answers to Sumerian NU, 'to lie down', 'to sleep' ([cuneiform] NA *v.* NU, *rabâçu, utûlu*, &c.): prob. from NA-M, NU-M.

'time' (see p. 92). The Chinese *t'ien*, 'heaven' is also 'day'; e.g *t'ien t'ien*, 'every day'. In both Sumerian and Chinese, however, the symbol for *the sun* also denotes *day*; and light or brightness is what we should expect as the defining characteristic of day (cf Gn. 1[5]). Now among the many Sumerian sounds associated with the sun-character ( ) we find UG, 'day' (*ûmu, immu*); and this word UG is also written and explained *nûrum*, 'light', 'Shamash', the Sun-god, and *ûmu*, 'day' (*CT.* xii. 8). But the dialectical variation already illustrated in the Sumerian NAG = NAM (cf. SIG = SIM, SUM) may justify the similar equation UG = UM*, which brings us near enough to the Semitic יום. The sound UG appears to be a worn form of GUG (cf. U-GUG, *kabâbu ša išati*, 'flashing' or 'sparkling' 'of fire'), which again is related to KUN (GUN), 'to shine' (*namâru*), of which KUM (GUM), 'flame', 'heat' (4 R. 24, No. 1, 12), or the like, is only another form. As to the difference of the written characters, we must remember that the words existed long before the writing. Our assimilations are signally strengthened by the Chinese parallels 旭 *huk, hu*, K. *uk*, J. *kioku, koku*, 'the dawn', 'the rising sun' (= UG, U, GUG); 烘 *hung, k'ong*, 'flame', 'fire'; 光 *kuang, kong*, 'light', 'brightness' (= KUM); 焜 *hun, kwên, un, kwêng*, 'fire', 'flames'; 皖 *huan, un, ngwang, k'wan*, 'bright', 'luminous' (= KUN), and other cognate words. The dialectic disappearance or survival of the initial *k* (*g*) and the interchange of the finals *m, ng, n*, are particularly instructive for our purpose.

The Sumerian UG ( ) also denotes a lion (*labbu, nêšu*), and—strangely enough, if there be no primitive relationship of the words—so does the Assyrian *ûmu*. But on our supposition that UG, UM, are only dialectical variants of the same original word, the coincidence becomes easier to understand. We have still to ask how the lion came to be designated by the same terms as the Sun-god and day. The answer involves a reference to Mythology. The lion was the symbol of Nergal, the fierce and fiery sun of noon and midsummer. Nergal, as Prof. Jastrow has observed, is generally pictured as a lion. On an old Babylonian seal figured in my *Light from the East* (p 151), lions crouch on the Gates of the Dawn from which the Sun-god is stepping forth. 'In most races', says De Rialle, 'the great felines have been taken as an emblem of the devouring sun of summer'; e.g. in Aztec myth Tezcatlipoca changes into a tiger (*jaguar*). De Rougemont states that 'the lion, "being

of a dry and hot nature" (Tertullian), owes his connexion with fire and light to his tawny solar colour, his mane which resembles the rays of the orb of day, the deserts which are his dwelling, and his irresistible strength, which quells and devours like fire.' 'The lion is the symbol of the devouring sun-heat throughout the whole of Western Asia, and even as far as Greece. The sun is found in the zodiacal constellation of Leo during the Dogdays' (Keil, *Bibl. Arch.*, ii, 99. See Dr. Smythe Palmer's *Samson-Saga*, pp. 218 sq.). By a very natural extension UG also expressed the ideas of *dannu*, 'strong', 'violent', and *aggu, uggu*, 'angry', 'raging', 'fierce', 'ferocious', or the like. With UG (UM) in this sense we may perhaps identify the root of the Heb. אֵים 'terrible', and אֵימָה 'terror'. And with UG, 'lion' (*ûmu, labbu, labu, nêšu*), 'wild beasts' (*umâmu*) of any species, including the tiger (UG from GUG: cf. 2 R. 6), it is reasonable to combine Ch. 虎 *hu*, J. *ko*, 'the tiger' (from *ko-k*: P. 487). Lastly, we may note that the Semitic root חָמַם, حَمَّ 'warm', 'hot', 'blackened by heat' (Ar.: cf. חום 'black', of sheep), whence חם (=Assyr. *ummu*, 'heat', *immu*, 'hot'), 'heat', of noon or summer, חַמָּה 'sun-heat', 'the sun', appear to be triliteralized from the Sumerian KUM (GUM), 'hot', 'fiery', 'glowing' (cf. KA KUM-MA, *pû immu*, 'Burning Mouth', said of the Fire-god, 4 R. 24, No. 1, 12), with a softening of the initial sound such as is neither strange nor infrequent.

The much-disputed אֵל 'God' (cf. אֱלִיעוּר, אֶלְדָּד, &c. for the quality of the vowel), is the Assyrian *i-lu, ilu*, with suff. *il-šû*, 'his god', plur. *ilâni* and *ilê* (not *i-lu-u, ilû*, which might represent אֱלֹהַּ). The word may be compared with the Sumerian EL, 'bright', 'pure', 'to shine' (*ellu, elêlu*=הלל) a cognate of MEL, MUN, 'flame', 'flashing', and of MUL, 'star', 'to sparkle', 'shine' (*kakkabu, nabâtu, namâru*), of which UL, 'to sparkle' (*nabâtu*) and UL, 'star' (*kakkabu*), are only weakened forms. But, further, the ordinary Sumerian term for 'god', DINGIR, DIGIR, DIMER, is written , which in the oldest form of the script appears as *a single star*, while MUL ( ) is a group of three stars. Not only so. The word (DIGIR, &c.) is recorded to have meant *kakkabu*, 'star', as well as *ilu*, 'god' (see 5 R. 21, 53 g); while *CT.* xii. 4 adds to these the meaning *ellu*, 'bright', 'pure' (=EL *supr.*). The reason of these various applications of the word lies in the fact that DIGIR is an intensive compound, meaning something like 'bright-flashing', made

up of DI, 'to sparkle' or 'glitter' (*nabâṭu*) and GIR, 'lightning', 'to flash' (*birqu, barâqu*). From all this it would seem evident that, to the inventors of the writing, the heavenly bodies, 'the Host of Heaven', were the supreme objects of worship; although this did not preclude the cultus of departed spirits and an elaborate system of Magic for the control of innumerable demons.

תרפים ; אלהים

If אלהים originally meant the 'ghost' or disembodied spirit of a man, we might perhaps recognize a reason for the plur. form in the primitive idea, which we find to have prevailed alike in Shumer, in Egypt, and in China, that the soul is a composite entity combining three or more elements which are dissociated by death (see *Chinese and Sumerian*, p. 74, s.v. GI-DIM, GI-GIM). As was to be expected, this primitive sense of the word is rare in the O.T., the religion of which, as a whole, stands upon a far loftier level than mere Animism or the cultus of the departed. We may, however, refer to the obviously authentic narrative of Saul's consultation of the deceased prophet by the witch of Endor (1 Sam. 28). Here the necromancer 'raises' Samuel by her spells (ver. 11: אעלה . . . . העלי; cf. Assyr. *šûlûm*, a syn. of *ekimmu*, 'ghost', 5 R. 47. 46 a; *mušêlû ša ekimmu*, 'a necromancer'; and Ishtar's threat, *ušellâ mîtûti*, 'I will *bring up* the dead': Shaph. of *elû*=עלה). 'And the woman said, Whom shall I *bring up* for thee? and he said, *Bring me* up Samuel! And the woman saw Samuel and shrieked aloud . . . . . . And the king said unto her, Fear not! tell (*G.*) what thou sawest. And the woman said unto Saul, *An Elohîm* (i. e. a *ghost* or *spirit*) saw I *coming up* (עלים) *out of the earth*. And he said unto her, What was his form (תארו)?' (vers. 11–14 a). As a detailed historical account of the way the thing was done, this episode stands alone in the O. T.; but we learn from a brief passage in Isaiah (8[19]) that in the dark hours of Assyrian invasion there were some in Jerusalem who advocated recourse to the same arts of divining the future by consulting the dead. *Should not a people inquire of its* Elohîm—*of the Dead for the living?* (Isa. 8[19 b]). Here *Elohîm* seems to be used with bitter irony in a double sense, which we can hardly reproduce by any one English word. These politicians who despair of Iahweh have no better *god(s)* than the feeble *ghosts* of the departed.

The *teraphîm* (תרפים; Plur. only) which appear to have been used in Divination down to the period of the Exile—people 'consulted' them (שאל בתרפים Ez. 21[26])—(2 K. 23[24]; cf. Ho. 3[4], Ze. 10[2]), are

expressly called *Elohîm* (Gn. 31[30 34]); but that they did not represent the God of Israel is evident both from their shape, which was human (1 S. 19[13 16], cf. Ho. 10[5], 13[2], 1 K. 12[28]), and from their peculiar use and location in private dwellings (Ju. 17[5], 18[14 ff]), which certainly favour the assumption that a *teraphîm* was an image of the eponymous or some other deceased ancestor of the clan or family. If, as is possible, the root of the term is the same as that of *repha'îm* (*Manes*, 'the Shades', 'the dead' in She'ôl; Is. 14[9], 26[4 19], Jb 26[5]), this view of its meaning is so far strengthened. Now there is in Assyrian a verb *rabû* or *rapû* which denotes the *disappearance* or *sinking out of sight* of the sun and other heavenly bodies e.g. *lâm (ilu) Šamaš rabê*, 'before sunset', *MUL DILBAD ina çit šamši irtebî*, 'Venus sank out of sight at sunrise' (see Muss-Arnolt); INDI INDI GAB KURRA(-ŠÚ), *illak ilak*(sic)*ana irat irçitim*, 'He goeth, he goeth into the bosom of Earth', (UD) NI-E UD NI-E KUR MUN (=MUG, UG?) NA-ŠÚ, *(ilu) Šamaš irtabî ŠU ana irçitim mîtûti*, 'The Sungod sinketh, the Sungod sinketh, into the Land of the Dead' (4 R.[2] 30, No. 2, Obv. 22-25, where *uštabarrî* is another suggestion for NI: cf. Br. 5314: evidently a mistaken one. A Syn. of NI is [cuneiform] GIR? = *ṭibû*, טבע, *šalû*, and *rabû*: see Br. 4820–4826). The *repha'îm*, then, are those who have *sunk* or *gone down* into the dark world below. (With Sum. NI, 'to sink', 'disappear' compare Ch. *ni*, *nik*, 'to sink', Shi III. 3, iii. 5, and *ni*, *nik*, 'to hide', G. 8217.) And the Bab. *rabû-rapû*, 'to sink down', is obviously identical with Heb. רָפָה 'to sink', 'to drop' (Judg. 19[9], Is. 5[24], Ne 6[9]).

The feeling that the *Manes* were divine or supernatural beings may never have altogether faded from the popular consciousness, before the gold of Israel's faith had been refined and purified in the disintegrating fires of national overthrow and banishment.

As regards the composite (tripartite?) nature of the soul we have some interesting evidence in the Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh (Tab. XII), where both the *utukku* (col iii. 24) of Engidu, the dead comrade of Gilgamesh, and the *ekimmu* or *ghost* of the unburied warrior (vi. 8) are mentioned. The god Nergal 'raises' the former for Gilgamesh, as the witch raises Samuel at Endor for Saul.

> *The Father, Ea . . . .*
> *To the Strong One, the Hero, Nergal, he saith.*
> *Strong One, Hero, Nergal . . . .*
> *. . . the Hole of the Earth open thou and*
> *The Shade (utukku) of Engidu—from the Earth let it come up and (lûtêlî-ma;* עלה*)*

To his brother the Law of the Earth let him tell!
Forthwith (?) the Hole of the Earth he opened and
The Shade of Engidu like a Wind from the Earth he let forth (*uštēçâ*; יצא). Cf. Job 4[15].

Afterwards we read of the fate of the dead who are left without the rites of burial (vi. 6 sqq.):

He whose carcase lies in the field, (cf. Je. 22[19])

* * *

His Ghost (ekimmu) in the Earth resteth not;
He whose Ghost hath none to tend it, (*pâqida lâ išû*)

* * *

The lees of the jar, the broken victuals
Which lie in the street, he eateth.

The *ekimmu* (from Sum. GI-GIM; see *CT.* xi. 15), is represented in the Syllabary by an ideogram composed of the characters *One-third* and *Ishtar*; implying apparently that only one element out of three in the disembodied spirit of a man properly belongs to the realm of the goddess of the Underworld. The ideogram for *utukku* (Sum. U-DUG; later U-TUG, *CT.* xi 15, 55), on the other hand, combines the symbols for *Two-thirds* and *Ishtar*; indicating, as it would seem, that, in cases where funeral rites had been duly performed, two of the three spiritual elements found their normal resting-place in the domain of the infernal goddess. (The two kindred symbols are thus seen to be instances of what in Chinese would be called *Hwui-i* or 'Suggestive Compounds': see *Chinese and Sumerian*, p. 16.) Whatever the original difference of conception between the GI-GIM (or GI-DIM) and the UDUG, and whether this view of the meaning of the related ideograms be correct or not, it is clear from the magical texts that both might come forth from the Underworld and were regarded as 'gods', potent for evil to man. Thus we read (*CT.* xvii. 41) UDUG G̊UL ALÁ G̊UL GIG(D)IM G̊UL MULLA G̊UL Ê KI-KUR-TA TI-A . . . *utukku limnu alû limnu ekimmu limnu gallû limnu ultu irçitu ittaçûnu šunu*, 'An evil Shade, an evil Sprite, an evil Ghost, an evil Demon, from the Earth they have come forth, they';

LA-SHA-TI-TA (5 R. 31, 56 c) SHÁ-BI IM-TI-A-MESH
ištu šubti elliti ana kirib mâtim ittaçûnu šunu
'From the *Pure* (Sum. *Unseeing* or *Unseen*) *Abode* into the midst of the land they have come forth, they.'

To these four kinds of evil spirits the exorcisms often add DINGIR G̊UL, 'an evil God' (*ilu limnu*) and MASHKIM G̊UL,

'an evil Watcher' (*rábiçu*, רובץ); which, as more general terms, were perhaps (originally, at least) descriptive of the preceding classes of spirits. For their emergence from the world of the dead we may compare the following bilingual text (*CT* xvii. 37):

DINGIR DIB-DIBBI-E-NE URUGALLA IM-TA-E-A
iláni kámûti (cf. קְמִיעַ 'amulet': Cowley) *ištu qabrim ittaçûni*
'The spell-binding gods from the Grave (Sum. *the Great City*) have come forth';
LILLA-E-NE ǴULA-MESH URUGALLA-TA IM-TA-Ê-A-MESH
zakîqû limnûti ištu qabrim ittaçûni
'Evil Winds from the Grave have come forth;
KI-SÍGA A-DÊ-AM URUGALLA-TA IM-TA-Ê-A-MESH
ana kasáp kispi u naq mê ištu qabrim do.
'To the doling of Dole and the pouring of Water from the Grave, &c' (i.e. they have come forth);
NIG-ǴUL-GAL-E-(NE?) IMIN-NA-NE-NE A-MÁ-RU-DIM MUN-ZI-ZI
mimma limnu (?) *kiššatsunu kima a(bu)ba ittebûni*
'Whatever is evil, (?) all of them, like the storm-flood they have risen.'

All evil spirits alike, whether of human or elemental origin, were believed to be amenable to control if properly adjured by the sorcerer-priest in the name of the Great Gods (DINGIR-GAL-GAL-ENE), that is, the *Di Superi*. Moreover, there were 'good', i.e. friendly or beneficent (*damqu*), as well as 'evil' or hostile spirits, and we find the two contrasted in the frequent formula (*CT*. xvi. 4 *al.*)

UDUG SIGGA LAMMA SIGGA DA-MU ǴE-GUB
'May a good Shade, a good Genius, beside me stand!
UDUG ǴUL ALÁ ǴUL GIGIM ǴUL, &c., (ut supr.)
Evil Shade, evil Sprite, evil Ghost, &c.
SIL IGI-MU-TA Ê-TA BA-RA-Ê
Depart out of my sight! from the house go forth!'

Now if the primitive meaning of אלהים was 'ghost' or disembodied spirit, it is perhaps not improbable that it had some original connexion with 𒀀𒇉 A-LÁ, which the Assyrian Semitizes as a-lu-u, *alû*, and which is generally found associated with the *utukku* and *ekimmu*, both emanations or elements of the human spirit.

In the Epic of Gilgamesh the GUD ANNA (= *alap šamê*) or 'Bull of Heaven', created by Anu to avenge the hero's slighting of Ishtar, but slain by him and his comrade Engidu, is called an *alû*

(Accus. a-la-a, Genit. a-li-e, i. e. *alâ*, *alê*: see NE vi. 94 sqq.); and, in connexion with this, it is worthy of notice that GUD is rendered *ekimmu* as well as *alpu* (אלף) in the exorcism or spell against the Seven Evil Spirits, *CT.* xvi. 14, 14 b:

MULLA GUD DU-DU GUD MAĠE
gallû alpu nâkipu *ekimmu rabû*
'Demon, butting Bull, mighty Ghost,'
GUD E-DÚA | *ekimmu ša kâl bîtâti ittanablakkatum* | BAL-BALE-MESH
Bulls houses all | 'Ghosts that break into all houses' | *break-break* (plur.)
MULLA UR NU-TUG IMINNĀ-MESH
gallû ša bulta la išû sibitti šunu
'Demon(s) without shame, seven are they.'

The title of the piece, INIM-NIMMA UDUG-ĠULA-ĠE, 'Spells for Evil Shades' (UDUG), by its generic use of the term UDUG shows how vaguely all the nomenclature of the ghostly world was used and understood.

The Sumerian GAL-LU ([cuneiform]), GALLU, a spirit of cloud and storm, is also rendered *alû* in Assyrian. Thus we have GALLU KURRA explained a-li-e ša-di-i a-lu-u dan-nu, 'Sprite of the Mountain, strong Sprite' (5 R. 31, No. 5); and in 4 R. 22, 9 a sq. we read of a certain demon [SAG]-BI GALLU ALAM-BI URU-AM, which is rendered (*qaq*)*qâsu* a-lu-u *lânšu abûbumma*, 'His head an *alû*, his figure a stormflood'. Elsewhere (4 R. 14, No. 2, Obv. 24, 25 a) the roar of an *alû* is mentioned. The Sumerian here is GALLA ([cuneiform]); but there seems little doubt that both GALLU and GALLA, though written differently, are only variants of [cuneiform] GALLA, MULLA, 'demon', which I have elsewhere equated with the Chinese *kwei*, *kwai*, *kui*, *ku*, 'spirit(s)', good and bad, 'ghosts', 'devils' and *mei*, *mui*, *mwoui*, *mi*, 'demon(s)' (G. 6430; 7738: cf. also 7748). The [cuneiform] LAM, LAMA, Assyr. *lamassu*, a kind of protecting spirit or guardian genius (see p. 102) bears a name which may be compared with the Chinese *liang*, C. *long*, 'a sprite' or 'spirit' (G. 7014); while the kindred [cuneiform] A-LAD, *šêdu* (שד, Aram. שֵׁידָא 'demon'), corresponds to Ch. *yu-lu*, a spirit which repels devils from entering houses (G. 12114). The character for ALAD (= *âlâd*, *olod*; cf. AMA, UMU, AZA, AZU, &c) adds [cuneiform] *dead* to [cuneiform] *powerful god*; a fact which seems to indicate that these guardian gods also belong to the shadowy realm of Sheol.

They were represented by the huge man-headed bulls at the doors of temples and palaces. (It is at least a curious coincidence that the character 纍 *lei*, which is read *li* in *yü-li*, denotes *heap*, e.g. *a grave*, and also *strong*, *vigorous*, of a warrior.)

Is אֱלֹהַּ, אֱלֹהִים, אֱלָהּ, ܐܠܗܐ *'allāhā*, إله *'ilāh*, Sab. אלה, ultimately connected with *alû*, and so with Sumerian GAL, 'demon' (cf. GAL, *rabû*, 'great'; 'high'—of hills, 'violent'—of storms; GÁL, 'to lift', 'high'; GAL = GAN, 'clouds', Ch. *yun*, *wên*, *hung*, 'clouds')? The persistent initial vowel (a, ĕ, ĭ) demands explanation: cf. ALAD, *šêdu*, ALAM, 'image', *çalmu*, ALIM, ELUM, *kabtu*, ERIM,[1] 'bad', 'enemy', *raggu*, *aibu*, ENEM, INIM, 'word', *amâtu*, in all of which A, E, I are probably formative (Demonstr.) prefixes. This is evident in the case of ERIM, since we have also [cuneiform] RIM defined *aibu*, *raggu*. (The LAD of ALAD, 'bull-colossus', may be compared with LID, *LI, whence the Assyr. *littu*, *lû*, 'wild cow', 'cow', 'ox', and with the Chinese *li*, *lei*, 'the yak', *Bos grunniens*. The Chinese 牛 *niu*, *liu*, *ngau*, *ngu*, 'bull', 'cow', 'ox', further suggests an ultimate relation of Sumerian GUD, GU, 'bull', &c. to LAD, LID: cf. [cuneiform] LU-G, GUG, *infr.* and [cuneiform] LUM, ĠUM, ĠUM.) Moreover, the final ה- probably belongs to the root, as in other instances, and may be a vestige of a stronger consonantal sound such as Ġ or G.[2] Triliterals of the form אלה are not numerous in Hebrew; but we have גבה 'to be high' (=גבע; cf. גב 'back', 'mould' and Sumerian GAB, 'breast', as swelling out or protuberant) and בָּלַהּ 'to trouble', whence בַּלָּהָה 'a terror' (cf. Syr ܒܠܗ 'terrify', 2. 'hasten' = Sum. BU-LUĠ, *ḫâšu*), the latter of which may actually be an offshoot of the same root as אלה, viz. *LAH* a quite possible attenuation of the Sumerian [cuneiform] LAĠ, LUĠ, 'to fear', 'be afraid', 'to frighten' (cf. also ĠU-LUĠ, *id.*, 'terrify', 'terrible'). And this same Sumerian root may be recognized in the Assyr. word *palâḫu*, 'to fear', esp. a god, 'to worship' (=qs. BA-LAĠ), by which it is itself defined, and in *dalâḫu*, 'to trouble', 'disturb', 'agitate' water, the sea, the mind (=TA-LAĠ, DA-LAĠ) which is the rendering of the cognate Sumerian [cuneiform] LU (from LUG, LUĠ. The character is also read GUG, *gukku* or *kukku*, 'fear' = Chinese *kü*, 'fear'). In *galâtu*, 'to be affrighted', another rendering of LAĠ,

[1] Cf. Syr. ܐܟܡܐ 'lasting anger'?

[2] The change from primitive G to Semitic ה is illustrated by Sum. EGIR, 'back', as compared with אחור, أخر. (EGIR = AGAR; cf. AGA, ABA, 'back', with BAR, 'back'. AGA from AGAR; ABA from ABAR.)

LUĠ, we seem to see LAT (LAD) for LAG; while the Sumerian 𒀀𒉌 NI, *puluḫtu*, 'fear', perhaps springs from NIG=LIĠ, LUĠ. We may illustrate the variations of sound by the Chinese *li, lai, lak*, 'to fear' (G 6968) and *li, lut, lit, leik*, 'afraid' (G. 6976). The close connexion (originally perhaps dialectic) between LAĠ, LUĠ, *palâḫu, galâtum*, and LU, *dalâḫu*, is confirmed by 2 R. 35, 9–11 c d, where they are grouped together.

When we remember that terms denoting *fear*—such terms as פַּחַד (Gen. 31[42 53]), מוֹרָא (Is. 8[12 f]), Aram. דחלא, ܕܶܚܠܬܳܐ—are used in Semitic as equivalents of אלהים in the sense of *a god*, it appears all the more probable that the original meaning of אלה (qs. ELAĠ or ILAĠ) was 'fearful', 'awe-inspiring', or 'terrifying' (cf. 1 Sam. 28[13], Job 4[14 f], Mk. 6[49]); an attribute of the ghostly world in general. Our analysis of the root may find further support in the uses of the Arabic (Denom.?) verb أَلَهَ or أَلِهَ 'he served', 'worshipped' or 'adored' a deity (=*palâḫu*); 'he was confounded or perplexed', 'he was grieved and agitated' (cf. *dalâḫu*); أَلِهَ إِلَيْهِ 'he betook himself to him by reason of fear' (*puluḫtu*), see Lane, s. v.

The Semitic Numeral Words

The fact that the Assyrian terms *ištên*, 'one', *ištânu*, 'one', 'single', and the עַשְׁתֵּי which is the first element in the Heb. עַשְׁתֵּי־עָשָׂר 'eleven', have long been recognized as of Sumerian origin, may well suggest that there is no antecedent improbability in the supposition of a Sumerian origin or affinity for the other Semitic numerals. No one would now question that 𒀸 ÁSH, 'one', constitutes the first and principal element in *ištên*; and the second may be compared with Ch. 單 *tan*, 'alone', 'single', 'one' (e.g. *tan-wei*, 'one-masted', of a boat). Now we find that some of the higher numerals in Sumerian are compounds of the lower; 'seven', for instance, is either IMIN, a compound of I, 'five', and MIN, 'two', or SHI-SINNA, an isolated word vouched for by Lenormant, apparently composed of SHI, 'four', and SIN, 'three'. Let us see, then, if Sumerian will help us to solve the riddle of שְׁמֹנֶה 'eight' (Assyr. *samnu, samānu*, 'eighth', Ar. ثَمَانٍ, Aram. תְּמָנְיָא, &c.). If we remember that 𒐋 ASH is 'six', and 𒈫 MAN, MIN, 'two', it seems an almost inevitable conclusion that *shemōneh* was originally a compound of ASH 'six', and MAN 'two'. We shall therefore be justified in expelling from the Oxford Lexicon the entry 'II. שמן,

שמני (√ of following; meaning unknown)'. The initial vowel is dropped as in אחמול, חמול, and other instances. (Was the Phoenician god אשמן Eshmûn so called, as being the 'eighth' brother of the seven Kabeiri?)

It is surely a fact worthy of notice, as having a possible bearing upon the etymology of the two terms, that אַרְבַּע 'four' and שֶׁבַע 'seven', have the ending בע in common. A suspicion at once arises that this may conceal a lower numeral common to both, e.g. 'three'. Now Sumerian actually supplies us with 𒁁 BESH, PESH, PE, 'numerous (to be, or to make so)', 'three' (*rapâšu* I, II[2]; *šalalti*: as though three were many); so that שבע (Assyr. *siba*, *sibi*, *sibittu*), 'seven', may apparently be resolved into the Sum. SHI, 'four'+BE, BESH, 'three'. Thus the formation is exactly like 6+2 = 8. But ארבע (Assyr. *arba'i*, *irba'*, *irbitti*, &c.) seems to be from ASH+BE, 1+3, with the change of Š to R, as in the Sumerian 𒅆 ESH and ER, 'to weep'. cf. also the transition from Š to L in Sum. DISH and DIL, 'one'.

OL derives שֵׁשׁ, שִׁשָּׁה 'six', from an unexplained √שדשׁ, comparing Sab. סדת, סת, Ar. سَادِسٌ 'sixth', سِتٌّ 'six', Assyr. *sudušu*, 'sixfold', *seššu*, 'sixth'. No plausible interpretation of this mysterious root can be drawn from Semitic sources. Since, however, the Sumerian 𒁹 DISH or 𒁹 DESH is 'one', we may suppose that we have here an instance of 5+1 = 6. The initial S will then be a vestige of 𒋗 SHU 'the hand' (Ch. 手 *shou*, *shu*, *siu*, *su*, 'hand'), which with its five fingers was a natural symbol for five. This view may be supported by the analogy of 𒐊 IA, I, the usual Sumerian word for 'five'; a term which has long been identified with 𒀀 ID, I, (I)A, 'hand' (*idu*). The character 𒀀, which was originally a picture of the uplifted hand, showing the five fingers (see *Chinese and Sumerian*, Sign-list, no. 52), came to be read A (*CT.* xi. 37) The older sound was probably YA, from GA, GA-D; cf. GAT, KAD, &c., the other values of 𒋗 SHU, 'hand', and ID (IT, IṬ), the common syllabic values of the character in Assyrian writing. The Heb. יָד 'hand', 'strength', 'side' (= A, *idu*, *emûqu*, *aḫu*), Old Aram. יד, and Ar. يَدٌ, have preserved the initial *ya*; a sound rejected by Assyrian (*idu*): cf. Sam. איד, Syr. ܐܝܕܐ *'îdâ*, Eth. እድ፡ *'ĕd*. It is no wonder that in primitive speech terms meaning 'hand' should be used to express 'five'; since, in the language of gesture, we still instinctively hold up the hand with fingers outspread to

indicate this number. (It may be noted in passing that Hommel's analysis of the Sumerian word ASH, 'six', into IA or A, 'five' + ASH, 'one', is undoubtedly right.)

The Semitic term for 'five', חָמֵשׁ; Ar. خَمْس, Aram. חֲמֵשׁ (Assyr. *ḫamiltu* = *ḫamištu*, 'five', *ḫanšu*, *ḫaššu*, 'fifth', cf. *ḫanšâ*, 'fifty') was long since compared by G. Bertin and others with קֹמֶץ, קוּמְצָא, 'the *bent* or *closed* hand' (cf. גּוּמָץ, גּוּמְצָא 'hole' or 'pit', such as the hand forms in taking a handful). The changes of the radicals are by no means unparalleled: cf Assyr. *qamâçu* (קמץ), 'to bend the knee', and *ḫanâšu* (חנש), 'to bow down' or bend the body. From the former springs *qimçê* (v. *qinçê*), 'the knees', as in the verse '(*ilu*) *Gilgamiš ina qinçê qamiç, utammeda zuqatsu*', (*The god*) *Gilgamish bent the knee, supporting his* (Engidu's) *head*; from the latter, *ḫaššu* (= *ḫanšu*), 'bent' or 'bowed down', as in the phrase *zâqip ḫaššu*, 'Uplifter of the bowed', said of a god (Sum. GAM: 4 R. 19. 39, 40 a; cf Ps. 145[14], 146[8])—an actual homophone of *ḫaššu*, fifth The Permansive *ḫanšû*(ni), 'they bowed' or submitted, recalls the more usual *kanšû*, from *kanâšu*[1] (Sum. GAM = כנש), in the same sense, as well as *kamâšu* (כמש), 'to bend the knees' (Sum. DUG GAM), and *kamâsu* (כמש or כמס Sum. GAM), 'to bow down' or 'crouch', 'cower', and further, with final N = M, *kanânu ša amêli*, 'to kneel, of a man' (Assyr gloss on Sum. DUG GAM, GAM, *knee-bend-bend*); cf. Heb. חָנָה = Ar. حنا, with progressive weakening of the initial guttural.

It is natural to suppose that all these and any other related words are offshoots of a primitive word GAM, GAN, 'bend', 'bow', identical with the Sumerian word of which we have given instances enough already. It is important to note that the same root exists in Chinese, where also the same fluctuation between the final sounds *m* and -*n* is observable in the dialects Thus we have 頷 *han, hom, ngam, hang, go, eiñ, haa*, K. *ham, am*, J. *kan, gan*, 'the chin'; 'to shake the head', 'to bow' (G 3824); 陷 *hien, ham, hang, a, yeñ*, K. *ham*, J. *kan, gan*, 'to fall down', 'to submit' (G. 4528); and other cognates. The variation of the vowels illustrates the Sumerian 𒄀 GI, GE, 𒄄 GEN, GIN, 𒃵 GAM, which are all three glossed by *kapâçu* (*qapâçu*), 'to bend or draw together', 'close', &c. (קָפַץ): see 2 R. 39, 42 e, f. The analogy of the Chinese may be taken to warrant an assumption that the Sumerian forms GAM, GEN, GE, were only dialectic variants of the same word.

[1] Also *ganâšu* (גנש).

The same idea suggests itself in connexion with GU-GAM-GAM, *ganāšu*, 'to bow down or submit', GU-GAN-GAN, id., and GU-GA-GA, *gadādu ša amēli*, 'to bow the head, of a man': cf., besides the words cited above, Ch 欠 *ki'en, hym, k'iam, c'ie*, K. *kŏm, him*, J. *ken*, A. *k'iem*, 'to bow the head or bend low' (G. 1750). For the Sum. GU, GUN, 'neck', see *Chinese and Sumerian*, p. 77. The final Sibilant by which the root GAM, GAN, has been transliteralized in חמ־ש, כנ־ש, כמ־ם, קמ־ץ, &c., present as a formative element in many other Semitic Triliterals, may probably be regarded as a Post-position, possibly the Sumerian SHU, 'to', 'into', 'at', so that the general sense is 'a-bent' or 'a-bending' or 'to bend'.

The Chinese 拳 *k'uen, k'un, kung, k'en*, 'the fist', 'to double up the hand', taken along with the Sumerian GUN, GU, 'hand', 'side' (a phonetic use of the Neck-symbol: *CT.* xii. 10), seems to indicate an old Asiatic word GÅM, GUM, GUN, 'fist' or 'bent hand'. Accordingly, קמץ *ḫanšu*, may perhaps be resolved into GÅM + ASH (ESH, ISH: cf. Assyr. *eš-ten, iš-ten*, 'one'), 'one fist' or 'hand'. Otherwise, since the Sumerian possessed more than a single series of numeral words, we might compare MASH, 'five' (Lenormant, *La Langue primitive de la Chaldée et les Idiomes Touraniens*, p. 154: Paris, 1875); or even ĠA, 'many', 'ten', and MASH (= BAR, BA), 'half', as though חמש meant *ten-half*. (Cf. also MASH* as the root of Assyr. *mešlu*, 'half'.) In any case, the fact must be recognized that, although in the course of time and use numeral terms tend to become mere arbitrary sounds signifying only the respective abstract numbers, yet originally it was not so; but the two or three primary vocables out of which a series was gradually constructed had rather a vague than a definite import, and words like ESH, 'many', 'three', ĠA, 'many', 'ten', or ME (= MEN), 'many', 'a hundred' (מֵאָה) as compared with Turkish *bin*, 'a thousand', and Chinese *man, wan, wa, va, ma*, J. *ban* (*Banzai*, 'Ten thousand years!'), A. *van*, 'ten thousand', 'many', 'all' (G. 12486), mark a much earlier stage of culture than expressions like SHI-SIN, 4 + 3, or I-MIN, 5 + 2, for 'seven', in which the process of abstraction is already complete. The bearing of these remarks will be further evident in our analysis of the Semitic terms for 'two' and 'three'. The word שְׁנַיִם in all its various forms (שְׁנַיִם = שְׁתַּיִם; שְׁנֵי; שְׁנֵי = שְׁתֵּי; Ph. אשנם = אשנים; Ar. أثنان

'ithnâni: Sab. תני; Aram. תרין with R for N, but תִּנְיָנָא 'second'; Palm. תרתן = תנתן), Assyr. *šinâ*, *šittâ*, 'two', and the cognate verbs שָׁנָה, Assyr. *šanû*, *šunnû*, 'to do or say a second time', 'repeat', 'to double' (= Aram. תְּנָא, Ar. ثنى 'to double or fold a thing'), with their weak external triliteralization as ל״ה or ל״י stems, which disappears in some of the forms, obviously indicate a Biliteral root SH-N [1] or T-N; and the common interchange of final M, N, warrants us in recognizing the same root, triliteralized internally, in תאם, תומים, תאמים 'twins', and the Nom. Pr. Θωμᾶς. The Chinese 雙 *shwang*, *shong*, *sung*, K. *sang*, 'a pair', 'a couple', 'two', 'both', 'double', (G 10118) and 孿 *shwan*, *shan*, *lwan*, *shwang*, K. *san*, 'to bear twins' (G. 7452), are probably of the same origin. It may be that we have a trace of a Sumerian SHAN, 'two', in the expression SHANABI, 'two-thirds' (lit. 'two parts of him'; cf. *šittenšû* or *sittâšû*: NE I. ii. 1; IX ii. 16). What is certain is that the Sumerian words DAM, TAM, TAB, TAN, denoted *socius*, *socia*, 'fellow', 'mate', 'companion', in various applications ([cuneiform] DAM, *mûtu*, 'man', 'husband', *ḫâiru*, 'bridegroom', *aššatu*, 'wife'; [cuneiform] TAM-MA, i.e. TÁMA, *talimu*, 'uterine brother' = Sam. תלים; DAM-TAM-MA, *ḫâiru*, with gloss TA-MA; DAM-DAM, *ḫâiru*, *ḫirtu*; [cuneiform] MU-TAN-NA, i.e. MU-TÁNA, *ḫâweru*, *ḫirtu*, 'spouse', conjunx; [cuneiform] TAB, *tappû*, *tappattum*; see DAM-TAB; *eçêpu*, *ruddû*, 'add', 'increase'; IN-TAB, *ušteni*, 'he doubled' (שנה); DAM-TAB, *tappû*, *comes*, 'friend', 'fellow', *tappattum*, f. id., *çirrêtum*, 'fellow-wife' = צָרָה), and that the numeral-word MAN signified not only 'two', but also 'both', 'fellow' or 'mate', 'brother', and 'twin' (𒈫 MA-AN, i.e. MAN, *šinâ*, *kilallân*, *tappû*, *atḫû*, *mašû*): 𒈫 MI-IN, i.e. MIN, *šinâ*, *kilallân*: see 5 R. 3). Cf. also SÁG-MAN, 'twin' (*tu-a-mu*); SAG-TAB, 'helper' (*rêçu*; SAG, 'head', whence Assyr. שקה *šaqû*, 'to be high', and שְׂגָא, סגי 'become high' or 'grow', and שָׂגַב 'be high'); MASH-TAB, 'twin' (*tu-'a-mu*), GU-TAB, 'to say twice', 'repeat' (*šunnû*), and MIN-TAB, 'to double'. It is evident that MAN and TAB (from DAB = [cuneiform] DAĜ, *uççupu*, *ruddû*) are synonyms; and also that MAN, 'twin', is related to MASH, 'twin' (*mašû*, *tu'âmu*), much as the Chinese *sin*, *sên*, *hsin*, J. *shin*, 'bitter' (G. 4564) is related to Sum. SIS, SHESH, 'bitter', or as Ch. *nien*, 'twenty', to Sum. NISH, 'twenty'.

[1] Cf. Egypt. [hieroglyph] *sen*, 'two'; 'brother', 'companion'.

Is there any etymological relation between MAN and TAN, TAM, TAB? It seems possible. Elsewhere (*Chinese and Sumerian*, p. 13 *ad fin.*) I have given examples of transition from labial to dental initial sounds. Here may be added MU(G?), TUG, TU, 'garment', MU, TU, 'incantation', MUL (from MUN), U-MUN, NIN, SHIN, 'lord' (suggesting an intermediate change from M to N), MUNU, 'flash', 'flame', MEL (from MEN), id., SHEN, 'shining', 'pure' (of water), read MEN, 'diadem' (*agû*)=Ch. *mien, men, myn*, and TAN, 'bright', 'clear', 'pure', of water (*zakû*, זכה; cf. Sum. SHAG, 'bright', 'pure'), which may be compared with TAN, TAM, as values of the Sun-character.

The lexicon distinguishes (1) שָׁנָה=Assyr. *šanû*, Aram. שְׁנָא 'to change', 'alter', whence it derives שָׁנָה 'year', fr. the *changing* seasons; (2) שָׁנָה, √ of שָׁנִי 'scarlet'; and (3) שָׁנָה 'to repeat', 'do again'. In all likelihood, however, (1) and (3) are identical. To 'change' is to become or make *other* or *different*, and 'other'= *second, not the same* (see Skeat). The Heb. and Aram. זַן, זְנִין, זנים 'divers kinds', may be derived from this root (ZAN=SHAN). But שָׁנָה, Assyr. *šattu*, Aram. שַׁתָּא (=*shantu, shanta*), Ph. שת (*shan-t*), 'year', probably has a Biliteral root, and may be compared with Sum. ZUN, ZEN, in E-ZEN, I-ZUN, 'festival' (*isinnu*), strictly, perhaps, fixed time or period. Our own word 'year' is akin to ὧρος, 'a season', 'a year', and ὥρα, 'a season', 'an hour'. Cf. also Ch. 年 *nien, nyn, nem, ngien, ngi*, 'a year' (*n*=*š*?). Hieroglyphic Egyptian (*renpit*, 'year'), Sumerian (MU, 'tree', 'year'), and old Chinese (*nien*), agree in representing the year by symbols of vegetation; the annual growth of the crops being regarded as the principal characteristic of the year. As for שָׁנִי 'scarlet',[1] the well-known vagueness of colour-terms in primitive language may justify us in assuming a relation to the Sumerian SHEN, 'bright' (Turkish *shen-li*); and also to TAN, TAM, as values of the Sun-symbol; with which cf. DAG (DAṄG=DAM) 'bright', 'shining', and IB-DAM, 'to be bright', i. e. cheerful (*mamdru ša amêli*). We may further compare Sum. DAM in A-DAMA, 'red blood', and Heb אָדֹם 'red', דָּם (Assyr. *damu*, Aram. Tg. Jer. אדמא, Pun. *edom*)

[1] Another Hebrew colour-term, 'of unknown etymology', שָׁשַׁר, may perhaps be compared with the Egyptian *tcheser* (*dsr*), 'red'.

'blood'—so called from its red colour (2 K. 3[22], Jo. 3[4]), and the Chinese 彤 *t'ung*, *tong*, *dung*, 'red' (from *dom* or *dåm*), 丹 *tan*, *tang*, 'red', and 旦 *tan*, *tang*, *ta*, *dan*, 'the dawn'. A trace of the root *DAM* in the sense of *bright*, *brilliant*, may be seen in the Assyr. דמק *damâqu*, 'to be bright', 'light-coloured' (e.g. *çubatu damqu*, 'a light robe'), 'clear', 'pure', 'kindly', 'good' (= Sam. דמע 'good'). The afformative ק (=ג) may perhaps be referred to Sum. GA (GA-R, GA-L), 'to make', 'to be'.

The reason why [cuneiform], the Sun-symbol, was chosen to signify TAM, 'brother', might well be found in the natural association of the ideas of *good*, *pleasant*, *helpful*, and the like, with that of brightness.

Since SHEN, 'bright', is probably cognate with SHAG (SHANGA), and SIG (=SING), 'to be bright', 'pure' (*damâqu*), we may assume for all three words a common root SHEM, SHAM (=DAM, TAM), 'bright', 'shining' (final M=NG=N). The Semitic שמש, 'the sun', might then be regarded as an imperfect reduplication of this root (*shamsh*=*sham-sham*, *sham-sha*); although we find SHA-MASH in the Sumerian column of *CT*. xii. 3, apparently as a sort of *jeu-de-mot* or popular etymology (SHA, 'pure'+MASH, 'bright'). The Semitic שמן 'fat', 'oil', Assyr. *šamnu*, may very well be of the same origin, since oil is a *bright* or *shining* substance, which adds a gloss or lustre to things (הצהיל Ps. 104[15]).

To return to the Numerals. We might perhaps be inclined to regard Semitic שָׁלֹשׁ (Assyr. *šalaštu*, *šalaltu*, *šelaltu*, *šalultu*, 'three', *šalšu*, 'third', Aram. תְּלָתָא 'three', Ar. ثلث) as compounded of SHAL=SHAN, 'two', and ASH or USHU, 'one'. Remembering, however, that the Sumerian PESH, 'three', strictly means 'broad', 'extended', 'numerous' (cf. PESH, *rapâšu*, *ruppušu*; see p. 99), and that ESH, 'three', is also explained 'much' or 'many' (*ma'dûtu*), it seems plausible to recognize the root of שלש and its cognates in the Sumerian [cuneiform] SAL, SHAL,[1] 'to be broad', 'to extend' (*rapâšu*, *muççû*); the Biliteral having been triliteralized either by the addition of the Postposition ŠU, as in other examples, or as a result of imperfect reduplication (ŠAL-ŠA=ŠAL-ŠAL). Lastly, תשע, תִּשְׁעָה, تِسْع, Assyr. *tišit*, *tilti* (=*tišti*), 'nine', *tišû*, 'ninth', while hopelessly puzzling if we confine our attention to the Semitic lexicon, certainly looks very much like an exceptional formation from the Sumerian DISH (TISH), 'one', and A, ĜA, 'ten' (Qs. IX =10–1).

[1] Cf also [cuneiform] TAL, *rapâšu* (TAL = ŠAL !).

The Feminine Ending in Semitic

We saw above (p. 87) that certain primitive terms denoting things feminine are destitute of any external mark of gender; and we drew the natural inference that, in its earlier stages, Semitic resembled Sumerian, Chinese, and Turkic idiom in this important respect. The formal distinction of gender is, in fact, not a necessity but a late-born luxury of language. What then may we suppose to be the origin of the ת (*t*), which has become the normal termination of nouns feminine in Semitic speech? Inasmuch as language is a rational development, it is evident that we have here no mere conventional mark or arbitrary symbol, in itself non-significant, however much it may have come to assume that appearance owing to the wear and tear of time. The termination, in short, must represent the remains of what was once an independent word, having its own distinct significance. Added to other words, in order to qualify their sense in a given direction, it soon coalesced with them, losing much of its own material in the process. Now, according to the ancient parable (Gn. 2^{18-22}), Woman (אשה), destined to be the 'helper' (עזר) of the Man (איש), was so called because she was taken by the Creator out of his *ribs* or *side*. The bearing of this upon the solution of our problem will perhaps become apparent, when it is stated that the Sumerian [cuneiform sign] DA, TA, commonly used as a Postposition, as a substantive noun denoted 'side' (*idu*, 'hand', 'side'), and then 'beside' or 'along with', scil. as a helper, being indeed in all probability closely connected with DAM, TAM, 'spouse', TAB, 'second', 'mate' or 'fellow', and DAĜ, 'to help' (*narâru*): see p. 103. Dealing, as we are, with language at a very early stage of its evolution, when the formative elements, which gradually lost their separate identity and significance, were still in use as independent vocables and, as such, alive with meaning, we have little hesitation in equating the Semitic fem. suffix *-t* with this primitive Sumerian TA. As for the Heb. איש (plur. אישים), *vir*, it is probably a weakened and internally triliteralized form of Sum. GISH or GESH, 'man', 'male', 'lord' (*amêlu*, *zikaru*, *idlu*), just as אש (Assyr. *išâtu*; Eth. *'ĕsât*), 'fire', may be referred back to Sum. GISH, 'fire' (*išâtu*) and its younger form IZI (GIŽI?) and עץ 'tree', 'wood', to Sum. GISH, 'tree', 'wood' (*içu*, *iççu*), which last may also be the source of Syr. ܩܝܣܐ 'tree', 'piece of wood', and Assyr. *kîsu*, *kîstu*, *kîsatu*, 'a wood or forest'. The various changes undergone by the original initial *G*, including even its entire disappearance, are too common to call for special remark.

Some Pronominal Elements.

A small bilingual fragment, long since published (5 R. 20, No. 4), informs us that in Sumerian GU or KU meant 'I' (*anáku*), LI meant 'thou' (*atta*), SHE and SHI meant 'he' (*šû*) and 'that', ille (*šuatum*) respectively. Upon this Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch observes: 'Die Gleichungen des Vocabulars V. R. 20, Nr. 4 ..... sind mir noch unverstandlich' (*SG.*, p. 24 note). They are likely to remain so, until he chooses to examine the facts of Sumerian in the light of Comparative Philology. In Chinese, for instance, we have 吾 *wu, ngu*, 'I', 'my', 我 *wo, ngo*, id.; 你 *ni, li*, 'thou', 'you', 'your', 爾 *i, li*, id.; 是 *shi*, 'this', 'that', and 此 *ts'ze*, J. *shi*, 'this' (as opp. to *pi*, 'that' = Sum. BI). Here *ngu* and *li* are dialectical; and it is not inconceivable that GU and LI were such in Sumerian, although Dr. Delitzsch does not favour the idea of Sumerian dialects. When he asserts, 'Denn dass innerhalb der auf ziemlich enge geographische Grenzen beschränkten sumerischen Sprache fünf "Dialekte" gesprochen und von den Akkadern beobachtet worden seien, erscheint ausgeschlossen', we may well ask, Why? who can pretend to assign the precise limits of the territory over which Sumerian was originally spoken? And that dialectic variation does not depend on extent of area is evident from numerous instances, e. g. ancient Greece or modern Somersetshire (see the works of Lucien Bonaparte). Our argument, however, is greatly strengthened by the fact that MA (WA), MU (WU), 'I', 'my', the ordinary forms of the 1st Pers. Pron. in our Sumerian texts, so nearly correspond with *wo, wu*, the standard forms in Chinese, as to be virtually identical with them. (That *wo* = *wa* may be inferred from the Hakka *nga*, and the Korean *a*, Jap. *ga*, Annam. *nga*; see G. 12680.) Moreover, the standard pronunciation of 爾 'thou', 'you', 'your', which is variously given as *ri, er, êrh, urh*, and *'rh*, by different scholars, may reasonably be compared with the Sumerian infixed Pronoun of the 2nd Pers. RA, RI, '(for) thee'; while ZA, 'thou', ZA, ZU, 'thy', the normal Sumerian forms for the 2nd Pers., to say the least, resemble the common Chinese 女 or 汝 *žu, so, zù, yu*, 'thou', 'you', 'your'. As for SHE, SHI, 'he', 'that', the transition from nasal to sibilant sounds already noted above (p. 10) almost compels us to regard them as younger or perhaps dialectical equivalents of the demonstrative NE (gloss *ni-e*), 'this' (*annû*), NA, also read NE (*ni-e*), 'he' (*šû*), and NI

or NE (gloss *ni-e*), 'he' (*šû*). In short, NA, NE, NI, 'he', are related to SHE, SHI, 'he', as NIR, 'lord', to SHER, 'lord', NIN to SHIN, &c. The 'Semitic' (Assyrio-Babylonian) *šû* (f. *ši*), the common rendering of these Sum. Pronouns, may itself be, in fact, derived from SHE, SHI, modified by addition of the case-ending (SHI-u=*šû*); and the Relative (orig. Demonstr.) Particle *šá* may be referred to the same source. Furthermore, the Pronoun NE, NI, as a verbal prefix, e. g. in NÀ NE-RÚ, 'He reared a stone' (=*abna izqup*); NE-DIB, 'He took', scil the road (=*içbat ḫarrana*); SHAGA-NI NI-DUG, 'His heart was glad' (=*libbišu iṭîb*; cf. Judg. 16[25]); NI-GAL, 'He is' (*ibašši*), may well be looked upon as the prototype of the Syriac form נקטל (=Heb. יקטל), which has always been a puzzle to Semitic philologists. (See Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, p. 183.) A hypothesis which affords a rational explanation of exceptional and isolated facts becomes all the more convincing. But how are we to account for the ordinary prefix of the Semitic Impf. 3rd Pers., viz. *ya*? (See Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 182.) For the solution of this problem it is surely not irrelevant to call attention to the fact, which rounds off our theory in an unexpected and beautiful manner, that the Syllabary instructs us that the symbol NI was also read IA in the sense of *šû*, 'he'. The Pronominal origin of the prefix י of the Semitic Imperfect thus becomes apparent.

The same character was also read I (2 R. 39, 51 c; cf. its two names *I*, var. *E*, and *Ia'u* or *Ya'u*· *CT.* XI. i 18–20). Its use for the Pronoun is purely phonetic (see *Chinese and Sumerian*, p. 23), depending on the fact that NI, IA, 'he', was homophonous with (N)I, IA, 'fat', 'grease', 'ointment', 'oil' (*šamnu*), to which the symbol properly belongs, as appears from the archaic linear form (probably a closed (lidded?) vessel or pot containing the substance. For the shape, cf. the linear forms of 'food' and 'grain-stalks', 'straw'). It was also read LI, in the same sense (LI, *šamnu*); and the transition of sounds thus indicated (NI=LI) is familiar both in Sumerian and Chinese. 'Syn. *i*, *ia*', notes the Berlin Professor. 'Synonyms', yes; but the question for the philologist is whether NI, I, IA, LI, are not rather different local pronunciations, i. e. dialectical variations, of the same word. Premising that the character was also read ZAL, 'to shine' (cf. ZA, 'glitter', 'sparkle', in ZA-LAG, ZA-GIN, ZA-BAR, &c., *Chin. and Sum.*, p. 148 sq.), and DIG (*narabu*, *narbu*, of uncertain meaning; perhaps 'collop', cf. آراب 'pieces of flesh'), we need

hardly hesitate to compare the Sumerian NI, LI, I, IA, DIG, 'fat', 'grease', &c. with the Chinese words (not of course with the characters, which are relatively much later) 膩 *ni, li, t'i*, K. *yi*, J. *ni* or *dji*, An. *nyi*, 'grease', 'fat' (G. 8228), 胰 *i*, An. *ži*, 'the *omentum* or caul' (G. 5405), 腬 *žou, yiu, iu*, 'fat', 'rich', 'abundant' (G. 5658), 油 *yu, yau, yiu, iu, you*, An. *žu*, 'oil', 'fat', 'grease' (G. 13409), and 脂 *chi, tsi* (OS. *ti-k*, P. 275), 'the fat of animals', 'grease', 'ointment' (G. 1792). When resemblance amounts to identity, it is needless to point it out. It may, however, be observed that Ch. (W.) *t'i* and *chi* agree with Sum. DI-G; and that the relation of *i* to *ži* (French *j*), *iu* to *žou*, *yu* to *žu*, and of all three to *chi, tsi*, resembles that of the Amharic የ *ya* (=י, ܝ, ש, *ša*) to ዠ *zha* (*ž*) and the classical Eth. ዘ *za* (Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, p 182). Cf. the transition from Lat. *iudex* to French *juge*, our 'judge', and reversely our 'yoke' with It. *giogo*, Fr. *joug*, and Lat. *iugum*. Moreover, these same curious permutations of sound may be held to corroborate an ultimate reference of the Semitic Demonstratives זה, ז, זא, זאת, זה, זו, זי, and their cognates, to the Sumerian IA, I, SHE, SHI, NE, NI, NA, 'he', 'this', 'that'. And since 'A threefold cord is not quickly broken', it may be worth while to signalize here the essential harmony of the Sumerian I, IA, ZA, ZI or ZE, NA, DAG, 'stone' (*abnu*), with what we find in Chinese. We have already seen that sounds so diverse may really be the outcome of dialectical changes. At all events, the Ch. 石 *shi*, 'stone', is read *zah, zih*, in Ningpo, *zi* in Wenchow, and *shak, t'ak*, in Hakka and Annam respectively; sounds which correspond clearly enough to three of the values of the Sumerian symbol. Delitzsch, it is true, passes over the value DAG (*CT.* xi. 4); apparently because its 'Akkadian' meaning does not happen to be recorded in our fragmentary sources. As we have seen, however, the Chinese *shak, t'ak*, to which we may add the Turkish طاش *tāsh*, 'stone', make the same sense likely for the Sumerian Stone-symbol with the known pronunciation DAG (whence the symbol got its grammatical name of *Daqqu* and its phonetic values *dak, tak*, &c. as a syllable in Assyrian writing). For the rest, the symbol is (as the older forms of it reveal) a compound of two simple characters with which we have already had much to do, viz. NI, LI, I, IA, ZAL, DAG (the *Oil*-and-*Fat*-symbol) and (the *Sun*-symbol), which, among its many values, includes DAG in the sense of *bright* (*CT.* xii. 6). Each component may therefore be regarded as both phonetic and significant

in the compound symbol, which doubtless figures stone as a *sparkling* substance; not as 'emporragend', sticking up out of the soil, as Delitzsch supposes, connecting NA, I, 'stone', with the homophonous NA, I, 'sich erheben'. The alluvial soil of Shumer was destitute of stone, which had to be imported from abroad for artistic uses.

The Sumerian NI, LI, Ch. *ni*, *li*, 'fat', 'grease', and other instances of the transition of N into L, such as Sum. NU, LU, 'man', or the Chinese *nu*, *lu*, 'slave', *nu*, *lu*, 'woman', enable us to understand why LA can be used even by Gudea instead of the more usual NA, NU, for the Negative Particle. 'Meines Erachtens ein Semitismus', observes Delitzsch (*SG.* p. 65); and certainly the Sumerian LÂ bears a surprising resemblance to the Sem. Bab. *lá*, Aram. לָא, Ar. لا *lá*, and Heb. לא or לוא. It is evident, however, from the facts adduced here and elsewhere, that we might, with more apparent justice, explain the Semitic Particle as 'ein Sumerismus'. Changes of sound like NA = LA are normal marks of the growth of language, and may be distinctive of local dialects, some of which, as in Chinese, preserve the older sounds of words.

The character 𒀭 AN, 'high', 'heaven', 'Anu', the god of heaven, which was read DINGIR in the sense of 'a god' (p. 14, *supra*), also meant Ia-'-u or *Ya'u* and Ia-a-ti or *Yáti* (*CT.* xii. 4). The latter is the Assyrian 1st Pers Pron 'me'; and AN, the Sumerian term thus explained, might well be the prototype of אני, אנא, &c., the Semitic 1st Pers. Pron. We may further compare the Chinese *an*, 'I' (Giles 48), which is *am* in Canton and *gan* in Amoy, and also *ang* (añ), *ngang*, 'high' 'I' (G. 71)

As for *Ia'u* (=יהו), it is natural to equate it with the Divine name יָה, and to suppose that, like AN, *Yahu* originally meant 'high', 'the Lofty One' (cf. עליון as a name of God). In that case, we may conjecture that its etymon is to be recognized in the Sumerian 𒄿, 𒄿𒀀 (S^b 20, 21) I, IA, 'to be high', 'exalted', 'exaltation' (*nádu*, נאד; *tanittum*), with addition of the Semitic Case-ending. It is even possible that NAD, NA, IA (=YA), I, represents the etymological evolution of the word. NAD, as we know, is one of the values of the Mountain-symbol 𒆳; and 𒈾 NA means 'high' (*êlû*). It would appear that the Ar. نَدّ *nadd*, 'high hill', and Heb. נֵד *nēd*, 'heap', as well as Ar. نَهْد *nahd*, 'swelling', 'bulky', 'tall', 'prominent', and the Assyr. *na'ádu*, *nâdu*, all belong to the same primitive root which we see in the Sumerian NAD, NA, YA, I, 'lifted up', 'exalted', 'high', and the like.

SOME SEMITIC INFLEXIONAL ELEMENTS.

Language in its primitive stages is destitute of external marks of Number and Case as well as Gender. A noun, as the name of everything of its kind, might be used either as inclusive of all the individuals in the class denoted by it or as specifying a single one of them. We may say, if we please, that the Common Noun is essentially a 'Collective'. In Sumerian, as in Chinese, the context often decides whether a noun is intended as sing. or plur.; e.g. MU-BI may mean either 'His name' or 'Their names', according to the context (MUN, MU, 'name'; Ch. *ming*; BI, Ch. *pi*, A. *bi*, 'that', 'they'.) An ancient and natural mode of indicating the plural is repetition of the sing.; Sum. KUR KUR, 'countries', 'hills' (KUR = Ch. *k'iu*, *k'u*, *ku*, 'mound', 'place'); UB UB, 'regions' (UB, also IB; Ch. *yêp*, *yip*, *yi*, 'district', R. 163); Ch, *žên*, *nyin*, J. *nin*, 'a man', 'men', 'a woman' or 'lady'; 'man' or 'mankind', but also *žên žên*, 'all men' or 'mankind' (cf. Sum. NIN, SHIN, 'lord', also 'lady'). We seem to have something analogous to this kind of plural in the בארת בארת of Gn. 14[10] and the המנים המנים of Jo. 4[14]. In course of time, however, Sumerian developed a mode of distinguishing the plural, both in nouns and verbs, which approaches more nearly to what is designated Inflexion in Semitic and Aryan grammar. This it did by appending the Pronoun of the 3rd Pers. E-NE (𒂊 𒉈), 'he', 'they' (= later ENE-NENE, with plur. explicit). Thus from DIMER, DINGIR, 'god' (*ilu*), we get DIMERÉNE, DINGIRÉNE, '(the) gods' (*ilâni*), and from INLALE, 'he weighs' (*išáqàl*) the plur. INLALÉNE, 'they weigh' (*išaqalû*). This suffixed Pron. ENE seems to be a compound of E, 'he', 'this', 'that', 'the', which we see in E-AG, 'he did', E-GAZ, 'he smote', E-GIN, 'he marched' (Thureau-Dangin, *SAK.*, p. 38), and NE, 'this', 'he' (= NI), which appears in NE-DU, 'he built', NE-ŠUŠ, 'it threw down' (*ibid.*). It is evident that E may be a weakened form of NE, as I is a weakening of NI (*vide* p. 24 *supra*): cf. Ch. 伊 *i*, 'he', 'she', 'it', 'this', 'that', with Sum. E, I.

Now, whether we suppose that Sumerian was influenced by Semitic or Semitic by Sumerian, or whatever we conceive to have been the original relation between the two languages, the fact remains incontrovertible that the resemblance between the Sum. plur. DINGIR-ÊNE and the Sem. plurs. *il-âni* (cf. also Hammurabi's *emûq-în* = *emûqên*, for *emûq-ân*, plur. of *emûqu*, and *ardên* = *ardân*, *ardâni*, plur. of

ardu, 'male slave', 1 R. 70), *mĕlākhīn* (מלכין = מלכים), and *ǵálisúna*, *ǵálisína* (جالسون, جالسين), amounts to what may fairly be called a strong family likeness; and this impression is confirmed by the equally remarkable correspondence of the Sum. verbal form IN-LALENE (Pres. 3 Plur), not only with the unabridged forms of the Pres. and Pret. 3 Plur in Assyrian, viz. m *iŝaqalúni* (var. -*nu*), f. *iŝaqaláni*, m. *iŝqulúni* (var. -*nu*), f. *iŝquláni*, Ar. *yaqṭulúna*, *yaqṭúlna* (fr. *yaqṭulúna*), and intermediate forms like יקטלון, f. (Aram.) יקטלן, ܢܩܛܠܢ, but also with fuller forms of the Perf. 3 Plur such as Assyr *ŝaqlúni*, *ŝaqláni*, Heb. יָדְעוּן (fr. *yada'úna*), Aram. קְטַלוּן, fem. אֲמַרָן (Tg.), Syr. f. ܩܛܠܶܝܢ *qĕtalēn*.

From all this it appears that the final *N* which is characteristic of the plur. of Semitic nouns and verbs had previously performed the same function in Sumerian, where also it enjoyed an independent existence as a Demonstrative Pronoun (NA, NE, NI, E, I, E-NE). The change in some Semitic dialects from the final *N* to *M* (מלכים for מלכין) is a common phenomenon of language (*vide* p. 8 *sq.*), and need not now detain us. The known facts of Sumerian, however, may perhaps throw further light upon the obscure question of the origin of the Semitic Case-endings, *ŭ*, *ĭ*, *ă* (see Wright, p. 139 ff.). These terminations, which have long since been recognized as Pronominal elements of a Demonstrative nature, almost inevitably remind one of the vowel-extension of Sumerian nouns; which also apparently had, at least originally, the force of a weak Demonstrative ('this', 'the'). The commonest form of this affix is A; as in KÚRA (spelled KUR-RA), 'the country', from KUR, SÁGA, 'the head' (SAG-GA), from SAG; cf. the Aram. *Stat. Emphat.* גַּבְרָא *gabrā*, 'the man', from גבר. In some instances the ending fluctuates between A and E or I, without affecting the sense; e.g. from UD, 'day', we have both UD-DA and UD-DE, from KUR, 'another', 'a foe', both KUR-RA and KUR-RI (cf. the Sem. נכר *nakāru*, and Ch. *kai*, *koi*, *kwi*, 'to alter', 'another'), while the name of the god Ellil occurs as EN-LILLA, EN-LILLI, EN-LIL-E. Sometimes the vowel is U: from ID, 'new moon' (cf. 5 R. 23. 32 e f g h with Br. 971) we get both ITU and ITI, id. (= Ch. *yut*, *yet*, 'moon', 'month'); ZÍDU = ZÍDA, 'the just' (4 R. 28, No. 1, Obv. 11); ǴUL-LU = ǴUL-A, 'the evil' (*CT.* xvii. 29, 7 a): and it is worthy of note that UM (U-UM), 'mother', actually occurs in the forms U-MU, UM-ME, and UM-MA (= ÚMU, ÚME, ÚMA), as though it were a regularly declined Semitic noun.

It is hardly more fanciful to see in these phenomena of the primitive tongue which held sway before it in the Land of Shumer-Shinar the

archetype of the Cases of the old Semitic, than it is to recognize in a Sumerian construction-like UMÚNA ENÉMĀNI, 'The Lord's Word' (lit. *Of the Lord His Word*), the original model of such Assyrio-Babylonian phrases as *ša bêli amâtsû*, *ša Tiâmat napšâtuš*, and the like. (Cf. also Osmanli Turkish use: e. g. *babanyn gelmesi*, 'Of the father his coming') Finally, we may remark that the strange caprice exhibited by the Semitic dialects in the use of these endings, in consequence of which, for instance, the Genitive plur. *-î*, *-îna*, does duty for the Accusative also in classical Arabic, while Aramaic, Hebrew, Moabite, and Phoenician have discarded both the *-û*, *-ûna*, of the Nominative plur and the *-á*, *-ána*, of the Accusative, making *-în* or *-îm* represent all three Cases in the plural Number, is best explained by the view that the distinction of special relations of Case was not the original import or function of these endings. That use of them would appear to be a convention, gradually established with more or less consistency, as each dialect began to assume its own individual shape, and entered upon an independent course of self-development.

ANNUAL SHAKESPEARE LECTURE, 1915

SHAKESPEARE AND THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

By Sir SIDNEY LEE, D.Litt.

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

OUTLINE OF THE THEME

I. Italy's contribution to modern civilization.—The classical heritage.—The innovations of the Italian Renaissance.—The study of Plato and the Neo-Platonists.—The faith in physical beauty.—The new sense of colour.—The plea for intellectual enfranchisement.—The new scientific curiosity.—The federal bonds of European literature.

II. The significance of humanism.—Elizabethan debt to Italian stimulus.—Tudor travel in Italy.—Sir Philip Sidney in Venice.—Italian visitors to England.—Giordano Bruno in London and Oxford.—The study of Italian poetry and prose by Shakespeare's contemporaries.—Italian influence on Bacon's scientific speculation.

III. Shakespeare's humanism.—His intellectual receptivity.—His freedom from insularity combined with patriotic ardour.—The problem of his knowledge of Italian.—The Italian echoes in the moonlight scene in *The Merchant of Venice*.—The slenderness of Shakespeare's reference to Italian art.—His dramatic adaptations of Italian novels.—His Italian scenes and characters.—*Romeo and Juliet*, *Twelfth Night*, and *Othello*.—His *Sonnets* and the Italian conception of Platonism.—The traditional fascination of Italy in later English poetry.

I

Literature, philosophy, science, law, and art are the five main currents of the tide of civilization. All the five trace much of their healthful flow in modern times within and without Europe to the impetus of Italian example—to the comprehensive energy in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries of Italy's imaginative, intellectual, and artistic accomplishment. Modern Italy's political history was until the middle of last century a record of gloom, a tale of cruel dismemberment; but her intellectual and artistic fortunes never ran higher than in the days of Shakespeare's youth. Literature and art gave a genuine meaning to the conception of Italian unity, even when the country was politically torn asunder by the strife of faction and by domestic or foreign tyrannies. A degenerate era of Italian culture opened at the close of the sixteenth century, but

before that date Italy—by virtue of her art, poetry and philosophy—had won unfading laurels for herself, and had helped many foreign brows to chaplets no less lasting. To change the metaphor, Italy may be fairly likened, in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and especially in the sixteenth century, to a copious fountain whence the sparkling waters of civilization spread in broad streams over modern Europe, and thence at later epochs, over a great part of the world. So honourable a tribute can be paid to no other country.

Italy set out on her modern career with advantages which she shared with no other part of Europe. Civilization in liberal measure illumined the land while mists of barbarism enveloped the rest of Europe.

The intellect of ancient Italy was largely fertilized by forces older and more lucent than those of her own breeding: by the thought and style of Greece. But the native land of Vergil and Catullus, of Cicero and Tacitus, insured herself near 2,000 years ago against a denial at any era of her literary genius or power. The country which harboured the Republic and Empire of Rome, the country which was the nursery of Roman law and the birthplace of Latin Christianity, claimed in the fifth century of our era a civilized and a civilizing tradition, which Attila and his Huns, with other scourges of kindred race, vowed to perdition in vain. The successes and failures of the Gothic warlords of the fifth century in their assaults on Italy graphically illustrate the virtual futility of relying on brute violence to annihilate the fruit of man's intellect and spirit.

The barbarian invaders of Italy effected a very incomplete conquest of the country, very incomplete when it is compared with their conquests elsewhere in Western Europe. In spite of the invasion and settlement of Teutons in the North, in spite of the later immigrations of Normans and Saracens in the South, the Latin race can still claim in the peninsula an ethnical predominance. On the lips of the people at large the old Latin language suffered in course of time transformation, re-formation. Yet the Latin tongue in select circles survived without radical decay and came to serve the greatest purposes of human intercourse, the purposes of social organization and of education, not in Italy alone, but wherever government was built on sure foundations by the barbarian conquerors. The triumph of the Latin language over the perils of extinction which menaced it in Europe of the fifth and sixth centuries is a complementary testimony to the impotence of brute matter in conflict with unconquerable mind.

Some 1,500 years ago Italy proved herself the saviour of such civilization as the world then knew, and during some eleven succeed-

ing centuries she discharged the proud function of protecting the old elements of civilization and reinforcing it with new elements. The missionary activities of civilizing Italy never suffered arrest before the close of the sixteenth century. Yet the Teutonic influence bred in the Middle Ages sentiments and ideas which clouded the mental and spiritual atmosphere of all Europe and cast their shadow on Italy. One should not exaggerate the darkness of the Dark Ages; one should not disparage or ignore mediaeval culture. Much Latin literature and all Greek literature save Aristotle's philosophical works were for the time lost. The Greek language fell out of knowledge, and the lapse tended to impoverish the intellect. On the other hand, a substantial amount of Latin poetry and prose was studied, and gave a cue to intellectual exertion. Vergil and Ovid never lacked mediaeval readers or commentators. Aristotle in a Latin garb was reckoned the prophet of scholastic philosophy. In Italy especially clear gleams of light broke the mediaeval sky. There was in the thirteenth century the poetry of Dante, a brilliant radiance. None the less the teaching of the old civilization endured in Italy a partial eclipse The mediaeval Church enshrouded life and learning in a dim, mystical gloom of which the ancient world knew little. The mind of man abandoned itself to dreams and reveries.

The mediaeval sentiment may be comprehensively defined as an amalgam of dogma and asceticism. The mind and the body were alike condemned to unprecedented restraints and austerities. The monastic vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity well reflect the mediaeval aspiration. The piece of literature which best satisfied the general temper had for its title 'the contempt of the world and the miseries of the human condition'. Even Dante, who caught many Pisgah-like glimpses of later enlightenment, saddened man with his pictures of the Inferno, and he made his final goal peace or quietism in all spheres of human endeavour. Dante's only hope of realizing his ideal lay through universal recognition of a single supreme authority, soaring above all calls of nationality as well as individuality, a single supreme authority which should find embodiment in an omnipotent emperor.

In the fourteenth century there sprang from Italian soil a movement which had for its effect, if not for its first aim, the emancipation of human life and human aspiration from the fetters of mediaeval conceptions. The movement which we call the Renaissance sprang up and matured on Italian soil, and confirmed Italy's old title of saviour or champion of European civilization.

It was the gradual discovery by Italy of the true range of classical

Greek literature and philosophy which was the spring of the intellectual and spiritual revival. That discovery was begun in the fourteenth century, when Greek subjects of the falling Byzantine Empire brought across the Adriatic manuscript memorials of Greek intellectual culture, of which the West had lost nearly all knowledge for some 1,000 years Petrarch and Boccaccio, the fathers of modern Italian literature, although they were in no true sense Greek scholars, vaguely heralded the new Greek revelation. But close study of Greek texts was needed to bring home the significance of the new learning. It was not till the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire by the Turks in the fifteenth century that the literary art of Athens was driven westward in full flood, and the scope of Greek enlightenment was definitely acknowledged by Italy. It was then there first came into the modern world the feeling for form, the frank delight in life, the unrestricted employment of the reason. An ancient literature and an ancient philosophy had come to light to prove that the human intellect possessed capacities which were hitherto unimagined, and to convict of futility the dogmatic and ascetic ideals of the Middle Ages.

Perhaps the Greek author whose influence on the new movement was largest was Plato. Some dim knowledge of his theories is visible in mediaeval literature; but Aristotle in a Latin garb was the only Greek philosopher who enjoyed any genuine allegiance in Europe before the fifteenth century. On foundations, which the Latinized Aristotle had laid, the Roman Church indeed built up its intricate scheme of scholasticism. Direct study of the work of Plato and of the Neo-Platonists, his late Greek disciples, was an innovation of the Renaissance. At Florence, in the villa of the Medici, the old Athenian Academy was revived in the fifteenth century for the discussion of Plato's conception of life and love and art. Under the banner of Florence the sway of mediaevalism received its first challenge.

At the outset the true issues of the strife were obscured. The Platonists of fifteenth-century Florence were slow to recognize the revolution which they were putting in train. Plato's predilection for abstractions and for allegory was not out of harmony with the intellectual tendencies of the Middle Ages, and mediaeval processes of thought were very gradually abandoned by the Florentine academicians. The new literature and speculation abundantly illustrate the tenacity of the old spirit. The Florentine Platonists thought to reconcile the new enlightenment with the old scholasticism, and their jumbling of incompatible ideas drawn respectively from paganism and Christianity hindered for a generation a clear outlook. A wild

incongruity infected Florentine art as well as Florentine speculation. Even Michael Angelo brought on canvas into the presence of the Madonna fauns disporting themselves in Dionysiac revels. Yet in time the Platonic light pierced the haze. At any rate the earth ceased to connote for the Italian Platonists gloom and misery; the human body was no longer a synonym for corruption; the reason grew impatient of servitude to any preconceived theory.

It was the idealization and worship of beauty that lit, in the groves of the Florentine academy, the flame which at length dispelled the mediaeval vapour. The identification by the thinkers—first of Florence, then of other Italian cities, and afterwards of all the Western continent—of the highest good with beauty, the assumption that a true appreciation of beauty was the least disputable of virtues, went near shattering the dominant mediaeval conceptions of the world and of humanity. The doctrine which found exponents through the length and breadth of Italy soon had its apostle in the papal curia itself. Cardinal Bembo summed up the new gospel by declaring that only when one said of the world that it is 'beautiful' did one serve the cause of truth. 'Beautiful' was, the cardinal argued, the only epithet which accurately described the heaven or the earth, the sea or the rivers, trees, gardens, or cities.

One of the practical fruits of the new Italian conception of beauty merits a special emphasis. Italian painting is one of the insistent facts in the history of the Renaissance. Italian painting is the first satisfying realization in the human economy of the significance of colour. The Italian painters of the Renaissance first interpreted life with any approach to perfection in terms of colour. The moving cause lay in Italy's new search in the creation for beauty. The Italian painters were fortunately placed. A relevant inspiration lay in the blue of the Italian sea and of the Italian sky, in the mingled hues of the native marble, in the gay plumage of the birds, in the immense variety of iridescent flowers, in the fruit of the vines, in the trees of the olive and the orange and the palm, and, last but not least, in the brilliant tints of Italian women's hair and complexion. Beauty of form was fully realized by the Greeks; but the Italian sense of colour was denied them. A full appreciation of colour in all the richness of its range is to be reckoned among the innovations of the Italian Renaissance. It is an original gift to the world of Titian and Tintoretto and other great painters of Italy to which poetry as well as art lay under obligation.

The new conception of beauty which challenged the old ideals of asceticism greatly stimulated the new conception of man's intellectual

faculty which dealt a heavy although by no means a fatal blow at the mediaeval principle of dogma. The creed of the Renaissance frankly acknowledged the earthly elements, the animal senses, in man's being. The fleshly instincts were often allowed freer play than before. Yet without pause did the missionaries of the Renaissance urge that man differed from all terrestrial creatures by virtue of his endowment of reason and that that endowment was capable of lifting him high above the animals, and of setting him ultimately on a level with the angels. The final purpose of reason harmonized in the creed of the Renaissance philosophy with the new faith in beauty. The mind of man was destined to discover and reveal the ultimate beauty and order which lay behind the outer shapes of matter.

Pico della Mirandola, a Renaissance philosopher, seems first to have invented for himself the proud title of 'interpreter of nature'. The title suggests the comprehensive potentiality which was attached to man's intellectual faculty. There were more avenues than one by which he might arrive at an interpretation of nature. A wide choice was offered him. Poetry, art, and philosophy, might each prove a pathway, and there was a fourth road which gave equal promise of the desired goal. The fourth approach lay through scientific inquiry. The intellectual restlessness of the Renaissance was impatient of specialization, and many Italian sons of the movement trod all the ways which seemed to incline in the right direction. Leonardo da Vinci is the most familiar type of the intellectual versatility of the era; he sought with almost equal enthusiasm to conquer the domains of science as well as of poetry and art.

Scientific curiosity issued from the new sense of beauty and the new plea for intellectual enfranchisement, in as compelling a flow as the artistic or literary achievement of the Renaissance. Nowhere in sixteenth-century Europe was scientific exertion more active or more fruitful than in Italy. The year that witnessed the birth of Shakespeare at Stratford-on-Avon witnessed the birth in Pisa of Galileo, the greatest Italian man of science in a line of succession which was already long and distinguished.

No reference however cursory to the scientific activity of the Renaissance would be complete without passing mention of its chief practical outcome in the era, the discovery of the New World. The first voyages across the Atlantic, which resulted in the momentous discovery of the Western hemisphere, were undertaken by way of testing a scientific theory or guess which was propounded in Italy in the early years of the Renaissance. The first two navigators who

touched American shores—Columbus in the south and Cabot in the north—although they served foreign masters on their Atlantic explorations, were both natives of the great Italian seaport of Genoa. The intellectual stir, which came of the discovery of an old civilization (that of Greece) and put a new valuation on nature and man's intellectual capacity, was reinforced at no distant interval by the discovery of a new world which gave a new estimate of man's physical environment. The dark curtains which had hitherto restricted man's view of the physical world to a small corner of it were torn asunder, and the stimulating fact came to light that that which had hitherto been regarded by men as the whole sphere of physical life and nature was in reality a mere fragment of a mighty expanse, of the greater part of which there had been no previous knowledge. The intellectual revelation came first. The physical revelation followed. It was not a wholly accidental conjuncture of events. The new intellectual curiosity was first conspicuously justifying itself. Each revelation powerfully reacted on the other, and increased the fertility of Renaissance thought and action.

An English critic has written:

'Producers of great literature do not live in isolation, but catch light and heat from each other's thought. A people without intellectual commerce with other peoples has never done anything conspicuous in literature.'

The Greek influences of the Italian Renaissance adequately establish the pronouncement as far as Italy of that era is concerned. What Greece did for Renaissance Italy, Renaissance Italy did for contemporary Europe. The Italian influences of the Renaissance moved in the sixteenth century the imagination of her neighbours, France and Spain. Germany and England owed great part of their literary and artistic aspiration in the sixteenth century to intellectual commerce with Italy. In England, France, and Spain great heights of literary endeavour were in due time scaled. There was no complete reciprocity with Italy in the exchange of literary or artistic stimulus. The star of Italian influence was in the ascendant throughout the epoch, and while she shared her radiance with the other countries of Western Europe, she received for a long time little compared with what she gave. Yet Italy was not inattentive to contemporary advances of culture outside her own boundaries in the sixteenth century, especially in the way of scientific speculation. Ideas enjoyed a freedom of intercourse which surmounted all the practical obstacles. In none of the intellectual and artistic fields did nationality prove a bar to communication. In the result Western Europe of the sixteenth century formed some-

thing like a single federation of thought and art, a fact which Bacon recognized when he left by will his name and memory to foreign nations. Voltaire subsequently wrote to an English friend: 'Ceux qui aiment les arts sont tous concitoyens. Les honnêtes gens qui pensent ont à peu près les mêmes principes, et ne composent qu'une seule et même république.' Voltaire's vision was amply realized in the days when Shakespeare was setting out on his mighty career.

II

The term 'humanist', when it was first invented in Italy, merely denoted a student of human or secular literature as distinguished from sacred learning or theology. The first 'humanist' was above all things a classical scholar, and 'humanism' was little more than a synonym for classical scholarship. But classical study, as we have seen, sharpened and widened all human faculty, and the word 'humanist' may be justly extended to apply to all who in the sixteenth century were inspired by the new faith in beauty and reason, to all who sought to realize the new exalted hopes of human progress.

England was somewhat slow to enlist in this mighty march of mind. The culture of the Renaissance blossomed late in the British isle, far later than in Italy, or indeed in France. Nor did the English soil prove equal to fostering the humanist development in all the fields of endeavour which the new spirit fructified in Italy. No original painting, no original music, were cradled in Tudor England. There the Renaissance sought distinctive expression in literature and poetry alone. Nor was it till the last years of the sixteenth century that the literature or the poetry of Tudor England acquired true distinction. But although her pace was sluggish through the earlier decades, England was steadily garnering, as they passed, foreign stimulus, chiefly Italian stimulus. Not all the foreign impetus was the exclusive gift of Italy. On the one hand, Englishmen came to study the classics for themselves, and, on the other, they soon had at their disposal the Renaissance literature of France. Yet French literature of the sixteenth century was itself to a large degree fruit of the Italian tree. Much of the spirited teaching which France offered her neighbour had been learnt in Italian schools The French liberality of suggestion helped to reinforce in literary England Italian influence. But the foreign influences, whencesoever they came, worked efficiently. They braced the native genius to triumphant exertion which left Elizabethan literature a match for the world.

Humanism in England may be dated from the visit of the three Oxford scholars, Linacre, Grocyn, and Colet, to Florence and other cities of Italy at the end of the fifteenth century. Colet's friend, Sir Thomas More, showed at the opening of the following century a sensitiveness to the new enlightenment which entitles him to be regarded as its earliest English apostle. His *Utopia* ranks with the richest fruits of the new Renaissance study of Plato; but it should be borne in mind that More's first publication was a translation into English of a pregnant biography of Pico della Mirandola, a Florentine pioneer of that interpretation of Platonic philosophy which was re-forming the human intellect. Sir Thomas More justly called Pico 'a great lord of Italy and an excellent cunning man in all sciences'.

Englishmen acquired early that habit of Italian travel which they have not yet lost. English visitors to the great Italian cities always made careful report at home of the new revelations of Italian thought. In the middle years of the century one Sir Edward Hoby visited Venice, then in all her splendour, as well as Padua and Mantua, Ferrara, Siena, and Rome. It was Hoby who rendered into English the very textbook of the Renaissance culture of Italy, *Il Cortegiano* ('The Courtier') by Baldassare Castiglione. That volume pictured in minutest detail the scholar and the gentleman as he had been fashioned by the new ideals, and the theme was rounded off by a rapturous oration assigned to Cardinal Bembo on the new conceptions of beauty and of love.

English travellers in sixteenth-century Italy, despite political and religious controversy, were hospitably entertained. They were impressed not merely by the country's intellectual and artistic triumphs, but by the refined amenities of her social life. Academies on the Florentine model had made the literary club for conversation and discussion a prominent feature of civic organization. Art had touched the domestic furniture and equipment, and had brought into use devices and implements which were barely known in England. Many an English visitor to Italy was surprised to find forks habitually taking the place of fingers. Throughout Shakespeare's lifetime Englishmen explored Italy in numbers which increased year by year. There were protests from time to time on grounds of morality or religion. Rome, it was urged, was no fit place of pilgrimage for an English Protestant. The practical ethics of the Italian people were held to falsify conspicuously the lofty standards of their ideal philosophy. Some stern English moralists judged that the opportunity of vicious indulgence, the notorious enchantments of Italian

Circes, were the main incentives to Italian travel. Englishmen in Italy were reckoned indeed by some to better the Italian instruction in sin, so that men occasionally spoke of an Italianate Englishman as a devil incarnate. The Italian Renaissance, despite its high ideals and brilliant accomplishments, had a dark side which insular prejudice or intolerance was not likely to underestimate. Yet it was a negligible minority of Englishmen in Italy who suffered serious moral or religious deterioration. The most efficient leaders of public opinion never ceased to preach the value of travel as a necessary part of a good education, and it was to foreign Italian cities, with their memorable antiquities, libraries, colleges, theatres, and academies, that the young Englishmen were chiefly advised to bend their steps. If they were confronted by temptation there was benefit in the discipline of resistance. 'Homekeeping youth have ever homely wits', wrote Shakespeare. A perfect man, he added, was one who was tried and tutored in the world outside his native country. The dramatist laughingly detected in the travelled Englishman no worse failing than a predilection for outlandish manners and dress which offended insular taste. When it was said of an Elizabethan that he 'had swum in a gondola', the intention was to pay him a compliment on his polished deportment—on his urbanity, a trait which was first identified with Italian cities.

Sir Philip Sidney was perhaps more sensitive to the varied manifestations of the spirit of the age than any contemporary, and in his short life he illustrated by his own activities as graphically as any Englishman the versatility of the new forces of culture. His visit in youth to the home of the Renaissance, to Italy—while all the artistic, literary, and scientific impulses of the era were in full glow—attests the stimulating purpose which Italian travel commonly served. In Italy Sidney learned sonnetteering of the school of Petrarch. The pastoral romanticism which the Neapolitan Sanazzaro had brought to birth in his Italian *Arcadia* impelled Sidney to furnish his fellow countrymen with an English Arcadia—a region which it would rather puzzle serious geographers to find on the map. Sanazzaro first applied the geographical Greek name of Arcadia to an imaginary realm of pastoral simplicity, where love-making was the sole concern of life. It was largely, too, under the sway of Italian criticism that Sidney sought in his *Apology for Poetry* to shame the earth-creeping mind 'into lifting itself up to look into the sky of poetry'. But Sidney's craving for knowledge under Italian skies passed beyond these bounds. He did not limit his observation to literature in his Italian tour. At Venice, where he remained longest, he devoted a great

part of his time to astronomy and music, a science and an art which absorbed immense Italian energy despite other distraction. Furthermore Sidney enjoys the rare distinction among Elizabethans of coming into personal contact with the two great Italian painters, Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese. With those men the pictorial art of Venice came near perfection. Each offered to paint Sidney's portrait, and he was embarrassed by the choice. Whether he was wise in selecting Paolo Veronese I leave to the judgement of those who know more of art than I do. The portrait was completed by Veronese, and all lament that it is not known to survive.

Yet it was not essential for an Englishman of Shakespeare's era to visit Italy in order to keep in touch with her literary activities or philosophic progress. There were from time to time Italian visitors to England, who were capable of giving to Englishmen in their own country instruction in the new Italian culture by word of mouth. An Italian professor of law, Alberico Gentili, an Italian jurist of the highest reputation in his own country, taught Roman law for many years at Oxford, and gave a new impulse to its study in England. But the most notable of the Italian visitors to this country while Shakespeare was a youth was the Platonic philosopher, Giordano Bruno, whom Coleridge classes with Dante and Ariosto as one of the three most characteristic Italians of all time. Bruno was a philosopher and a scientific inquirer of the type dear to the Renaissance. He sought out the beauty of the world and discovered it in a light flowing from heaven. He defended the new Copernican system of astronomy which makes the earth a satellite of the sun. In a mystical allegory, *Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante*, he foretold how the elements of man's lower nature were to vanish, and their places to be filled by truth, prudence, and wisdom—wisdom whose daughter is law. In his *Gli Eroici Furori* Bruno distinguished two kinds of enthusiasm, one which bred blind and unreasoning fanaticism, and the other which bred that love of truth and justice which turns some men into prophets and teachers and other men into creative artists. This noble prophet of enlightenment, who delivered his message to the chief universities of Europe in turn, arrived in England in 1583 and stayed here nearly two years. A warm welcome was accorded him by Sir Philip Sidney and his friends, and in many a debate on mighty themes did he engage them under their own roofs. Not all England was prepared to accept his ethereal teaching. He obtained permission of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford to lecture in that University, and announced himself as 'the awakener of sleeping souls' ('dormitantium animarum excubitor'), but his audience disappointed him by their

somnolence. He consoled himself by bitterly describing Oxford as 'una costellazione di pedantesca ostinatissima ignoranza e presunzione mista con una rustica inciviltà, che farebbe prevaricar la pazienza di Giobbe.' Nor could he refrain from complaints of the bad manners of the English people, their uncouth language, and their detestable climate. Yet whatever the discouragements of academic Oxford and the discomforts of his English sojourn, Bruno, while he lived in stimulating converse with men of letters in London, wrote or planned the philosophic and scientific books on which his fame mainly rests. The dedication of two of these works—*Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante* and *Gli Eroici Furori*—to Sir Philip Sidney is a tribute to a fellow-countryman in which we may all take pride. Elizabethan England at large may hardly have been ready for Bruno's gospel; but she at any rate placed no restriction on his freedom of thought. He enjoyed here, in his own phrase, an inestimable 'libertas philosophandi'. In his own country the forces of dogma had been checked but not crushed, and scientific originality was a chief abhorrence of the conservative temper. Bruno's boldness of utterance finally exposed him to the cruel reproof of the Inquisition, that blind protector of the ancient creeds. In the last year of the sixteenth century Bruno was burnt at the stake in Rome. He cheerfully sacrificed life in the cause of knowledge. It is some satisfaction to know that since 1889 there has stood a statue of this Italian guest and friend of Sir Philip Sidney in Rome itself, on the very spot—the Campo di Fiore—where the faggots once blazed about his helpless frame.

But beyond the visit of Englishmen to Italy or of Italians to England, there lay a far vaster opportunity of acquiring in England a knowledge of Italian poetry and philosophy. At the moment that Shakespeare was absorbed in the great work of his life, the domestic facilities may be gauged by the issue in English renderings of the two most imposing manifestations of the Italian poetic genius of the era. The most characteristic verse of sixteenth-century Italy was the epic poetry of Ariosto and Tasso. Each poet's temperament illustrates to perfection a salient phase of the Italian genius of the Renaissance, and together they present its whole range. Both tell a story with spirit; both are masters of verbal melody; both have the painter's eye for imagery. But the boundless energy and kindly irony of Ariosto are replaced in Tasso by romantic pathos and deep-toned lyric harmony. To both their idiosyncrasies Elizabethan translators were found capable of doing justice. The greatest English epic of the period, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, owes much to the inspiration of these Italian poets. Spenser avowedly set himself to 'overgo' or

excel Ariosto, and an admission of his success is quite consistent with a liberal appreciation of the many stirring episodes and fancies which he borrowed from Ariosto's pages. The most exquisite canto which Spenser penned, the sixth of the second book, is touched in nearly every line by Tasso's sensuous enchantment.

Time will not permit of more than a hint of the Italian influences which worked immediately on Elizabethan lyric or sonnet. 'The sweet Tuscan', as Petrarch was called by Elizabethan poets, was the confessed master of the Elizabethan sonnet. Spenser was reckoned by Elizabethan critics so expert a pupil that he was often called 'the English Petrarch'. Spenser's lyric fancy was steeped moreover in the philosophy of the Florentine Platonists, while Tasso was one of a hundred other Italian poets who trained the lyric inspiration of Shakespeare's contemporaries. Samuel Daniel's lyric charm is not in question. Yet it is doubtful if without the tuition of Tasso and some other foreign masters (French as well as Italian), he would have won his high place in our literature. Here are some beautiful lines from his pen:

> Let's love, the sun doth set and rise again;
>   But when as our short light
> Comes once to set, it makes eternal night.

Although Daniel gave no hint that he owed the verse to any outside suggestion, he was translating, as literally as the two languages admitted, the pensive words of Tasso:

> Amiam, che 'l Sol si muove, e poi rinasce.
>   A noi sua breve luce
> S' asconde, e 'l sonno eterna notte adduce.

If we pass to prose, especially to prose on speculative topics, we find the processes of assimilation, translation, or adaptation from the Italian at work with equal vigour. When Bacon declares his hostility to Aristotle, and insists on the superiority of experiment and induction over deduction or ratiocination untested by direct observation, he admits indebtedness to a philosopher who lately lived and wrote in the extreme south of Italy, to Telesio of Cosenza. Bacon curiously calls Telesio an Italian 'novelist', meaning an Italian innovator of scientific method. When Bacon dubbed himself an 'interpreter of nature', he borrowed the title from the Florentine Platonist, Pico della Mirandola. As in poetry, so in science, Italian hints often blossomed in English minds into imagination or thought of unexpected power and scope. William Harvey, the discoverer of the

circulation of the blood, graduated in 1602 in the medical school of Padua University, after attending the lectures of the Italian professor who was the greatest anatomist of his day. The help of his great Italian teacher is not to be gainsaid. Yet Harvey passed far beyond the range of his Italian study when he gave medical and physiological knowledge a new certitude.

III

I claim Shakespeare as the greatest of humanists in the broad sense which the term justly bears in the history of the Italian Renaissance. I believe that in Shakespeare the spirit of humanism worked to supreme effect. Were I casting a discourse on humanism in the mould of a sermon and prefacing it with texts, I doubt if I could do better than choose two passages from Shakespeare. There are two familiar passages in the play of *Hamlet* each of which expresses with admirable point one or other of the two most significant phases of the Renaissance—the cry for intellectual enfranchisement on the one hand and the enthusiasm for man's physical and mental endowments on the other. The first passage runs:

> Sure He that made us with such large discourse,
> Looking before and after, gave us not
> The capability and god-like reason,
> To fust in us unused.

The second runs:

> 'What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals!'

It would be easy to match the first passage in the writings of Giordano Bruno. The second passage seems to echo the raptures of Pico della Mirandola. Elsewhere Shakespeare makes himself responsible for yet another opinion which precisely reflected the intellectual tendency of the era. From his pen came the words: 'Modest doubt is called the beacon of the wise'. Many times too does the dramatist reinforce Hamlet's salutation of the potential beauty of human nature by enthusiastic greetings of the beauties of physical nature in which the new Italian sense of colour seems to be craving an original utterance. When Shakespeare wrote,

> Full many a glorious morning have I seen
> Flatter the mountain tops with sovereign eye,

Kissing with golden face the meadows green,
Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchemy,

or when he hailed

daffodils,
That come before the swallow dares, and take [i. e. bewitch]
The winds of March with beauty,

he testified to the same impulse which moved Cardinal Bembo, a generation before, to say that beauty is the essential attribute of the heavens and the earth, of rivers and gardens. Shakespeare's definition of man as 'the *beauty* of the world', and the power which he detects in the daffodils of infatuating with their 'beauty' the March winds, powerfully accentuate the Renaissance apostle's teaching. Every reader of Shakespeare will be able to add to these quotations, which interpret with all Shakespeare's gift of language paramount principles of the Italian Renaissance.

Intellectual receptivity, assimilative capacity, is an invariable mark of poetic genius. The popular apophthegm that the poet is born and not made needs much qualification before it can be credited with truth. The originality of genius is no mere spontaneous emanation or exhalation of the poet's mind. It is rather the magical power of absorbing very rapidly, even instantaneously, pre-existing thought and fancy, and of delivering them to the world again in a new and arresting shape or expression. Shakespeare's pre-eminence resides in his catholic sensitiveness to external impressions, whether they came from reading or from observation, and in his power of transmuting them in the crucible of his mind into something richer and rarer than they were before. All modes of thought and style wrought thus upon him. Among the many foreign influences to which he proved susceptible, I believe the teaching of the Renaissance looms as large as any in a just estimate of the sources of his achievement.

The needful recognition of the foreign element in the constitution of Shakespeare's achievement is quite compatible with the fullest acknowledgement of his patriotic sentiment which is clearly unassailable. While he must be absolved of all taint of insularity he cannot be suspected of cosmopolitanism in its undesirable significance. The bracing air of toleration fed his spirit; but that virtuous sustenance never impaired his love of his own country or his confident faith in her destiny. It was he who apostrophized his country and countrymen in his own magnificent diction as:

This happy breed of men, this little world;
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,

> Or as a moat defensive to a house
> Against the envy of less happier lands:
> This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.

At the same time Shakespeare, with almost equal fervour, deprecates the shortness of vision which ignores the patriotism of other countries, and refuses all fellow-feeling with them:

> Hath Britain all the sun that shines? Day, night,
> Are they not but in Britain? . . . Prithee think
> There's livers out of Britain.

Shakespeare is at once the noblest expositor of patriotism, and the most resolute contemner of insularity.

No one who has closely studied Shakespeare's writings can harbour any doubt of the breadth of his reading, or can view with other than impatience the persistent fallacy, which Milton rashly stamped with his authority, when he wrote of Shakespeare as 'fancy's child warbling his native woodnotes wild'. The extent to which Shakespeare studied Italian literature in the original admits of discussion. He quotes in Italian a proverbial compliment on the beauties of Venice in his earliest play, *Love's Labour's Lost*:

> Venetia, Venetia,
> Chi non ti vede, non ti pretia.

Hamlet, when he talks to Ophelia of 'the players'' play remarks that 'the story is extant, and written in very choice Italian'. There is clear evidence too in the history of the composition of *Othello* that the dramatist had access to at least one tale which had never worn any but an Italian garb. But the range of his linguistic power does not matter very much. He was in any case far better versed in English than in any other tongue. A large part of Italian poetry and prose of the Renaissance was accessible to him in English translation. As students of Spenser know, the fundamental ideas of the Renaissance and many literary processes of the Renaissance—the Platonic interpretation of life and the world, the decorative usage of classical mythology—were already woven into the web of Elizabethan writing when Shakespeare was serving his apprenticeship to his art. There were many keys to open the gates of knowledge to a man of his alert intuition.

To a large extent the Italian affinities of Shakespeare's work were in all probability a vicarious endowment, but they were none the less effective on that account. The Elizabethan atmosphere was so charged with Italian thought and fancy, that no sensitive poetic genius, even if Italian books were wholly sealed for him,

could well escape an ample draught of inspiration. In the familiar scene in *The Merchant of Venice*, where Lorenzo talks through the moon-lit night with Jessica in the gardens of Portia's villa, one hears throughout the dominant notes of the Italian Renaissance in all their sweetness. The setting of the scene catches completely the Italian spirit. The mythological reminiscences, the praise of music, the neo-Platonic and pseudo-scientific theory of the spheres, are all Italian or Greco-Italian echoes.

When Lorenzo points out to Jessica the floor of heaven, and tells her

> There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st
> But in his motion like an angel sings,
> Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubins:

the scholarly reader may be forgiven for recalling the mystical speculation of a famous South Italian contemporary, Tommaso Campanella, poet and man of science, who out of a Platonic fancy elaborated a beatific vision of spirit-inhabitants of the stars, communicating thought to one another in words of light. But I think we should be content to ascribe this and other surprising likenesses of thought and fancy between Shakespeare's poetry and Italian Renaissance speculation to agencies other than immediate recourse to Italian texts.

Shakespeare's specific references to Italian art are rare. They do scant justice to the scope of the Italian triumphs in the realms of painting or of sculpture. Yet Shakespeare on occasion makes vague reference to art at large which supplements the story of his intuitive relations with the doctrines of the Italian Renaissance. Once, and once only, Shakespeare paid an enthusiastic tribute to the life-like excellence of Italian sculpture. But his praises seem to lack the precision which betokens first-hand knowledge. In *The Winter's Tale* (v. ii. 93–9), the supposed statue of Hermione is described as 'a piece many years in doing and now newly performed by that rare Italian master, Julio Romano, who, had he himself eternity and could put breath into his work, would beguile Nature of her custom, so perfectly he is her ape'. The speaker finally asserts that Romano 'so near to Hermione hath done Hermione, that they say one would speak to her and stand in hope of answer'. Shakespeare's 'rare Italian master' was an eminent pupil of Raphael. Vasari, the sixteenth-century biographer of Italian artists, cites an epitaph which imputes to him skill as a sculptor, no less than as a painter; but it is by his pictures alone that Romano is now known, and Shakespeare's panegyric cannot be literally corroborated.

Nowhere else does the dramatist make a like categorical reference to an Italian artist of the Renaissance. More than once elsewhere, however, he grows almost ecstatic over the living illusion of great portraiture. He fails to associate the perfect art directly with Italy. Of the portrait of Timon of Athens by a painter who is nominally an Athenian, a critic who is also presented as an Athenian, exclaims (*Timon*, I. i. 40–1):

> It tutors Nature: artificial strife
> Lives in these touches, livelier than life.[1]

Whatever the limitations of Shakespeare's personal acquaintance with the artistic fruits of sixteenth-century Italy, he clearly assimilated a popular philosophic axiom of Italian criticism which represented the great sculptor or painter as a rival of creative Nature, and Nature herself as cherisher of a fear that the artist by improving on her handiwork might discredit her. Bembo, the Cardinal of the Renaissance, invested the theory with extravagance when he wrote on Raphael's tomb:

> Hic ille est Raphael, metuit quo sospite vinci
> Rerum magna parens, et moriente, mori.

(Here lies the famous Raphael, in whose life-time great mother Nature feared to be outdone, and at whose death feared to die.)

It is curious to note that the identical conceit was chosen to decorate Shakespeare's own epitaph in Stratford-on-Avon Church. The elegist, when he wrote of—

> Shakespeare, with whom
> Quick nature died,

placed the dramatist in that category of creative artists, to which Bembo had assigned Raphael. Shakespeare's poetic art was thus identified by his own countrymen with the same conception of creative genius as that called into being by the pictorial art of the Italian Renaissance.

I have spoken of some ancillary glories of Shakespeare's dramatic poetry, and of the exalted conception of his artistic powers, which justly identified him with the sons of the Italian Renaissance. When we descend to the more material foundations of his work, the problem enters a somewhat different phase. It is familiar knowledge that

[1] Cf. *Venus and Adonis* (289–92):

> Look when a painter would surpass the life,
> In limning out a well proportion'd steed,
> His art with nature's workmanship at strife,
> As if the dead the living should exceed.

Shakespeare hewed many of his plays out of Italian stories. The most superficial studies of his plots show him to be beyond doubt a close student of a very distinctive species of literature which is peculiarly characteristic of Renaissance Italy. Boccaccio, of Florence, the herald of the new Italian movement in many of its directions, may be reckoned to have rendered his most conspicuous service to the amenities of civilization by his creation of the art of the short story. In musical language which eliminated once and for all the crudities of the old Tuscan dialect, Boccaccio pictured, with a softly glowing serenity, experiences of love and life of which he had read or heard or seen. He treats human nature with a frankness which often shocks the prudish. He is prone to dwell with a cheerful irony on the infidelities of husbands and wives. Yet he is a master of pathos as well as of gaiety, and blends varied ingredients harmoniously. Boccaccio the novelist founded in Italy a long-lived school, and though none of his scholars equalled his own powers, many who were especially active in the sixteenth century, caught some touch of his vivacity. Bandello, a Lombard, who was a bishop in the south of France at the time of Shakespeare's birth, turned into lively fiction of Boccaccio's type episodes in the social life of his day. Although he lacked his master's gift of style Bandello excelled Boccaccio in lubricity. A third sixteenth-century Italian novelist, Giraldi Cinthio, of the cultured city of Ferrara, also enjoyed a wide reputation in his day. In his methods, merits, and demerits he may be linked with Bandello. The Italian novel, indeed, engaged almost as much energy in Renaissance Italy as the drama subsequently engaged in Elizabethan or Jacobean England. It found readers, not in Italy alone, but, either in the original or in translation, in all countries of Western Europe. Imitations as well as translations soon abounded in France, Spain, and ultimately in England.

The Italian novel rendered the English drama the practical service of supplying it with a treasury of plots, and Shakespeare, like all the fellow dramatists of his time, welcomed with enthusiasm such practical help. Most but not all the Italian stories which he employed were ready to his hand in his own language or in French. His indebtedness to Italy is not, however, greatly reduced thereby. The English and French renderings at his command, though differing among themselves in efficiency, were usually literal. Their temper was little changed. In whatever shape Shakespeare gained access to them, the main stories of *All's Well that Ends Well* and *Cymbeline*, of which Helena and Imogen are the respective heroines, remain the ripe fruit of Boccaccio's invention. Bandello is the parent of the leading

episodes of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Much Ado About Nothing*. Cinthio was the first to tell the tragic adventure of Isabella in *Measure for Measure* and the tragic trials of Othello and Desdemona. Even where Shakespeare seeks his plot in romances of English authorship, as in *As You Like It* and *The Winter's Tale*, the Italian influence is not wholly absent; for the English novelists commonly marched along the Italian road: they rarely travelled far from it.

The Italian fable, it goes without saying, formed as a rule the mere basis of Shakespeare's dramatic structure. Having studied the Italian tale and examined its dramatic possibilities, Shakespeare altered and transmuted it with the utmost freedom as his dramatic spirit moved him. It is by his changes rather than by his literal transferences that the greatness of his faculty, the breadth of his intuitive grasp of human passion and sentiment, may best be gauged.

Yet the scenes of his chief comedies and of many tragedies rarely leave Italy. The episodes are assigned to Venice or Verona, to Milan or Mantua, to Florence or Padua. He rarely takes the names of his characters from the Italian novels of his immediate study. He rechristens his *dramatis personae*, but the new designations are no less Italian than the old. It is curious to observe that, when in *As You Like It* Shakespeare is dramatizing a piece of English fiction by his fellow countryman, Thomas Lodge, he rejects Lodge's amorphous name of Rosader for his hero and substitutes a name so rooted in the traditions of Italian literature as Orlando. I think it provable that Shakespeare's Orlando, the hero of *As You Like It*, was deliberately christened after the Orlando of Ariosto's great Italian epic. Shakespeare's Italian nomenclature may not always suggest quite so much as that; but it invariably proclaims him the pupil of an Italian school, paying homage to his masters.

At times Shakespeare's choice of Italian plot sets his work in the full tide of the Italian literary stream. The story of Romeo and Juliet, which Bandello first told to Europe, was made familiar to Italy by earlier pens. The tale, which has a right to be reckoned a national legend of Italy, was the theme of Shakespeare's earliest venture in tragedy of the great romantic kind. In his dramatic treatment of it, he gave indubitable promise of his glorious fertility and power. Manifold are the original touches of poetry, insight and humour in Shakespeare's version of the Italian novel. Yet who can deny the Italian glow which lives in Shakespeare's radiant picture of youthful love?

The play of *Twelfth Night* is cast in a very different mould from that of *Romeo and Juliet*. Everybody knows the main plot, how

a girl is disguised as a page; and how, while her master moves her love, she is sent by him to plead his suit with a proud beauty, who on her part is fascinated by the supposed boy. The fable is a fantasy of which all the elements are dyed in Italian colours. Bandello, although he gave the story its European vogue, was, as in the case of *Romeo and Juliet*, but one of its Italian narrators. No English alchemy could free the sensitive and intricate amours of their Italian note. Shakespeare's play, in spite of his manipulation of the Italian plot and his fusion with it of much original comic episode, echoes the strains which Boccaccio's youths and maidens voiced in the garden overlooking Florence at the dawn of the Italian Renaissance. What atmosphere save that of sensuous Florence does Duke Orsino breathe when in the first speech of the play he makes languorous appeal to the musicians:

> That strain again! it had a dying fall:
> O, it came o'er my ear like the sweet sound
> That breathes upon a bank of violets,
> Stealing and giving odour.

Shakespeare's tragedy of *Othello*, the best constructed of all his tragic dramas, presents life in its sternest aspect and passion in its fiercest guise. Yet it is based as directly as *Romeo and Juliet* and *Twelfth Night* on Italian foundations, and, unlike the other Italian stories whence Shakespeare drew his plots, the fable of *Othello* is not known to have circulated out of Italy, or rather out of the Italian language, before Shakespeare handled it. The author of the story of Shakespeare's tragedy of *Othello* is the sixteenth-century novelist, Cinthio of Ferrara. Some of his tales had been rendered into French, and at least one into English. Before Shakespeare wrote *Othello* he had himself made a first draft on Cinthio's store of fiction. The plot of *Measure for Measure* was of Cinthio's devising; but that painful Italian story was ready to Shakespeare's hand in an English version. Not so the little novel of the Moor of Venice. In the Italian alone was that tragic history to be studied. In adapting the incidents to his purpose, Shakespeare here if anywhere exerted all his powers. With magical subtlety he invests the character of Othello with passionate intensity, of which the Italian novelist knew little. Iago is transformed by the English dramatist from the conventional Italian criminal of Cinthio's page into the profoundest of all portraits of hypocrisy and intellectual villany. At every point Shakespeare has lifted the theme high above the melodramatic level on which the Italian had left it. New subsidiary characters are added. The catastrophe is wholly reconstructed. The master spirit is every-

where at work with magnificent energy. Yet Cinthio's guidance is not to be disparaged. His story holds the sparks which Shakespeare's genius fanned into brilliant flame.

Finally, let me supplement what I have already said of the tinges of Platonic philosophy, which the Italian Renaissance conveyed to Shakespeare's pages, by a concluding reference to his *Sonnets*. It would be irrelevant to my present purpose to mention, let alone discuss, any of the difficult problems which attach to these poems. At the moment I merely cite them as consummating evidence of the genuine strength of Shakespeare's affinities with Italian Platonism. Responsive as he proves himself elsewhere to varied influences of the Renaissance, I believe that the *Sonnets* prove even more convincingly than any other of his writings how deeply he had drunk of the spring of Italian philosophy. All the sonnetteers of Europe, from their father Petrarch downwards, enlisted under Plato's banner and preached the ideality of beauty, isolating it from its physical embodiment. As Platonic or Neo-Platonic study widened in Italy, much lyric poetry there and elsewhere assimilated in greater and greater degree the technicalities of Plato's or the Neo-Platonists' mystical conception. Michael Angelo, one of the noblest Italian champions of the Renaissance, wrote sonnets, in which the loveliness of earthly things is invariably held to reflect an ethereal light from heaven. Shakespeare immersed himself as a sonnetteer in even deeper metaphysical subtleties. Constantly he credits the beauty of the friend whom he celebrates with the qualities of a 'shadow'—the English rendering of the technical Latin word *umbra* which Giordano Bruno and other Italian Platonists applied to the mundane reflection of their idea or ideal of perfection—an idea or ideal which lay outside the material world. The beauty of Shakespeare's friend is (he tells us) a 'shadow' of the true 'substance' of perfect beauty; the substance is not visible to mortal eye, only the shadow is seen on earth. Shakespeare goes even a step further in his metaphysical theorizing in the *Sonnets*. Beauty in its unearthly perfection he identifies with truth, again an entity which is independent of matter and indeed of time. Constantly Shakespeare links truth and beauty together, as of the same ethereal significance and quality. The meaning of his phraseology is, as is common in such debate, often obscure. But there is no reason to doubt that one of the doctrines by which he stood when he penned his sonnets was an anticipation of Keats's mystical creed:

> Beauty is truth, truth beauty; that is all
> Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.

It was by way of Italy that such doctrine reached Shakespeare in England.

Shakespeare's work is a vast continent, and I this afternoon am only endeavouring within the limits of my power and my hour to explore a single stretch of the territory. There are many, and my sympathies are with them, who detect in Shakespeare's humour his greatest gift. That endowment and his manner of exercising it owe nothing to Italy. Italian humour was pitched in another key. Nor can Italy claim any influence on his masterly reform of the methods of drama, and on his triumphant broadening of its bases. Italian drama of the sixteenth century was too closely wedded to the classical canons to touch at many points a dramatic ambition, which sought to realize in the theatre the highest ideals of romance, and to set adrift theatrical conventions in manifest conflict with the representation of sentient life. The brisk dialogue of Shakespearean comedy and the portrayal there of some veteran types of eccentricity may occasionally echo an Italian note. But the profundities of Shakespearean tragedy lay beyond the Italian range. The Italian Renaissance was but one of the forces which went to the making of Shakespeare's mighty achievement. But I hope I have said enough to show that Italian thought and invention lent a well-defined sustenance to his unmatchable genius.

Shakespeare's indebtedness to Italy has many parallels in the history of English poetry. Chaucer, Shakespeare's greatest poetic predecessor, was an admiring disciple of the work of both Dante and Boccaccio. Milton, Shakespeare's successor on the throne of English poetry, was an appreciative and a grateful student in many Italian poetic schools. When we leap a century and face the great revival, of which Byron and Shelley were two exponents, we meet in English poetry, with a passionate devotion to Italy, which was accentuated by Italy's contemporary suffering and oppression. The Brownings bore on high the same torch until it reached the hand of Swinburne, who was stirred by Italy's past and present fortune to his noblest poetic utterances. Swinburne was profoundly sympathetic with Italy in her manful struggles for liberty and unity, and he greeted exultingly her restoration to a place among the great nations. He saw in the colours of her flag, green and white and red, symbols of hope and light and life. Had he lived to be with us to-day we may say with confidence that he would have applied to Italy at this moment his own words of earlier date:

> She feels her ancient breath and the old blood
> Move in her immortal veins.

Swinburne's poems on Italy worthily pursue a great tradition of English poetry. The Italian allegiance of Shakespeare, emperor of English poets, gives that tradition its most dazzling glory.

WARTON LECTURE ON ENGLISH POETRY

VI

TWO PIONEERS OF ROMANTICISM. JOSEPH AND THOMAS WARTON

By EDMUND GOSSE, C.B., LL.D.

Read October 27, 1915

THE origins of the Romantic Movement in literature have been examined so closely and so often that it might be supposed that the subject must be by this time exhausted. But no subject of any importance in literature is ever exhausted, because the products of literature grow or decay, burgeon or wither, as the generations of men apply their ever-varying organs of perception to them. I intend, with your permission, to present to you a familiar phase of the literary life of the eighteenth century from a fresh point of view, and in relation to two men whose surname warrants a peculiar emphasis of respect in the mouth of a Warton lecturer. It is well, perhaps, to indicate exactly what it is which a lecturer proposes to himself to achieve during the brief hour in which you indulge him with your attention; it certainly makes his task the easier if he does so. I propose, therefore, to endeavour to divine for you, by scanty signs and indications, what it was in poetry, as it existed up to the period of their childhood, which was stimulating to the Wartons, and what they disapproved of in the verse which was fashionable and popular among the best readers in their day.

There is a value, which I think that our critics are apt to neglect, in analysing the character and causes of poetic pleasure experienced by any sincere and enthusiastic reader, at any epoch of history. We are far too much in the habit of supposing that what we—that is the most instructed and sensitive of us—admire now must always have been admired by people of a like condition. This has been one of the fallacies of Romantic criticism, and has led people as illustrious as Keats into blaming the taste of foregoing generations as if it were not only heretical, but despicable as well. Young men to-day speak

of those who fifty years ago expatiated in admiration of Tennyson as though they were not merely stupid, but vulgar and almost wicked, neglectful of the fact that it was by persons exactly analogous to themselves that those portions of Tennyson were adored which the young repudiate to-day. Not to expand too largely this question of the oscillation of taste—which, however, demands more careful examination than it has hitherto received—it is always important to discover what was honestly admired at a given date by the most enthusiastic and intelligent, in other words by the most poetic, students of poetry. But to do this we must cultivate a little of that catholicity of heart which perceives technical merit wherever it has been recognized at an earlier date, and not merely where the current generation finds it.

Joseph and Thomas Warton were the sons of an Oxford professor of poetry, an old Jacobite of no observable merit beyond that of surrounding his family with an atmosphere of the study of verse The elder brother was born in 1722, the younger in 1728. I must be forgiven if I dwell a little tediously on dates, for our inquiry depends upon the use of them. Without dates the whole point of that precedency of the Wartons, which I desire to bring out, is lost. The brothers began very early to devote themselves to the study of poetry, and in spite of the six years which divided them, they appear to have meditated in unison. Their writings bear a close resemblance to one another, and their merits and their failures are alike identical. We have to form what broken impression we can of their early habits. Joseph is presented to us as wandering in the woodlands, lost in a melancholy fit, or waking out of it to note with ecstasy all the effects of light and colour around him, the flight of birds, the flutter of foliage, the panorama of cloudland. He and Thomas were alike in their 'extreme thirst after ancient things'. They avoided, with a certain disdain, the affectation of vague and conventional reference to definite objects.

Above all they read the poets who were out of fashion, and no doubt the library of their father, the professor of poetry, was at their disposal from a very early hour. The result of their studies was a remarkable one, and the discovery was unquestionably first made by Joseph. He was, so far as we can gather, the earliest person in the modern world of Europe to observe what vain sacrifices had been made by the classicists, and in particular by the English classicists, and as he walked enthusiastically in the forest he formed a determination to reconquer the realm of lost beauty. The moment that this instinct became a purpose, we may say that the great

Romantic Movement, such as it has enlarged and dwindled down to our own day, took its start. The Wartons were not men of creative genius, and their works, whether in prose or verse, have not taken hold of the national memory. But the advance of a great army is not announced by a charge of field-marshals. In the present war, the advance of the enemy upon open cities has generally been announced by two or three patrols on bicycles, who are the heralds of the body. Joseph and Thomas Warton were the bicyclist-scouts who prophesied of an advance which was nearly fifty years delayed.

The general history of English literature in the eighteenth century offers us little opportunity for realizing what the environment could be of two such lads as the Wartons, with their enthusiasm, their independence, and their revolutionary instinct. But I will take the year 1750, which is the year of Rousseau's first *Discours* and therefore the definite starting-point of European Romanticism. You will perhaps find it convenient to compare the situation of the Wartons with what is the situation to-day of some very modern or revolutionary young poet. In 1750, then, Joseph was twenty-eight years of age and Thomas twenty-two. Pope had died six years before, and this was equivalent to the death of Swinburne in the experience of our young man of to-day. Addison's death was as distant as is to us that of Matthew Arnold; and Thomson, who had been dead two years, had left 'The Castle of Indolence' as an equivalent to Mr. Hardy's 'Dynasts'. All the leading writers of the age of Anne—except Young, who hardly belonged to it—were dead, but the Wartons were divided from them only as we are from those of the age of Victoria. I have said that Pope was not more distant from them than Swinburne is from us, but really a more just parallel is with Tennyson. The Wartons, wandering in their woodlands, were confronted with a problem such as would be involved, to a couple of youths to-day, in considering the reputation of Tennyson and Browning.

There remains no doubt in my mind, after a close examination of such documents as remain to us, that Joseph Warton, whose attitude has hitherto been strangely neglected, was in fact the active force in this remarkable revolt against existing conventions in the world of imaginative art. His six years of priority would naturally give him an advantage over his now better-known and more celebrated brother. Moreover, we have positive evidence of the firmness of his opinions at a time when his brother Thomas was still a child. The preface to Joseph's *Odes* of 1746 remains as a dated document, a manifesto, which admits of no question. But the most remarkable of his poems, 'The Enthusiast,' was stated to

have been written in 1740, when he was eighteen and his brother only twelve years of age. It is, of course, possible that these verses, which bear no sign of juvenile mentality, were touched up at a later date But this could only be a matter of diction, of revision, and we are bound to accept the definite and repeated statement of Joseph, that they were essentially composed in 1740. If we accept this as a fact, 'The Enthusiast' is seen to be a document of extraordinary importance I do not speak of the positive merit of the poem, which it would be easy to exaggerate. Gray, in a phrase which has been much discussed, dismissed the poetry of Joseph Warton by saying that he had 'no choice at all'. It is evident to me that he meant by this to stigmatize the diction of Joseph Warton, which is jejune, verbose, and poor. He had little magic in writing; he fails to express himself with creative charm. But this is not what constitutes his interest for us, which is moreover obscured by the tameness of his Miltonic-Thomsonian versification. What should arrest our attention is the fact that here, for the first time, we find unwaveringly emphasized and repeated what was entirely new in literature, the essence of romantic hysteria. 'The Enthusiast' is the earliest expression of complete revolt against the classical attitude which had been sovereign in all European literature for nearly a century. So completely is this expressed by Joseph Warton that it is extremely difficult to realize that he could not have come under the fascination of Rousseau, whose apprenticeship to love and idleness was now drawing to a close at Les Charmettes, and who was not to write anything characteristic until ten years later.

But these sentiments were in the air. Some of them had vaguely occurred to Young, to Dyer, and to Shenstone, all of whom received from Joseph Warton the ardent sympathy which a young man renders to his immediate contemporaries. The Scotch resumption of ballad-poetry held the same relation to the Wartons as the so-called Celtic Revival would to a young poet to-day; the *Tea-Table Miscellany* dates from 1724, and Allan Ramsay was to the author of *The Enthusiast* what Mr. Yeats is to us. But all these were glimmerings or flashes; they followed no system, they were accompanied by no principles of selection or rejection. These we find for the first time in Joseph Warton. He not merely repudiates the old formulas and aspirations, but he defines new ones. What is very interesting to observe in his attitude to the accepted laws of poetical practice is his solicitude for the sensations of the individual. These had been reduced to silence by the neo-classic school in its determination to insist on broad Palladian effects of light and line. The

didactic and moral aim of the poets had broken the springs of lyrical expression, and had replaced those bursts of enthusiasm, those indiscretions, those rudenesses which are characteristic of a romantic spirit in literature, by eloquence, by caution, by reticence and vagueness.

It is not necessary to indicate more than very briefly what the principles of the classic poetry had been. The time had passed when readers and writers in England gave much attention to the sources of the popular poetry of their day. Malherbe had never been known here, and the vigorous *Art poétique* of Boileau, which had been eagerly studied at the close of the seventeenth century, was forgotten. Even the Prefaces of Dryden had ceased to be read, and the sources of authority were now the prose of Addison and the verse of Pope. To very young readers these stood in the same relation as the writings of the post-Tennysonian critics stand now. To reject them, to question their authority, was like eschewing the essays of Matthew Arnold and Pater. In particular, the *Essay on Criticism* was still immensely admired and read; it had crystallized around cultivated opinion very much as the *Studies in the Renaissance* did from 1875 onwards. It was the last brilliant word on the aims and experiences of poetical art, and how brilliant it was can be judged by the pleasure with which we read it to-day, in spite of our total repudiation of every aesthetic dogma which it conveys. It is immortal, like every supreme literary expression, and it stands before us in the history of poetry as an enduring landmark. This was the apparently impregnable fortress which the Wartons had the temerity to bombard.

Pope had said that Nature was the best guide to judgement, but what did he mean by nature? He had meant the 'rules', which he declared were 'Nature methodiz'd' or, as we should say, systematized. The 'rules' were the maxims, rather than laws, expressed by Aristotle in a famous treatise. The poet was to follow the Stagirite, 'led'—as Pope says in one of those rare lines in which he catches, in spite of himself, the Romantic accent—'led by the light of the Maeonian Star'. Aristotle illustrated by Homer—that was to be the standard of all poetic expression. But literature had wandered far from Homer, and we have to think of what rules the *Essay on Criticism* laid down. The poet was to be cautious, 'to avoid extremes': he must be conventional, never 'singular'; there was constant reference to 'Wit', 'Nature', and 'The Muse', and these were convertible terms. A single instance is luminous. We have the positive authority of Warburton for saying that Pope regarded as the finest effort

of his skill and art as a poet the insertion of the machinery of the Sylphs into the revised edition of *The Rape of the Lock* (1714). Now this insertion was ingenious, brilliant, and in strict accordance with the practice of Vida and of Boileau, both of whom it excelled. But the whole conception of it was as unlike that of Romanticism as possible.

In particular, the tendency of the classic school, in its later development, had been towards the exclusion of all but didactic and ethical considerations from treatment in verse. Pope had given great and ever-increasing emphasis to the importance of making 'morals' prominent in poetry. All that he wrote after he retired to Twickenham, still a young man, in 1718, was essentially an attempt to gather together 'moral wisdom' clothed in consummate language. He inculcated a moderation of feeling, a broad and general study of mankind, an acceptance of the benefits of civilization, and a suppression of individuality. Even in so violent and so personal a work as the *Dunciad* he expends all the resources of his genius to make his anger seem moral and his indignation a public duty. This conception of the ethical responsibility of verse was universal, and even so late as 1745, long after the composition of Warton's 'Enthusiast', we find Blacklock declaring, with general acceptance, that 'poetical genius depends entirely on the quickness of moral feeling', and that not to 'feel poetry' was the result of having 'the affections and internal senses depraved by vice'.

The most important innovation suggested by Joseph Warton was an outspoken assertion that this was by no means the object or the proper theme of poetry. His verses and those of his brother, the 'Essay on Pope' of the elder, the critical and historical writings of the younger, may be searched in vain for the slightest evidence of moral or didactic sentiment. The instructive and ethical mannerisms of the later classicists had produced some beautiful and more accomplished verse, especially of a descriptive order, but its very essence had excluded self-revelation. Dennis, at whom Pope taught the world to laugh, but who was in several respects a better critic than either Addison or himself, had come close to the truth sometimes, but was for ever edged away from it by the intrusion of the moral consideration. Dennis feels things aesthetically, but he blunders into ethical definition. The result was that the range of poetry was narrowed to the sphere of didactic reflection, a blunt description of scenery or objects being the only relief, since

> Who could take offence
> While pure description held the place of sense?

To have perceived the bankruptcy of the didactic poem is Joseph Warton's most remarkable innovation. The lawlessness of the Romantic Movement, or rather its instinct for insisting that genius is a law unto itself, is first foreshadowed in 'The Enthusiast', and when the history of the school comes to be written there will be a piquancy in tracing an antinomianism down from the blameless Wartons to the hedonist essays of Oscar Wilde and the frenzied anarchism of the Futurists. Not less remarkable, or less characteristic, was the revolt against the quietism of the classical school. 'Avoid extremes', Pope had said, and moderation, calmness, discretion, absence of excitement had been laid down as capital injunctions. Joseph Warton's very title, 'The Enthusiast', was a challenge, for 'enthusiasm' was a term of reproach. He was himself a scandal to classical reserve. Mant, in the course of some excellent lines addressed to Joseph Warton, remarks

> Thou didst seek
> Ecstatic vision by the haunted stream
> Or grove of fairy: then thy nightly ear,
> As from the wild notes of some airy harp,
> Thrilled with strange music.

The same excess of sensibility is still more clearly divulged in Joseph's own earliest verses:

> All beauteous Nature! by thy boundless charms
> Oppress'd, O where shall I begin thy praise,
> Where turn the ecstatic eye, *how ease my breast*
> *That pants with wild astonishment and love?*

The Nature here addressed is a very different thing from the 'Nature methodiz'd' of the *Essay on Criticism*. It is not to be distinguished from the object of pantheistic worship long afterwards to be celebrated in widely differing language, but with identical devotion, by Wordsworth and Senancour, by Chateaubriand and Shelley.

Closely connected with this attitude towards physical nature is the determination to deepen the human interest in poetry, to concentrate individuality in passion. At the moment when the Wartons put forth their ideas, a change was taking place in English poetry, but not in the direction of earnest emotion. The instrument of verse had reached an extraordinary smoothness, and no instance of its capability could be more interesting than the poetry of Shenstone, with his perfect utterance of things essentially not worth saying. In the most important writers of that very exhausted moment, technical skill seems the only quality calling for remark, and when we have said all that sympathy can say for Whitehead and Akenside, the truth remains

that the one is vapid, the other empty. The Wartons saw that more liberty of imagination was wanted, and that the Muse was not born to skim the meadows, in short low flights, like a wagtail. They used expressions which reveal their ambition. The poet was to be 'bold, without confine', and 'imagination's chartered libertine'; like a sort of Alastor, he was

> in venturous bark to ride
> Down turbulent Delight's tempestuous tide.

These are aspirations somewhat absurdly expressed, but the aim of them is undeniable and noteworthy.

A passion for solitude always precedes the romantic obsession, and in examining the claim of the Wartons to be pioneers, we naturally look for this element. We find it abundantly in their early verses. When Thomas was only seventeen—the precocity of the brothers was remarkable—he wrote a 'Pleasures of Melancholy', in which he expresses his wish to retire to 'solemn glooms, congenial to the soul'. In the early odes of his brother Joseph we find still more clearly indicated the intention to withdraw from the world, in order to indulge the susceptibilities of the spirit in solitary reflection. A curious air of foreshadowing the theories of Rousseau, to which I have already referred, produces an effect which is faintly indicated, but in its phantom way unique in English literature up to that date, 1740. There had been a tendency to the sepulchral in the work of several writers, in particular in the powerful and preposterous religious verse of Isaac Watts, but nothing had been suggested in the pure Romantic style. In Joseph Warton, first, we meet with the individualist attitude to nature; a slightly hysterical exaggeration of feeling which was to be characteristic of romance; an intention of escaping from the vanity of mankind by an adventure into the wilds; a purpose of recovering primitive manners by withdrawing into primitive conditions; a passion for what we now consider the drawing-master's theory of the picturesque—the thatched cottage, the ruined castle with the moon behind it, the unfettered rivulet, the wildness of

> the pine-topped precipice
> Abrupt and shaggy.

There was already the fallacy, to become so irresistibly attractive to the next generation, that man in a state of civilization was in a decayed and fallen condition, and that to achieve happiness he must wander back into a Golden Age. Pope, in verses which had profoundly impressed two generations, had taken the opposite view, and had proved to the satisfaction of theologian and free-thinker alike that

God and Nature link'd the general frame,
And bade Self-love and Social be the same.

Joseph Warton would have nothing to say to Social Love. He designed, or pretended to design, to emigrate to the backwoods of America, to live

With simple Indian swains, that I may hunt
The boar and tiger through savannahs wild,
Through fragrant deserts and through citron groves,

indulging, without the slightest admixture of any active moral principle in social life, all the ecstasies, all the ravishing emotions, of an abandonment to excessive sensibility. The soul was to be, no longer the 'little bark attendant' that 'pursues the triumph and partakes the gale' in Pope's complacent Fourth Epistle, but an aeolian harp hung in some cave of a primeval forest for the winds to rave across in solitude.

Happy the first of men, ere yet confin'd
To smoky cities.

Already the voice is that of Obermann, of René, of Byron.

Another point in which the recommendations of the Wartons far outran the mediocrity of their execution was in their theory of description. To comprehend the state of mind in which such pieces of stately verse as Parnell's *Hermit* or Addison's *Campaign* could be regarded as satisfactory in the setting of their descriptive ornament we must realize the aim which those poets put before them. Nothing was to be mentioned by its technical or even by its exact name; no clear picture was to be raised before the inner eye; nothing was to be left definite or vivid. We shall make a very great mistake if we suppose this conventional vagueness to have been accidental, and a still greater if we attribute it to lack of cleverness. When Pope referred to the sudden advent of a heavy shower at a funeral in these terms:

'Tis done, and nature's various charms decay,
See gloomy clouds obscure the cheerful day!
Now hung with pearls the dropping trees appear,
Their faded honours scatter'd on her bier,

it was not because he had not the skill to come into closer touch with reality, but that he did not wish to do so. It had been plainly laid down by Malherbe and confirmed by Boileau that objects should be named in general, not in precise terms. We are really, in studying the descriptive parts of the Classicist poets, very close to the theories of Mallarmé and the Symbolists which occupied us twenty years ago.

The object of the poet was not to present a vivid picture to the reader, but to start in him a state of mind.

We must recollect, in considering what may seem to us the sterility and stiffness of the English poets from 1660 to 1740, that they were addressing a public which, after an irregular violence and anarchical fancy of the middle of the seventeenth century, had begun to yearn for regularity, common sense, and a moderation in relative variety. The simplest ideas should be chosen, and should depend for their poetical effect, not upon a redundant and gorgeous ornament, but solely upon elegance of language. There were certain references, certain channels of imagery, which were purely symbolic, and these could be defended only on the understanding that they produced on the mind of the reader, instantly and without effort, the illustrative effect required. For instance, with all these neo-classicists, the mythological allusions, which seem vapid and ridiculous to us, were simplified metaphor and a question of style. In short, it rested the jaded imagination of Europe, after Gongora and Marini, Donne and D'Aubigné, to sink back on a poetry which had taken a vow to remain scrupulous, elegant, and selected.

But the imagination of England was now beginning to be impatient of these bonds. It was getting tired of a rest-cure so prolonged. It asked for more colour, more exuberance, more precise reproduction of visual impressions. Thomson had summed up and had carried to greater lengths the instinct for scenery which had never entirely died out in England, except for a few years after the Restoration. It was left to Joseph Warton, however, to rebel against the whole mode in which the cabbage of landscape was shredded into the classical *pot-au-feu* He proposes that, in place of the mention of 'Idalia's groves', when Windsor Forest is intended, and milk-white bulls sacrificed to Phoebus at Twickenham, the poets should boldly mention in their verses English 'places remarkably romantic, the supposed habitation of druids, bards, and wizards', and he vigorously recommends Theocritus as a model far superior to Pope because of the greater exactitude of his references to objects, and because of his more realistic appeal to the imagination. Description, Warton says, should be uncommon, exact, not symbolic and allusive, but referring to objects clearly, by their real names. He very pertinently points out that Pope, in a set piece of extraordinary cleverness—which was to be read, more than half a century later, even by Wordsworth, with pleasure—confines himself to rural beauty in general, and declines to call up before us the peculiar beauties which characterize the Forest of Windsor.

A specimen of Joseph Warton's descriptive poetry may here be given, not for its great inherent excellence, but because it shows his resistance to the obstinate classic mannerism:

> Tell me the path, sweet wanderer, tell,
> To thy unknown sequestered cell,
> Where woodbines cluster round the door,
> Where shells and moss o'erlay the floor,
> And on whose top an hawthorn blows,
> Amid whose thickly-woven boughs
> Some nightingale still builds her nest,
> Each evening warbling thee to rest,
> Then lay me by the haunted stream,
> Rapt in some wild poetic dream,
> In converse while methinks I rove
> With Spenser through a fairy grove.

To show how identical were the methods of the two brothers we may compare the foregoing lines with the following from Thomas Warton's 'Ode on the Approach of Summer' (published when he was twenty-five, and possibly written much earlier):

> His wattled cotes the shepherd plaits;
> Beneath her elm the milkmaid chats;
> The woodman, speeding home, awhile
> Rests him at a shady stile;
> Nor wants there fragrance to dispense
> Refreshment o'er my soothèd sense;
> Nor tangled woodbine's balmy bloom,
> Nor grass besprent to breathe perfume,
> Nor lurking wild-thyme's spicy sweet
> To bathe in dew my roving feet;
> Nor wants there note of Philomel,
> Nor sound of distant-tinkling bell,
> Nor lowings faint of herds remote,
> Nor mastiff's bark from bosom'd cot;
> Rustle the breezes lightly borne
> O'er deep embattled ears of corn;
> Round ancient elms, with humming noise,
> Full loud the chafer-swarms rejoice.

The youthful poet is in full revolt against the law which forbade his elders to mention objects by their plain names.

Here we notice at once, as we do in similar early effusions of both the Wartons, the direct influence of Milton's lyrics. To examine the effect of the rediscovery of Milton upon the poets of the middle of the eighteenth century would lead us too far from the special subject of our inquiry to-day. But it must be pointed out that *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* had been entirely neglected, and practically unknown, until a date long after the rehabilitation of *Paradise*

Lost. The date at which Handel set them to music, 1740, is that of the revived or discovered popularity of these two odes, which then began to be fashionable, at all events among the younger poets. They formed a bridge, which linked the new writers with the early seventeenth century across the Augustan Age, and their versification as well as their method of description were as much resisted by the traditional Classicists as they were attractive, and directly preferred to those of Pope, by the innovators. Joseph Warton, who attributed many of the faults of modern lyrical writing to the example of Petrarch, sets Milton vehemently over against him, and entreats the poets 'to accustom themselves to contemplate fully every object before they attempt to describe it'. They were above all to avoid nauseous repetition of commonplaces, and what Warton excellently calls 'hereditary images'.

We must not, however, confine ourselves to a consideration of 'The Enthusiast' of 1740 and the preface to the *Odes* of 1746. Certain of the expressions, indeed, already quoted, are taken from the two very important critical works which the brothers published while they were still quite young. We must now turn particularly to Joseph Warton's *Essay on the Genius of Pope* of 1756, and to Thomas Warton's *Observations on the Faerie Queen* of 1754. Of these the former is the more important and the more readable. Joseph's *Essay on Pope* is an extraordinary production for the time at which it was produced. Let me suggest that we make a great mistake in treating the works of old writers as if they had been always written by old men. I am trying to present the Wartons to you as I see them, and that is as enthusiastic youths, flushed with a kind of intellectual felicity, and dreaming how poetry shall be produced as musicians make airs, by inspiration, not by rote. Remember that when they took their walks in the forest at Hackwood, the whole world of culture held that true genius had expired with Pope, and this view was oracularly supported by Warburton and such-like pundits. I have already pointed out to you that Pope was divided from them not more than Swinburne is divided from us. Conceive two very young men to-day putting their heads together to devise a scheme of poetry which should entirely supersede that, not of Swinburne only, but of Tennyson and Browning also, and you have the original attitude of the Wartons.

It is difficult for us to realize what the nature was of the spell which Pope threw over the literary conscience of the eighteenth century. Forty years after the revolt of the Wartons, Pope was still looked upon by the average critic as 'the most distinguished and the

most interesting Poet of the nation'. Joseph Warton was styled 'the Winton Pedant' for suggesting that Pope paid too dearly for his lucidity and lightness, and for desiring to break up with odes and sonnets the oratorical mould which gave a monotony of form to early eighteenth-century verse. His *Essay on Pope,* though written with such studied moderation that we may, in a hasty reading, regard it almost as a eulogy, was so shocking to the prejudices of the hour that it was received with universal disfavour, and twenty-six years passed before the author had the moral courage to pursue it to a conclusion. He dedicated it to Young, who, alone of the Augustans, had admitted that charm in a melancholy solitude, that beauty of funereal and mysterious effects, which was to be one of the leading characteristics of the Romantic School, and who dimly perceived the sublime and the pathetic to be 'the two chief nerves of all genuine poetry'

Warton's *Essay on the Genius of Pope* is not well arranged, and, in spite of eloquent passages, as literature it does not offer much attraction to the reader of the present day. But its thesis is one which is very interesting to us, and was of startling novelty when it was advanced. In the author's own words it was to prove that 'a clear head and acute understanding are not sufficient, alone, to make a poet'. The custom of critics had been to say that, when supported by a profound moral sense, they *were* sufficient, and Pope was pointed to as the overwhelming exemplar of the truth of this statement. Pope had taken this position himself and, as life advanced, the well of pure poetry in him had dried up more and more completely, until it had turned into a sort of fountain of bright, dry sand, of which the *Epilogue to the Satires,* written in 1738, when Joseph Warton was sixteen years of age, may be taken as the extreme instance. The young author of the *Essay* made the earliest attempt which any one made to put Pope in his right place, that is to say, not to deny him genius or to deprecate the extreme pleasure readers found in his writings, but to insist that, by the very nature of his gifts, his was genius of a lower rank than that of the supreme poets, with whom he was commonly paralleled when he was not preferred to them all.

Warton admitted but three supreme English poets—Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton—and he vehemently insisted that moral, didactic and panegyrical poetry could never rise above the second class in importance. To assert this was not merely to offend against the undoubted supremacy of Pope, but it was to flout the claims of all those others to whom the age gave allegiance. Joseph Warton does not shrink from doing this, and he gives reason for abating the

claims of all the classic favourites—Cowley, Waller, Dryden, Addison. When it was advanced against him that he showed arrogance in placing his opinion against that of a multitude of highly trained judges, he replied that a real 'relish and enjoyment of poetry' is a rare quality, and 'a creative and glowing imagination' possessed by few. When the *dicta* of Boileau were quoted against him, he denied their authority with scarcely less vivacity than Keats was to display half a century later.

Joseph Warton's *Essay* wanders about, and we may acknowledge ourselves more interested in the mental attitude which it displays than in the detail of its criticism. The author insists, with much force, on the value of a grandiose melancholy and a romantic horror in creating a poetical impression, and he allows himself to deplore that Pope was so ready to forget that 'wit and satire are transitory and perishable, but nature and passion are eternal'. We need not then be surprised when Joseph Warton boldly protests that no other part of the writings of Pope approaches *Eloisa to Abelard* in the quality of being 'truly poetical'. He was perhaps led to some indulgence by the fact that this is the one composition in which Pope appears to be indebted to Milton's lyrics, but there was much more than that. So far as I am aware, *Eloisa to Abelard* had never taken a high place among Pope's extreme admirers, doubtless because of its obsession with horror and passion. But when we read how

> o'er the twilight groves and dusky caves,
> Long-sounding aisles, and intermingled graves,
> Black melancholy sits, and round her throws
> A death-like silence and a dead repose,

and still more when we reflect on the perpetual and powerful appeals which the poem makes to emotion unbridled by moral scruple, we have no difficulty in perceiving why *Eloisa to Abelard* exercised so powerful an attraction on Joseph Warton. The absence of ethical reservation, the licence, in short, was highly attractive to him, and he rejoiced in finding Pope, even so slightly, even so briefly, faithless to his formula. It is worth while to note that Joseph Warton's sympathy with the sentimental malady of the soul which lies at the core of Romanticism permitted him to be, perhaps, the first man since the Renaissance who recognized with pleasure the tumult of the *Atys* of Catullus and the febrile sensibility of Sappho.

Both brothers urged that more liberty of imagination was what English poetry needed; that the lark had been shut up long enough in a gilded cage. We have a glimpse of Thomas Warton introducing

the study of the great Italian classics into Oxford at a very early age, and we see him crowned with laurel in the common-room of Trinity College at the age of nineteen. This was in the year before the death of Thomson. No doubt he was already preparing his *Observations on the Fairie Queene*, which came out a little later. He was Professor of Poetry at Oxford before he was thirty. Both the brothers took great pleasure in the study of Spenser, and they both desired that the supernatural 'machinery' of Ariosto, in common with the romance of *The Fairie Queene*, should be combined with a description of nature as untrimmed and unshackled as possible. Thomas Warton, in his remarkable Oxford poem, 'The Painted Window,' describes himself as

> A faithless truant to the classic page,
> Long have I loved to catch the simple chime
> Of minstrel-harps, and spell the fabling rhyme,

and again he says:

> I soothed my sorrows with the dulcet lore
> Which Fancy fabled in her elfin age,

that is to say when Spenser was writing 'upon Mulla's shore'.

After all this, the *Observations on the Fairie Queene* of 1754 is rather disappointing. Thomas was probably much more learned as a historian of literature than Joseph, but he is not so interesting a critic. Still, he followed exactly the same lines, with the addition of a wider knowledge. His reading is seen to be already immense, but he is tempted to make too tiresome a display of it. Nevertheless, he is as thorough as his brother in his insistence upon qualities which we have now learned to call Romantic, and he praises all sorts of old books which no one then spoke of with respect. He warmly recommends the *Morte d'Arthur*, which had probably not found a single admirer since 1634. When he mentions Ben Jonson, it is characteristic that it is to quote the line about 'the charmèd boats and the enchanted wharves', which sounds like a foretaste of Keats's 'magic casements opening on the foam of perilous seas'. The public of Warton's day had relegated all tales about knights, dragons, and enchanters to the nursery, and Thomas Warton shows courage in insisting that they are excellent subjects for serious and adult literature. He certainly would have thoroughly enjoyed the romances of Mrs. Radcliffe, whom a later generation was to welcome as 'the mighty magician bred and nourished by the Muses in their sacred solitary caverns, amid the paler shrines of Gothic superstition', and he despised the neo-classic make-believe of grottos. He says,

with firmness, that epic poetry—and he is thinking of Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser—would never have been written if the critical judgements current in 1754 had been in vogue.

Thomas Warton closely studied the influence of Ariosto on Spenser, and no other part of the *Observations* is so valuable as the pages in which those two poets are contrasted. He remarked the polish of the former poet with approval, and he did not shrink from what is violently fantastic in the plot of the *Orlando Furioso*. On that point he says 'The present age is too fond of manner'd poetry to relish fiction and fable', but perhaps he did not observe that although there is no chivalry in *The Schoolmistress*, that accomplished piece was the indirect outcome of the Italian mock-heroic epics. The Classicists had fought for lucidity and common sense, whereas to be tenebrous and vague was a merit with the precursors of Romanticism, or at least, without unfairness, we may say that they asserted the power of imagination to make what was mysterious, and even fabulous, true to the fancy. This tendency, which we first perceive in the Wartons, rapidly developed, and it led to the blind enthusiasm with which the vapourings of Macpherson were presently received. The earliest specimens of *Ossian* were revealed to a too-credulous public in 1760, but I find no evidence of any welcome which they received from either Joseph or Thomas. The brothers personally preferred a livelier and more dramatic presentation, and when Dr. Johnson laughed at Collins because 'he loved fairies, genii, giants, and monsters', the laugh was really at the expense of his school-fellow Joseph Warton, to whom Collins seems to have owed his boyish inspiration, although he was by a few months the senior.

Johnson was a resolute opponent of the principles of the Wartons, though he held Thomas, at least, in great personal regard. He objected to the brothers that they 'affected the obsolete when it was not worthy of revival', and his *boutade* about their own poetry is well known:

> Phrase that time hath flung away,
> Uncouth words in disarray,
> Trick'd in antique ruff and bonnet,
> Ode and elegy and sonnet.

This conservatism was not peculiar to Johnson; there was a general tendency to resist the reintroduction into language and literature of words and forms which had been allowed to disappear. A generation later, a careful and thoughtful grammarian like Gilpin was in danger of being dismissed as 'a cockscomb' because he tried to enlarge our national vocabulary. The Wartons were accused of searching old

libraries for glossaries of disused terms in order to display them in their own writings. This was not quite an idle charge; it is to be noted as one of the symptoms of active Romanticism that it is always dissatisfied with the diction commonly in use, and desires to dazzle and mystify by embroidering its texture with archaic and far-fetched words. Chatterton, who was not yet born when the Wartons formed and expressed their ideas, was to carry this instinct to a preposterous extreme in his Rowley forgeries, where, as you know, he tries to obtain a mediaeval colouring by transferring words out of an imperfect Anglo-Saxon lexicon, often without discerning the actual meaning of those words.

Both the Wartons continued, in successive disquisitions, to repeat their definition of poetry, but it cannot be said that either of them advanced. So far as Joseph is concerned, he seems early to have succumbed to the pressure of the age and of his surroundings. In 1766 he became head master of Winchester, and settled down after curious escapades which had nothing poetical about them. In the head master of a great public school, reiterated murmurs against bondage to the Classical Greeks and Romans would have been unbecoming, and Joseph Warton was a man of the world. Perhaps in the solitude of his study he murmured, as disenchanted enthusiasts often murmur, 'Say, are the days of blest delusion fled?' Yet traces of the old fire were occasionally manifest; still each brother woke up at intervals to censure the criticism of those who did not see that imagination must be paramount in poetry, and who made the mistake of putting 'discernment' in the place of 'enthusiasm'. I hardly know why it gives me great pleasure to learn that 'the manner in which the Rev. Mr. Joseph Warton read the Communion Service was remarkably awful', but it must be as a pleasant evidence that he carried a 'Gothick' manner into daily life.

The spirit of pedantry, so amicably mocked by the Wartons, took its revenge upon Thomas in the form of a barren demon named Joseph Ritson, who addressed to him in 1782 what he aptly called *A Familiar Letter*. There is hardly a more ferocious pamphlet in the whole history of literature. Ritson, who had the virulence of a hornet and the same insect's inability to produce honey of his own, was considered by the reactionaries to have 'punched Tom Warton's historick body full of deadly holes'. But his strictures were not really important. In marshalling some thousands of facts, Warton had made perhaps a couple of dozen mistakes, and Ritson advances these with a reiteration and a violence worthy of a maniac. Moreover, and this is the fate of angry pedants, he himself is often found

to be as dustily incorrect as Warton when examined by modern lights. Ritson, who accuses Warton of 'never having consulted or even seen' the books he quotes from, and of intentionally swindling the public, was in private life a vegetarian who is said to have turned his orphan nephew on to the streets because he caught him eating a mutton-chop. Ritson flung his arrows far and wide, for he called Dr. Samuel Johnson himself 'that great luminary, or rather dark lantern of literature'.

If we turn over Ritson's distasteful pages, it is only to obtain from them further proof of the perception of Warton's Romanticism by an adversary whom hatred made perspicacious. Ritson abuses the *History of English Poetry* for presuming to have 'rescued from oblivion irregular beauties' of which no one desired to be reminded. He charges Warton with recommending the poetry of 'our Pagan fathers' because it is untouched by Christianity, and of saying that 'religion and poetry are incompatible'. He accuses him of 'constantly busying himself with passages which he does not understand, because they appeal to his ear or his fancy'. 'Old poetry', Ritson says to Warton, 'is the same thing to you, sense or nonsense.' He dwells on Warton's marked attraction to whatever is prodigious and impossible. The manner in which these accusations are made is insolent and detestable; but Ritson had penetration, and without knowing what he reached, he pierced in some of these diatribes to the heart of the Romanticist fallacy.

It is needful that I should bring these observations to a close. I hope I have made good my claim that it was the Wartons who introduced into the discussion of English poetry the principle of Romanticism. To use a metaphor of which both of them would have approved, that principle was to them like the mystical bowl of ichor, the *ampolla*, which Astolpho was expected to bring down from heaven in the *Orlando Furioso*. If I have given you an exaggerated idea of the extent to which they foresaw the momentous change in English literature, I am to blame. No doubt by extracting a great number of slight and minute remarks, and by putting them together, the critic may produce an effect which is too emphatic. But you will be on your guard against such misdirection. It is enough for me if you will admit the priority of the intuition of the brothers, and I do not think that it can be contested. Thomas Warton said, 'I have rejected the ideas of men who are the most distinguished ornaments' of the history of English poetry, and he appealed against a 'mechanical' attitude towards the art of poetry.

The brothers did more in rebelling against the Classic formulas

than in starting new poetic methods. There was an absence in them of 'the pomps and prodigality' of genius of which Gray spoke in a noble stanza. They began with enthusiasm, but they had no native richness of expression, no store of energy. It needed a nature as unfettered as Blake's, as wide as Wordsworth's, as opulent as Keats's, to push the Romantic attack on to victory. The instinct for ecstasy, ravishment, the caprices and vagaries of emotion, was there; there was present in both brothers, while they were still young, an extreme sensibility. The instinct was present in them, but the sacred fire died out in the vacuum of their social experience, and neither Warton had the energy to build up a style in prose or verse. They struggled for a little while, and then they succumbed to the worn verbiage of their age, from which it is sometimes no light task to disengage their thought. In their later days they made some sad defections, and I can never forgive Thomas Warton for arriving at Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* and failing to observe its beauties. We are told that as Camden Professor he 'suffered the rostrum to grow cold', and he was an ineffective poet laureate. His brother Joseph felt the necessity or the craving for lyrical expression, without attaining more than a muffled and a second-rate effect.

All this has to be sadly admitted. But the fact remains that between 1740 and 1750, while not even the voice of Rousseau had begun to make itself heard in Europe, the Wartons had discovered the fallacy of the poetic theories admitted in their day, and had formed some faint conception of a mode of escape from them. The Abbé Du Bos had laid down in his celebrated *Réflexions* (1719), that the poet's art consists of making a general moral representation of incidents and scenes, and embellishing it with elegant images. This had been accepted and acted upon by Pope and by all his followers. To have been the first to perceive the inadequacy and the falsity of a law which excluded all imagination, all enthusiasm, and all mystery, is to demand respectful attention from the historian of Romanticism, and this attention is due to Joseph and Thomas Warton.

THE NUMBERED SECTIONS IN OLD ENGLISH POETICAL MSS.

By HENRY BRADLEY

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

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In my article on *Beowulf* in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* I ventured to suggest that the sections headed with roman numerals in the MS. of that poem represent the contents of the loose leaves or sheets of parchment on which the poem was written before it was transcribed into a regular codex. This supposition seems to me the only one capable of accounting for the eccentric way in which the text is divided, the end of a section often coming where we should least expect it—twice actually in the middle of a sentence. The loose leaves or sheets of the MS. would of course require to be numbered, and the scrivener might quite naturally reproduce the numbering in his transcription, partly for his own convenience, and perhaps partly to be able to show his patron that he had made no great omissions or transpositions. It may be objected that if my supposition were true, we should expect to find that the sections were approximately equal in length, whereas in fact they are very unequal. I do not regard this objection as formidable. Parchment must always have been a costly material, and the writer of *Beowulf* may quite possibly have been fain to use any scraps of whatever size that he could lay his hands upon. Besides, we do not know what interpolations or omissions may have been made in the poem after it had been copied in codex form. It must, however, be admitted that my hypothesis would gain greatly in probability if it could be shown that in other instances Old English scribes actually did insert in their transcripts the numbers of the sheets of the MSS. which they copied.

Now numbered sections are a regular feature of all the Old English collections of narrative poetry except the Exeter Book. In some of the poems the sections seem to correspond to natural divisions of the subject; but in the *Genesis* and *Exodus* of the so-called Cædmon MS.

(Junius 11 in the Bodleian Library) the division is mostly as irrational as in *Beowulf* itself.

It has recently occurred to me to examine the numeration of the 'Cædmon MS.', to see whether the length of the sections showed such an approach to uniformity as would render it probable that the sectional division was determined by the limits of the separate sheets or leaves of an archetypal MS. The result of my examination was somewhat startling. Whether the curious facts to which I am about to call attention have been noticed before I do not know; at any rate they are ignored by the latest editor of the 'Earlier *Genesis*', Professor Holthausen.

For reasons that will afterwards appear, I found it convenient to begin with the latter portion of the *Genesis*, from line 918 onwards. The tabulation opposite will show the extraordinary uniformity in the length of the sections. The roman numerals not in brackets are those which are correctly given in the MS. Those in round brackets have been omitted by the scribe, who has, however, in every instance but one (viz. XXXVI,[1] which I have therefore marked with an asterisk) indicated the beginning of a section by writing the initial word in capitals. Between the numerals XXV and XXVIII there are, according to the evidence of the capitals, four sections instead of the three which the numbering would seem to imply. It is evident that in an earlier MS. the same number was inadvertently given to two successive sections—a kind of mistake which, as my experience of my own and other people's work has shown, is extremely easy to commit. For convenience of notation, I make the arbitrary assumption that the duplicated number was XXVI, and therefore insert XXVI A as a section-number. This assumption is just as likely to be right as either of the alternatives; and if it proves to be one of the two possible wrong guesses, it produces a smaller displacement than would the other. The scribe has miswritten VIIII for XVIIII; I put the correct figure in round brackets, and the erroneous one in square brackets.[2]

[1] Thorpe, followed by the succeeding editors, places the number XXXVI at line 2511, not, as I do, at line 2498. But this would give to section XXXV the unparalleled length of 94 verses. The external evidence, such as it is, is equally balanced, for whichever beginning is chosen for section XXXVI the preceding section ends in the middle of a line, followed by a blank of nearly a page, probably left for pictures; and on either view section XXXVI begins with a capital letter slightly larger than usual.

[2] It is to be understood that the numbers of MS. lines given in the last column of the table are *net*; i.e. deductions have been made for the blanks due to ornamental initials.

Number of Section.	Lines (Grein-Wulker)	Remarks.	Verses in Section	MS Lines in Section
XVI	918–1001		84	60
XVII	1002–1080		79	57
XVIII	1081–1166		86	57
(XIX) [VIIII]	1167–1247		81	53
XX	1248–1326		79	52
XXI	1327–1406		80	53
XXII	1407–1482		76	52
XXIII	1483–1554	Lacunae	72 + x	48 + x
XXIV	1555–1636		82	55
XXV	1637–1718		82	50½
(XXVI)	1719–1804		86	56
(XXVI A)	1805–1889		85	59½
(XXVII)	1890–1959	Lacunae	70 + x	50 + x
XXVIII	1960–2017	Lacunae	58 + x	42 + x
XXIX	2018–2095		78	54
(XXX)	2096–2171		76	56½
(XXXI)	2172–2258		87	60½
XXXII	2259–2335		77	54
(XXXIII)	2336–2396	Leaf missing	61 + x	41 + x
XXXIV	2397–2416	Leaf missing	20 + x	15 + x
XXXV	2417–2497		81	55½
*(XXXVI)	2498–2573	Leaf missing	76 + x	55 + x
XXXVII	2574–2619	Leaf missing	46 + x	33 + x
XXXVIII	2620–2689	Lacunae	70 + x	48 + x
XXXIX	2690–2770		81	57
XL	2771–2832	Leaf missing	62 + x	45 + x
XLI	2833–2935	Long section at end of the poem	103	77½

Now out of the twenty-seven[1] sections in this list, there are ten that must be dismissed from consideration for the reasons given in the column headed 'Remarks'. The abnormal length of the last section is no doubt due to crowded handwriting, occasioned (according to the theory afterwards to be explained) by the desire of the writer of the archetypal MS. to finish the poem without running into a fresh sheet of parchment.[2] Five sections are defective, owing to the fact that the existing MS. has had a leaf cut out at each place; and in four sections, although there is no gap in the MS., the editors have recognized the existence of lacunae, on the ground that essential portions of the Bible text are omitted.

In the remaining seventeen sections, the average length of a section is 81 verses,[3] or the equivalent of 54½ lines of the Junius MS. The highest number of verses in any of these sections is 87, and the lowest

[1] Not twenty-six, as there is an extra section between XXVI and XXVII.

[2] It has been pointed out to me that the Beowulf MS. shows similar overcrowding at the end.

[3] I use the term 'verse' instead of 'line' for the metrical unit in order to avoid confusion with the written 'line' of a MS. In printed texts the 'verse' and the 'line' are of course identical.

76; the highest number of MS. lines is 60½, and the lowest 50½; and the lengths of most of the sections, by whichever rule measured, are considerably nearer to the average than these extremes. If it be remembered that in all the extant MSS. Old English poetry is written continuously like prose; that the number of letters even in metrically equivalent verses is far from uniform; that in one and the same MS. the pages often differ in number of lines; and, finally, that the MS. of the 'Earlier *Genesis*', unlike that of *Beowulf*, never concludes a section except at the end of a sentence[1] and of a verse; the result at which we have arrived cannot but appear very remarkable.

As 81 is a likely number of verses to be contained in a sheet (four pages) of parchment, it seems a reasonable inference from the foregoing numerical facts that the original MS. of this portion of the *Genesis* poem consisted of a set of separate sheets of that compass. The sheets must have been of the same size, and the handwriting on them more than commonly uniform, for the extreme deviation from the average (which occurs only once) amounts to a difference of only 1½ verses on a page. In fact, when I considered the figures relating to the number of verses, I could not resist the impression that they were really a little *too* uniform. This looks rather like (as a French proverb expresses it) 'complaining that the bride is too beautiful'. But what I mean is that, having regard to the disturbing influences above mentioned, the correspondence between the results of my theory and the facts was so strangely exact as to suggest that it must have been a little helped out by some circumstance of which I had not taken account. I was therefore inclined to conjecture that the *Genesis*, contrary to the usual rule in Old English MSS., was originally written after the fashion of modern poetry, each verse having a line to itself; and I expected to find either confirmation or disproof of this conjecture when I came to examine the number of lines severally occupied by the sections in the extant MS., which is written continuously like prose. I cannot say that this expectation was fulfilled, for I find myself unable to decide which of the two modes of reckoning exhibits the greater degree of uniformity in the length of the sections. Still, it is by no means unlikely that the poem *may* have been written in the manner which we nowadays regard as the only natural one. This way of writing down poetry (στιχηδόν) was common in classical antiquity, and, in its application to Latin verse, was not unknown to the English contemporaries of Bæda or Cynewulf. It is true that we find no evidence of this practice in MSS. of Old English poetry; but the Old English poetical MSS. that have been preserved are only a very small number out of the hundreds that must have existed.

[1] The breach of this rule in section XIX is only apparent.

It is now, I think, proved that the part of the 'Earlier *Genesis*' here considered was originally written on a set of detached sheets. But it is equally certain that MS. Junius 11 was not copied directly from a MS. of this kind, but from a previous codex. For if the scribe had worked from a set of loose numbered sheets, he would not have omitted several of the numbers and miswritten others, while keeping the sections in their correct order. In copying from a codex, oversights of this kind are not surprising. When we come to the *Exodus*, we shall find additional evidence that our MS. is removed by at least two steps from the original MS. in sheets. Further, since the sequence of section-numbers continues through the long interpolation contained in lines 235–851 (known as the 'Later *Genesis*'), we may safely infer that this interpolation was already included in the codex from which the existing copy was made. The 'Later *Genesis*', as is well known, is a translation from the Old Saxon of the Continent. This fact was first perceived forty years ago by the wonderful sagacity of Professor Sievers, whose conclusion, drawn solely from internal evidence, was long afterwards brilliantly confirmed by the discovery of a portion of the postulated original text.

I now come to examine the length of the sections in the earlier portion of the *Genesis* (lines 1–917). Here I shall have frequently to encounter a difficulty which has not occurred in the previous investigation—the absence of external evidence showing where a section begins. In the first place, this earlier portion has no numerals except VII (which occurs twice over) and perhaps X;[1] and although the scribe has often indicated the beginning of a section by writing its initial word in capitals, he has not always done this. Secondly, our MS. has (as is well known) had a considerable number of leaves cut out in this part; and as the missing leaves doubtless contained pictures (which presumably was the reason why they were abstracted) there is nothing to show what amount of text (if any) has been lost. Lastly, this portion of the MS. includes the interpolated 'Later *Genesis*'; and this poem contains many passages consisting of expanded verses, so that, on the assumption that the size of the sheets and of the handwriting was the same as in the 'Earlier *Genesis*', we may expect to find that the number of verses to a section is smaller and less uniform here than in the older poem, and therefore the arithmetical method of the preceding investigation may prove to be inapplicable.

[1] The characters that have been read as XIII in the margin of line 441 seem to be *xm* (with a zigzag over the *m*) perhaps standing for *Christus misereatur*; cf. the *xb* (for *Christus benedicat*) which is frequent in the margin of this MS. The *x* opposite to line 564 may also not be a numeral, as it is quite abnormally placed.

For these reasons, the scheme of sectional division which I am about to propose for the earlier portion of the *Genesis* can only be regarded as tentative, and it is highly probable that in some details it will be found to require correction. I believe, however, that in its main outlines it rests on sufficient evidence.

The first question that requires to be settled arises out of the fact that in our MS. the roman numeral VII, apparently marking the beginning of a section, occurs twice over. The first VII stands on a picture at the bottom of a page; the following page begins with line 325, of which the initial word, BRAND, is written in capitals. The second VII is on the last line of a page; and the following line, 389, begins with the capitals AC ÞOLIAÐ. Now as line 325 begins in the middle of a sentence, it is natural to suspect that the scribe may have been mistaken in treating it as the first line of a section. But if so, he must have made an additional mistake in leaving the real beginning of the section unmarked; and, besides, the presence of the numeral VII requires to be accounted for. The most probable supposition seems to be that, when the sheets were being numbered, the same number was accidentally given to two successive sheets (a kind of mistake of which one instance has already been noted), and that the writer of the 'Later *Genesis*' for once failed to observe the rule of concluding a period at the end of a sheet. I therefore retain the number VII before line 325, and mark the section beginning at line 389 as VII A. The correctness of this procedure is open to some doubt, but if it be admitted the division of the preceding portion of the text presents no serious difficulty.

The beginning of section II is marked by the capitals WÆRON at line 82, so that section I has exactly the normal number of verses for the 'Earlier *Genesis*'. The words ÞA SEO in capitals at the beginning of line 135 are certainly a difficulty. If we accept them as indicating the beginning of a section, we must conclude that section II has only 53 verses. As there is no reason for suspecting the existence of a lacuna, a section of so small compass would have no parallel in the 'Earlier *Genesis*'. It seems, therefore, necessary to disregard these capitals as a scribal error. I believe that section II had 87 verses, ending with the mutilated line 168, which I propose to restore as follows:

Ond gefetero[de fæstum bendum].

Section II contains a striking proof (if any proof were now needed) that the sectional division in this poem is based solely on mechanical considerations. The 'Earlier *Genesis*' consists of a close paraphrase of the first twenty-two chapters of the Bible, preceded by a prologue

of 111 verses, treating chiefly of the fall of the angels. Now, if the sections were intended to represent structural divisions of the poem, we should assuredly find a conspicuous break between the end of the prologue and the beginning of the paraphrase. Instead of this, the paraphrase actually begins in the middle of a line.

The last few words of section II are lost to us through the excision of two leaves of the existing MS. Comparison with the Bible text shows that the whole of section III, corresponding to 19 verses of the Bible, is also missing.

The extant fragment of section IV comes between two gaps in the MS., the one of two leaves just referred to, after line 168, and the other after line 234. When we compare lines 169–234 with the portion of the Bible which they paraphrase, we find a curious reversal of order, which the editors, so far as I know, have failed to observe. The creation of Eve is described in lines 169–191, corresponding to Gen. ii. 18–24. Then follows, in lines 192–205, the command to be fruitful and multiply, and to subdue the earth—a passage which, for harmonistic reasons,[1] has been transferred to this place from the first chapter of the Bible. So far there is nothing amiss. But after all this, we are taken back, in lines 206–234, to the description of Paradise and the enumeration of its rivers, answering to Gen. ii. 8–14. How is this transposition to be accounted for?

The problem will be solved if we may assume that in the extant MS. the leaf containing pp. 9–10 (lines 169–205) and the leaf containing pp. 11–12 (lines 206–234) have exchanged places. At the bottom of page 12 is a blank, which probably represents a lacuna of which the scribe of our codex was conscious, the missing passage (= Gen. ii. 15–17) had, I think, been expunged because its substance was repeated in the interpolated 'Later *Genesis*'. The blank has room for some nine lines, equal (in this part of the text) to about fourteen verses, which is pretty exactly the space that would be required to render the three Bible verses. As line 206 has no initial capitals marking it as the beginning of a section, I conjecture that the section began with about five lost verses, answering to Gen. ii. 7. The total length of the section will then be 85 verses.

So far, this result is quite satisfactory. But there remains the difficulty of accounting for the reversed order of the two consecutive leaves. If these leaves formed the middle (or third[2]) sheet of the

[1] It may be observed that the paraphrast has dealt rather cleverly with the difficulty arising from the duplicate accounts of the creation of man in Gen i. and ii.

[2] I think there is reason to believe that the first and second quires of the MS consisted of only three sheets each. But the matter requires further investigation.

quire, the matter would be very simple. We should then merely have to assume that the sheet had been accidentally turned inside out. But, in fact, although the leaf containing pp. 9–10 is the left-hand leaf of the third sheet, its right-hand leaf has been cut away, and pp. 11–12 form the right-hand leaf of the second sheet. The problem thus becomes much more complicated; but I believe it is capable of solution. There is clear evidence that in the sixteenth century this quire (probably in consequence of the excision of four of its six leaves) had come to pieces, and was re-sewn. For a narrow binding strip, of parchment differing in texture from that of the codex, has been inserted; and this strip bears some random scribblings in late court-hand. I suggest that, before the re-sewing, the second sheet had been turned inside out, and that it was placed, thus reversed, in its original position next to the middle sheet. The result of this process will be seen from the following diagrams

ORIGINAL SEQUENCE.	PRESENT SEQUENCE.
c ——————— *d*	*c* ———— . . . .(*d*)
b ———— | ———— *e*	(*e*). . . . .— | ———— *b*
a ———— | ———— *f*	(*a*). . . . . | . . . .(*f*)

In its present state, the quire consists of two entire leaves and vestiges of their counterfoils; and the original second leaf (pp. 11–12) immediately follows the original third leaf (pp. 9–10). In this part of the MS a page contains 32 or 33 verses. Hence the missing section III, which occupied the lost leaf *a* and a lost leaf of the preceding quire, would, if of normal length, leave a page and a half free for pictures.

Now that the transposed passages have been restored to their original order, and the position and extent of the lacunae determined, it will be convenient to tabulate the correspondences between the successive portions of the 'Earlier *Genesis*' and those of the first two chapters of the Bible.

Section II	Lines 112–168	57 verses	= Gen. i. 1–10.
III	(Wholly lost)	81 (?) verses	i. 11–25 and ii. 1–4.
IV	Lost beginning	5 (?) verses	ii. 7.
	Lines 206–234	29 verses	i. 31, ii. 5–6 and 8–14.
	Lost middle portion	14 (?) verses	ii. 15–17.
	Lines 169–191	23 verses	ii. 18–24.
	Lines 192–205	14 verses	i. 26–30.

Gen. i. 31 and ii. 5–6 have been removed from their original context to places in which they are perfectly appropriate.

We have now come to line 235, the first extant verse of the long interpolation translated from Old Saxon. Of section V we possess only a fragment of eleven verses, beginning in the middle of a sentence; the earlier portion (about 65 verses) was on the three missing leaves, *d*, *e*, *f*. This involves the conclusion that three of the six last pages of the quire were filled with pictures.

The beginning of section VI is marked by the word HÆFDE in capitals at line 246; that of section VII by the capitals BRAND (in the middle of a sentence) at line 325 (preceded in the MS. by the figure VII). Two leaves have been cut out after p. 18; I think they contained a few lines of text, though the assumption is not inevitable. The beginning of section VII A is marked by the figure VII and AC ÞOLIAÐ in capitals at line 389 and that of section VIII by the word ANGAN in capitals at line 442. The beginning of section X is marked by the capitals WENDE at line 547. The character X, however, stands opposite, not to this verse but to line 564; if it be really a numeral, which I doubt, I can only suppose that when the sheets were being numbered, sheet X happened to be lying inside out, so that the number was placed on the second page. Sections VIII and IX (lines 442–546) have together 105 verses. At the exact middle point, at line 495, a new sentence begins a verse, and the missing figure IX must therefore be placed there, and sections VIII and IX have 53 and 52 verses respectively.

The scribe has omitted all the numerals between X and XVI, the latter being at line 918, where we began our examination of the latter part of the *Genesis*. There are, however, initial words in capitals at lines 684, 821, and 871; and as the editors were unacquainted with the real principle of the division, they very naturally supposed these capitals to mark the beginnings of sections XIII, XIV, and XV. But this, if my theory is true, is quite inconceivable. It would give to section XIII the enormous extent of 137 verses, and would make the end of the 'Later *Genesis*' fall in the middle of a section. It is certain that section XIV must have ended at line 851, the last verse of the interpolation, hence the beginning of section XII is marked by an initial word in capitals at line 684, and that of section XIV at line 821. The average length of sections X and XI (lines 547–683) is therefore 68 verses, and the average length of sections XII and XIII (lines 684–820) is also 68 verses. With these facts as a clue, and remembering that every section must end with a full stop concluding a verse, we arrive at the following results:—section X (70

verses) ends at line 616; section XI (67 verses) begins at line 617; section XII (61 verses) begins at line 684, with HIO in capitals; section XIII (76 verses) begins at line 745; and section XIV (a half-sheet of 31 verses) begins at line 821, with ÐA SPRÆC in capitals.

It is to be remarked that the extant fragment of the Old Saxon original of the 'Paradise Lost' poem ends at our line 820,[1] where Adam gives expression to the wish that he had never set eyes on his temptress. It is fortunate that the portion known to us of this fine poem does not conclude with this somewhat repulsive passage The continuation, which is preserved only in the Old English translation, is singularly beautiful, reminding one strongly of Milton.

Section XV, which (as we saw at the beginning of our inquiry) ends at line 917, contains, in its present state, only 66 verses—an abnormally small number for the 'Earlier *Genesis*'. But unless something is missing at the beginning of the section, we are shut up to the inconceivable conclusion that the paraphrase was destitute of anything corresponding to the all-important Bible passage Gen. iii. 1–7, relating the story of the temptation and fall of man Evidently the lines rendering this passage must have been purposely removed because the story they contain had already been told in the interpolated sections. There is one piece of external evidence on which to base an estimate of the length of the omitted passage. The word HIM in capitals occurs at the beginning of line 871, the forty-sixth verse from the end of the section. This fact requires to be accounted for, and the simplest way of accounting for it is by the following hypothesis. When the sheets were being numbered, this particular sheet had been turned inside out, and the figure XV was placed at the top of the third page. Afterwards the inversion was rectified, but the person who copied the poem into a codex, finding the numeral at line 871, wrote the first word of that line in capitals. If this supposition be correct, line 871 began the second leaf, which therefore contained 46 verses—six more than the normal quantity. Assuming that only the last page was overcrowded, in order to conclude the sheet with a stopped verse-ending, and that the first three pages had the normal number of verses, we arrive at a total length of 87 verses for the section, and the deleted passage will have contained 21 verses, which, according to the usual method of the paraphrast, would be a fair allowance of space for the rendering of the seven Bible verses. The deletion, be it noted, is of exactly one page.

[1] Or rather, it would end there, if two lines had not been cut off at the bottom of the leaf. Actually, the fragment ends with the ninth letter of our line 817.

We may now venture to reconstruct the history of the interpolation. An Anglo-Saxon, who had some poetic talent and a knowledge of the Old Saxon dialect, became the possessor of the original MS. of the paraphrase of Genesis, written on thirty-two loose sheets of parchment. On reading it through, he remembered that the story of the temptation, which in the paraphrase was meagrely told in a single page, had been treated at much greater length and in a far more interesting manner by an Old Saxon poet. He therefore set himself to translate into English verse the 'Paradise Lost' of his continental brother-poet. When he had finished his translation, he placed the ten and a half sheets of which it consisted between the fourth and fifth sheets of the older MS., and expunged the superfluous page of the paraphrase.

I now proceed to tabulate the lengths of the sections in lines 1–917 of the *Genesis*, using the same notation of brackets and asterisks as in the former table relating to the latter portion of the poem

Number of Section	Lines (Grein-Wulker).	Remarks.	Verses in Section	MS. Lines in Section.
(Earlier Genesis)				
(I)	1–81		81	60
(II)	82–168		87	64
* (III)		Wholly lost	81 (?)	—
* (IV)	.206–234... 169–205	Beginning and middle lost	66 + x	45 + x
(Later Genesis)				
* (V)	...235–245	Beginning lost	11 + x	$10\frac{1}{2}$ + x
(VI)	246–324	Very long verses	79	82
VII	325–388	Some long verses; mostly normal Two leaves lost	64 + x	51 + x
VII A	389–441	Verses mostly long, lacuna (1 line?)	53 + 1	52 + 1
(VIII)	442–494	Verses mostly normal	53	38
* (IX)	495–546	Verses mostly normal	52	43
(X)	547–616	Verses mostly rather long	70	57
* (XI)	617–683	Verses mostly normal	67	53
(XII)	684–744	Lacuna	61 + x	45 + x
* (XIII)	745–820	Verses unequal, about 20 long	76	$60\frac{1}{2}$
(XIV)	821–851	A half-sheet	31	26
(Earlier Genesis)				
* (XV)	...852–917	Beginning omitted	66 + x	48 + x

The conclusion suggested by this table is that in the original MS. of the interpolated 'Paradise Lost' two sizes of sheet were used; the three sheets VII A–IX having a capacity of 53 verses, while the remainder averaged 72 verses. Further, the writing was probably stichic, as the sections within each group show a fair approach to equality as

measured by number of verses, while the space occupied by them in the Junius MS. varies according to the proportion of long verses.[1] The MS. was probably less carefully written than that of the 'Earlier *Genesis*'; there is, as we have seen, one instance of violation of the rule of concluding a sheet with an end-stopped verse

The sequence of section-numbers is continued from the *Genesis* through the two poems that follow it in the MS.—the *Exodus* and the *Daniel*. In dealing with the *Exodus* our task will be comparatively easy, for the scribe has marked the beginnings of five of the nine sections (XLII, XLIV, XLVI, XLVII, XLIX) with roman numerals, and section XLIII begins with a word in capitals, so that we have to resort to indirect evidence in only three instances. According to the MS. the *Exodus* has not nine but only eight sections (XLII–XLIX), as the *Daniel* begins with the numbered section L. This reckoning, however, gives a length of 144 verses (lines 446–589) to section XLIX, so that it is evident that the scribe (not of our MS. but of an antecedent codex) has overlooked the beginning of a section. As a verse and a sentence begin together at line 515, I place at this line the beginning of a section, which I number XLIXA. The place of the figures XLV and XLVIII may be determined by the same method.

The MS. of the *Exodus* contains a confusing blunder, which was pointed out by Professor Napier in the *Modern Language Review* for April 1911. The 17 lines now numbered 108–124 ought to come immediately after line 85. Professor Napier accounted for this transposition by the hypothesis that the middle sheet of a quire in an earlier codex, containing 17 verses (lines 108–124) on the first leaf and 22 verses (lines 86–107) on the second leaf, had, before the binding of the volume, got turned inside out, and was copied in this position. It is obvious that the supposed accident would perfectly account for the existing disorder of the text; but at first sight this explanation would seem to involve the very unlikely assumption that the pages of the earlier codex averaged only 9½ verses to a page. But it is possible that the sheet may have contained pictures as well as text; and if two pages had been left blank for the artist, he would (supposing that he worked while the MS. was still unbound) almost certainly turn the sheet inside out before making his drawings.[2]

[1] It may be objected that the end of three sections has been determined by averaging the number of verses, not of MS. lines. But I have tried the experiment of averaging the MS. lines, and find that this makes no difference. The nearest end-stopped verse to the point of division thus indicated is always the last verse of a section as shown in my table.

[2] In any other circumstances the introversion of the middle sheet of a written

Professor Napier's hypothesis, therefore, may quite possibly be the true one. It seems, however, worth while to point out that the facts may be equally well accounted for on a different supposition, viz. that a single leaf, containing lines 108–124 on the first page and lines 86–107 on the second, had fallen out of a bound volume, and was pasted in again with the outer edge turned inwards. Whichever explanation we adopt, the accident that caused the transposition must have happened to a codex, not to the original MS. in separate sheets, for it has resulted in the transference of 17 verses from one section to another. A further point that calls for remark is that on either supposition the antecedent of our present codex seems to have had 22 verses on one page and only 17 on another—which, in pages of so small compass, appears unlikely. The inequality might perhaps be accounted for by some hypothesis with regard to pictures. But I think it is probable that the latest scribe has omitted some five verses either before, after, or in the middle of, the present line 108. This supposition will enable us to account for the absence of the subject of the verb *beheold* in line 109. Professor Napier was conscious of a serious difficulty here, and hesitatingly suggested the emendation of *beheold* into *ongann*—a desperate remedy which one is glad to dispense with.

According to the MS., section XLIV begins with line 107, which stands at the top of a page, the preceding half-page being left blank for a picture. As this verse does not begin a sentence, and line 105 does, it seems possible that the beginning of the section may have been misplaced through some confusion arising from the dislocation in the text. Since, however, the codex appears to contain one clear instance of irregular beginning of a section (section VII), I follow the indication given by the scribe.

The editors place the number XLV at line 143, because this line begins with ÞA in capitals,[1] preceded by a line left blank at the top of the page. I believe this blank was left in an earlier codex to allow room for a verse (containing a reference to Joseph) which had become illegible in his original. The latest scribe mistook the blank for a sign of division, and therefore capitalized what he supposed to be the

quire would be a very unlikely accident. The case is very different from that of a separate sheet forming a 'section' of a MS A sheet of the latter kind might very likely be turned inside out every time it was read, when it was being copied this would almost certainly be done. A reader who stopped before he came to the last page might very naturally neglect to turn the sheet back again

[1] The MS. has in fact only the letter A, but space is left for an ornamental initial.

first word of a section. The particle *þa* here means 'when', not 'then', and does not begin a sentence.

The following table shows the remarkable uniformity in length of the *Exodus* sections:—

NUMBER OF SECTION	LINES (Grein-Wulker).	REMARKS	VERSES IN SECTION.	MS. LINES IN SECTION
XLII	1–62		62	47
(XLIII)	63–85, 108–124, 86–106	As re-arranged by Napier A lacuna of 5 verses	61 + 5	43 + 3
XLIV	107, 125–186	A lacuna of 1 verse	63 + 1	47 + 1
* (XLV)	187–251		65	49
XLVI	252–318		67	50½
XLVII	319–383		65	49½
* (XLVIII)	384–445	A lacuna at the end	62 + *x*	47 + *x*
XLIX	446–514	Numbered XLVIIII in the MS., not XLVIII as stated in Grein-Wulker	69	50
* (XLIX A)	515–589	Abnormally long section at the end of the poem	75	57½

Leaving out of account section XLVIII, which has a lacuna of unknown extent, and section XLIX A, which, like the concluding section of the *Genesis* (and doubtless for the same reason), is of abnormal length, we find that the average length of the *Exodus* sections is 65 verses, or 48 lines of the Junius MS.; and that the deviations from this average are extremely small. As the *Exodus* consists entirely (except in the last section) of short normal verses, the necessary inference from these facts is that the sheets on which this poem was originally written contained each about one-fifth less matter than a sheet of the 'Earlier *Genesis*' Whether the difference was in the size of the sheets or in the width of the ruling must of course remain uncertain; nor is there anything to show whether the original MS. was written stichically or in unbroken lines.

The *Daniel*, which follows the *Exodus* in the MS., is divided into six sections, numbered L to LV. The length of the sections is very unequal, varying from 103 to 180 verses. I do not think that these figures can be explained by my general theory It seems probable that the scribe of the codex in which the *Daniel* was first added to the corpus of Bible paraphrases took it from a copy in which the numbering of the original sheets was not given, and that for the sake of consistency he divided the added poem into sections, placing the marks of division where he thought they were appropriate. The section-numbers of the *Daniel*, therefore, do not concern the present inquiry. The scribe of the Junius MS. must have found them in the

codex which he copied, for he has omitted the numerals LII and LIV, while retaining the accompanying capitals.

The poem or group of poems in the Second Part of the 'Cædmon MS.' (called by Grein *Christ and Satan*) is divided into numbered sections (probably twelve). The numeration does not continue that of the *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Daniel*, but begins afresh. The numerals II, III, V, and VI are given in the MS., and the position of the rest seems to be indicated by large or ornamented initial letters. In some instances the delimitation of the sections is uncertain, but if we follow the guidance afforded by the scribe, they are of very unequal extent, varying between 31 and 87 verses. The editors, however, have recognized the existence of many lacunae in the text, and there is some reason for suspecting one large transposition. I myself feel little doubt that here, as in the *Genesis* and the *Exodus*, the numbered sections correspond to the separate sheets of an earlier MS.; and I think it very likely that a critical examination of the text might render it probable that the sheets were approximately equal in the number of verses that they contained. However, as I do not wish to encumber my argument with any disputable contentions, I will not pursue this question, and shall leave these poems out of account.

The extant fragment of the *Judith*, which begins in the middle of a verse, has the three section-numbers X (at line 15), XI (at line 122), and XII (at line 236); the poem ends at line 350. The three complete sections thus contain severally 107, 114, and 115 verses; and the shortest section has a larger proportion of lengthened verses than the other two. I think it is justifiable to infer that the *Judith* was originally written on twelve separate sheets, each containing the unusually large number of about 115 verses. The lost portion, therefore, consisted of about a thousand verses, or three-quarters of the whole poem; a proportion quite in accordance with what a comparison with the text of the Biblical source would lead us to expect.

Cynewulf's *Elene* is divided into fifteen sections, all headed with roman numerals except the first, eleventh, and twelfth, which, like the rest, begin with large capitals. The facsimile of the Vercelli Book enables me to supplement the set of figures showing the number of verses in the several sections with a parallel series giving the number of lines which each section occupies in the extant MS. The numbers are as follows:—

Section	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.	XIII.	XIV.	XV.
Number of verses	98.	95	82.	88.	90	93	72.	90.	94.	92.	73.	76.	104.	89.	85.
Number of MS. lines	62.	54.	56.	54	54.	53.	47.	55.	55	56.	43.	44	56.	47.	48.

The average number of verses in a section is 88; the average number of MS. lines is 52. On my theory, this means that a page of the original MS. contained on the average 22 verses, or the equivalent of 13 lines of the Vercelli Book. As the number of lines is more uniform than that of verses, we may assume that the original MS. was not written stichically, but continuously like prose, and may therefore confine our attention to the lower row of figures. We find that there are only three sections that differ from the average by more than five lines, these abnormal differences being respectively 8, 9, and 10 lines. Now even in so carefully written a MS. as the Vercelli Book, some pages (containing neither blank spaces nor capitals) have 31 lines and others only 24. The deviations from average length in the sections of the *Elene* (amounting, in the one extreme instance, to less than three lines per page) therefore appear to me too trifling to throw any doubt on the conclusion that in this poem, as in the 'Earlier *Genesis*', the 'Later *Genesis*', and the *Exodus*, the numbered sections represent the separate sheets, uniform in size, of the original MS.

There is one feature of the extant MS. of the *Elene* that deserves special notice. The last sixteen lines of section XIII are written in a smaller hand than the rest, having about one-third more letters to the line. In the Vercelli Book itself there is nothing to account for this eccentric freak; and it is reasonable to suppose that it was slavishly imitated from the original MS., the codex-scribe probably thinking that the peculiarity might have some occult significance. Now it is remarkable that the part of the section written in the ordinary hand occupies 40 lines, just three-fourths of the average space filled by a section of the *Elene*. My inference from these facts is that Cynewulf, on beginning the last page of the thirteenth sheet, suddenly discovered that he had miscalculated the length of the canto as he had planned it, and that he consequently altered the size of his handwriting in order to avoid overrunning the limits of the sheet.

I have now passed in review all those Old English poems which in the existing MSS. are divided into numbered sections.[1] Whatever corrections of detail the foregoing conclusions may hereafter be found to require, I think the soundness of the general result is beyond reasonable question. It has been established that in four long poems

[1] The fifteen sections of the *Andreas* are not numbered in the MS., though by some inadvertence a modern numbering in roman figures is given without brackets in Grein-Wülker. In Dr. Krapp's edition the number XIV is left unbracketed. With regard to the *Andreas*, and other poems that have sections without numbering, see the Appendix to this paper.

—the paraphrase of Genesis, the translation of the Old Saxon 'Paradise Lost', the *Exodus*, and Cynewulf's *Elene*—the numbered sections represent the separate sheets of the archetypal MSS.; and that in one and the same poem the quantity of written matter in a sheet was surprisingly uniform,[1] though as between one poem and another there were great differences. The extraordinary regularity with which these early MSS. must have been written—far surpassing what we find either in the Vercelli Book or in the 'Cædmon MS.'—shows clearly that they were the work of highly-trained and careful penmen.

I will now go a step further, and maintain that these four MSS. were the autographs of the authors of the poems. It may at first sight appear that such a proposition as this cannot, in the nature of the case, admit of demonstrative proof. But let us consider the facts. We find that, almost without exception, each of the sheets composing the four MSS. concluded, in spite of its strict conformity to a fixed rule as to the quantity of writing it should contain, with a full stop at the end of a verse. Now this result cannot have been obtained without the exercise of some thought and ingenuity. For in Old English poetry a sentence ends, more often than not, in the middle of a verse; and we may sometimes read through twenty or thirty verses before we come to a place at which, according to rule, it would be allowable to end a sheet. In the *Elene*, the numbered sections have every appearance of being structural divisions of the poem; and yet every one of them occupied exactly a sheet of parchment. To suppose that these phenomena are due to partial re-writing of the poems by some later hand would be absurd. We must therefore conclude that at least four Old English poets considered themselves bound to close a period and a verse at the bottom of every fourth page of their MS.; and that Cynewulf, in at least one poem, took the capacity of a sheet of parchment as the invariable measure of a canto. To modern apprehension, there is something rather ludicrous in the idea of a poet allowing the flow of his composition to be regulated in this mechanical way. But, after all, such a convention is not intrinsically more strange than many others which at various periods have determined the exterior form of poetry; and the Pegasus of the Old English religious poets was certainly no ungovernable steed.

The result at which we have now arrived supplies a new argument (though I do not admit that any was needed) against the attempt

[1] The original MS. of the '*Later Genesis*', however, as has been shown above, consisted of two parts, which differed in the size or width of ruling of the component sheets.

recently made by an accomplished scholar to revive the long-discarded attribution of the paraphrase of Genesis to the illiterate Cædmon. How any one can believe in this attribution is to me a mystery. The close and often almost servile manner in which the paraphrase follows the sacred text is proof enough that it is the work of a scholar writing at his desk with his Latin Bible open before him; certainly not of the inspired herdsman who, as Bæda tells us, used day by day to listen to the translation of a passage of Holy Writ, and, after a night's rumination, to deliver it back transmuted into beautiful poetry. And now, as if this were not more than sufficient, we discover that the paraphrast actually composed his verses with constantly recurring forethought for what was going to happen when he came to the end of his sheet of parchment. The learned writer may, of course, have borrowed expressions from the genuine poems of Cædmon; both the prologue and the paraphrase itself begin with echoes of the famous 'Hymn', probably intended to be recognized as such.

The purpose for which I undertook the foregoing investigation was to ascertain whether in the practice of Old English poets and their transcribers I could find anything that seemed to confirm my conjecture regarding the import of the sectional numbers in the MS. of *Beowulf*. So far as my own personal satisfaction is concerned, this purpose has now been accomplished. It seems to me to have been proved, with a degree of completeness that I had never dreamed of as possible, that the origin which I had conjecturally assigned to the section-numbering in *Beowulf* is the actual origin of the similar numbering which occurs in the MSS. of four other Old English poems. Adding to these the fragment of *Judith*, where the evidence, though necessarily incomplete, is faultless so far as it goes, I find that of all the Old English poems (other than *Beowulf*) which are divided into numbered sections there are only two[1] for which it has not been proved that the sections correspond to the separate sheets of the poet's autograph. I therefore conclude that each section of *Beowulf* represents one of the sheets or leaves on which the poem was written by the man to whom it owes its present literary form. The MS. must have been less carefully written than those of the other poems, for the rule as to the ending of a section, elsewhere so rigorously observed, is sometimes broken. Probably this MS., unlike the others, was not intended for permanent preservation, but merely to serve as 'copy' for the scribe. If so, it may very well have been written on scraps of parchment of various sizes, or (like the Vatican MS. of the Old Saxon

[1] In the *Daniel* I have admitted that the sections have a different origin The sections of the *Christ and Satan* are on the same footing as those of *Beowulf*.

'Paradise Lost') on sheets already partially covered by writing. The inequality in the length of the sections would thus be accounted for. It remains to be seen whether there is need for any supplementary explanation; whether, for instance, interpolations or omissions may have been made at a later period. If there should appear to be reasonable ground for suppositions of this kind, the method of inquiry indicated in this paper may possibly be found useful in the criticism of the Old English epic.

APPENDIX

After I had completed the foregoing paper, and had actually sent it to the printers, I discovered that the sections into which several of the poems of the Exeter Book are divided are to be accounted for in the same manner as those of the 'Cædmon MS.' They are not numbered, and therefore lie outside the scope of the investigation which I originally proposed to myself. The beginning of each section, with two or three exceptions, is indicated by initial capitals. This feature of the MS. is, by a strange oversight, not reproduced in Grein-Wülker, but it may be seen in Professor Gollancz's edition of the Exeter Book. In the absence of any facsimile of the MS., I am compelled to base my calculations on the number of verses only. The results obtained by this imperfect method, however, appear to me to leave no doubt that the sections of the Exeter Book, like those of the 'Cædmon MS.', represent the contents of the separate sheets on which the poems were originally written; and it seems probable that an examination of the number of MS lines in the sections would only give further support to this conclusion. As the length of the verses is far more unequal in the Exeter Book poems than in the 'Earlier *Genesis*', the number of verses in a section may be expected to show larger deviations from the average than in that poem.

1. The *Phoenix* contains 677 verses, and is divided into eight sections. The average content of a section is therefore 85 verses. The number of verses in the sections respectively is as follows.—

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
84	97	83	85	74	94	71	89

The extreme deviation from the average is therefore 14 verses, probably amounting to less than three lines per page of the original MS.

2. In Cynewulf's *Juliana* Professor Gollancz marks seven sections. There is an extensive lacuna in the middle of his section III, and another at the beginning of his section VI. Our preliminary calculation must therefore disregard these two sections. The remaining five contain together 563 verses, or 112 on the average. The extant portion of section III consists of 120 verses; and 64 of these precede the lacuna, which therefore must have contained the beginning of

a new section; I call it III A, to avoid disturbing the accepted numbering. The editors account for the lacuna (the large extent of which is proved by comparison with the Latin source) by the supposition that a leaf has been cut out of the Exeter Book Professor Gollancz, however, says that the MS. shows no trace of any excision. Moreover, this supposition fails to account for the facts; for the average number of verses on a leaf is in this poem 69, and the missing portion, if the two sections were of normal length, must have contained 104 verses. Either a leaf (or two leaves) was lost in an earlier MS., or (what is perhaps more likely) the scribe has by mistake turned over two leaves of his exemplar instead of one. The leaf at the beginning of section VI, on the other hand, has been cut out so clumsily that the traces of the excision are more than ordinarily conspicuous. The extant portion of the section consists of 48 verses; if to this number we add 69 for the missing leaf, we obtain for the section a total of 117 verses, which is very close to the average number.

The number of verses in the eight sections of the *Juliana* is as follows —

I	II	III	III A	IV	V	VI	VII
104	120	$64+x$	$56+x$	109	105	117	125

Except for the last section, which, like the concluding section in some other poems, is abnormally long, there are only two instances in which the deviation from the average amounts to eight verses, or two verses per page of the autograph MS.

3. The first of the two Guthlac poems (*Guthlac* A) contains, according to the editor's numbering, eight sections. In the middle of section IV a leaf has been cut out of the MS. The other seven sections contain together 676 verses, or 96½ on the average. Section IV, as we have it, contains 142 verses; adding to this number 68, which in this poem is the average number of verses on a leaf, we obtain the total of 210 verses for the two sections IV and IVA. As 107 of these verses precede the lacuna, and this portion contains no initial capitals, we may perhaps infer that section IV A began very early on the missing leaf. We shall probably be not far wrong if we allow 110 verses for section IV, and 100 for IVA. The nine sections of the poem have the following number of verses respectively:—

I	II	III	IV	IVA	V	VI	VII	VIII
92	77	92	110 (?)	100 (?)	126	88	104	97

There are here two unusually large deviations from the normal measure. Section V exceeds the average number of verses by 30, and

section II falls short of it by 20. It is possible that there may be an undiscovered lacuna in section II, and an interpolation, made after the poem was copied into a codex, in section V At any rate, there are only two of the nine sections that present any great abnormality in extent.

It may be remarked that the preceding figures go to justify Professor Gollancz in accepting the evidence of the MS. with regard to the position of the 29 verses regarded by former editors as the conclusion of 'Cynewulf's *Christ*'. They are necessary to the symmetry of the sections in *Guthlac* A, and, as we shall see, the numerical scheme of the preceding poem (*Christ*, Part III) has no room for them. These verses are the beginning of the prologue to the *Guthlac*, which occupies the whole of the first section of that poem.

4. The second Guthlac poem (*Guthlac* B) presents no difficulties. It is true that the poem is imperfect at the end, because the top of a leaf has been cut off. But it fortunately happens that the *Azarias* immediately follows on the same page, and is continued on the verso of the leaf; and comparison with the parallel passage of the *Daniel* shows that the missing portion (allowing for a line left blank between the poems) contained four verses. Including these, the poem has 565 verses, divided into seven sections, which gives 81 verses as the average extent of a section. The following figures show very slight deviations from the average —

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
75	82	84	74	90	81	79

5. I have reserved to the last the consideration of the three poems ('Cynewulf's *Christ*', Parts I, II, III) which stand first in the Exeter Book. Only the second of these poems bears Cynewulf's runic signature, and the authorship of the two others is now disputed. Some scholars assign to Cynewulf the whole trilogy; others the second poem only, others the first and second, and others the second and third. Among those who maintain the unity of authorship throughout, it is disputed whether the three poems were written as a connected whole, or at different periods without any common design; and there is a similar division of opinion among those who combine I and II and those who combine II and III.

The first poem (*The Nativity*) is imperfect at the beginning. As the missing portion probably occupied one page, which would contain 34 verses, we may add this number to the extant 70 verses of the first section. The numerical scheme is then as follows:—

I	II	III	IV	V
104	93	111	103	62

In so short a poem, we should not, if this instance stood alone, be justified in inferring any intentional symmetry from these figures. But in the light of our previous results, we may fairly conclude that the sheets of the original MS. had a normal compass of 105 verses; the last section being probably a crowded half-sheet.

The second poem (*The Ascension*) has 427 verses and five sections—an average of 85 verses to a section. The following figures show very slight deviation from this average —

I	II	III	IV	V
77	83	86	92	89

The third poem (*The Day of Judgement*), like several other poems that we have examined, ends with a section of abnormal length. Leaving this out of account, the remaining six sections contain together 663 verses, or $110\frac{1}{2}$ on the average. The lengths of the sections are as follows —

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
105	109	118	128	101	102	135

The fact that the three poems have each a different modulus does not affect the question of authorship, but it seems to render it unlikely that the three, or any two of them, were written continuously as part of one design.

6. The only Old English poem divided into sections that remains to be discussed is the *Andreas*, which is preserved in the Vercelli Book. The number of sections indicated by initial words in capitals is fifteen; but in the middle of section X a leaf has been cut out of the MS. and I believe that this leaf contained the beginning of a section, which I will call IX A. The lengths of the sections are as follows:—

Sections	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	IX A	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV
Verses	121	108	122	117	132	95	126	$128+x$	$75+x$	$33+x$	97	98	99	126	129	$116+x$
MS. lines	81	69	$82\frac{1}{2}$	80	91	64	81	$78+x$	$48+x$	$21+x$	$64\frac{1}{2}$	65	66	89	88	$77+x$

The missing leaf would contain about 75 verses, or about 50 lines, which would give to sections IX and IX A an average length of 92 verses, or 60 lines of the MS. The average length of the twelve sections that are free from lacunae is 114 verses, or 77 lines. The deviations from the average are very much larger than in the three poems bearing Cynewulf's signature, and the fact seems to afford an addition (not very weighty, but perhaps worth consideration) to the arguments against the attribution of the *Andreas* to Cynewulf.

THE ACADEM ROIAL OF KING JAMES I

By ETHEL M. PORTAL

Read November 24, 1915

THE original Society of Antiquaries which had tried, and failed to obtain a charter from Queen Elizabeth, held its final meeting at Darby House on Bennet's hill in the city in 1614, when Sir Robert Cotton, Sir John Davies, Camden, Spelman, and others made, as Spelman tells us, a last attempt 'to revive their meetings' and 'supping together, so departed'—and did not meet again. That effort came to nothing, but in the minds of some of the members arose a wider scheme of a great National Academy with a charter of incorporation, for the study and encouragement of history, of literature, and of heroick doctrine.

To understand the last term it is necessary to note the large part taken by the College of Heralds in the learning of the day. Our own time, with the vast increase of flags at sea, and their significance, has seen the greatest development of heraldic ideas, but heralds themselves had more splendid days in the past.

James I's reign was a time of greatness for heralds and those interested in heraldry. Great names are to be found in the College—historians and antiquaries. Camden, whose worth Lord Burleigh had early appreciated, Francis Thynne, Richard St. George, Dethick, and Palmer were all men devoted to the pursuit of learning. To such men the term 'heroick studies' meant much more than the granting of a coat of arms or the determining of a point of precedence; and in James they found a King who behaved liberally in every way towards them, respected their immunities and acted with great attention to the College.

Among these men, and the remaining members of the Society of Antiquaries, the scheme of an Academy was shaped, but our knowledge of it comes entirely through the man who wrote their petitions and who laboured ceaselessly for the accomplishment of their purpose.

Before examining these petitions it must be noted how fortunate the applicants were in the two men on whom their success depended: the King and the favourite.

Queen Elizabeth was a friend to learning, but the preservation of the national existence of England left little leisure for its service, and Burleigh, whose interest was undoubted, was much too anxious for the national treasury to favour any avoidable expenses.

But Buckingham was now the all-powerful favourite, and Buckingham is pictured to us by the courtly pen of Sir Henry Wotton .

> The Duke was illiterate, yet had learned at Court, first to sift and question well, and to supply his own defects, by the drawing or flowing unto him of the best Instruments of experience and knowledge, from whom he had a sweet and attractive manner, to suck what might be for the publick or his own proper use ; so as the less he was favoured by the Muses, he was the more by the Graces *A Parallel*, p. 173, ed. 1685.
>
> He was besides not only of an eminent affection to learning, in conferring dignities and rewards upon the most learned men ; either of which is seldom without judgment ; and he was the Governour in a province of learning (Chancellor of the University of Cambridge). *The Disparity*, p. 200
>
> There was a collection of certain rare MSS exquisitely written in Arabick, and sought in the most remote parts by the diligence of Erpenius, the most excellent Linguist . . .

the Duke hearing from his learned secretary, Dr. Mason, that the widow of Erpenius was trying to sell them in Antwerp, gave her £500 for them, 'a sum above their weight in silver,' 'a mixed act both of bounty and charity.' These were given to the University of Cambridge after his death by the Duchess, being told by Dr. Mason

> her Husbands intention, who had a purpose likewise (as I am well instructed) to raise in the said Univ^{y} (whereof he was Chancellor) a fair Case for such Monuments, and to furnish it with other choice Collections from all parts, of his own charge. *Life and Death of the Duke of Buckingham*, p. 223.

In King James the petitioners had a monarch who was a prolific author, and who loved learned talk as much as, if not more than, he loved hunting. James has suffered under the weight of the word 'pedant' from his own day to ours. Let us glance at a contemporary definition of a pedant :

> He treades in a rule, and one hand scannes verses, and the other holds his Scepter. Hee dares not thinke a thought, that the Nominative case governes not the Verbe ; and he never had a meaning in his life, for he travelled only for wordes. His ambition is *Criticism*, and his example *Tully*.

Of such pedantry as this he must be acquitted, for of meaning he had never any lack, and if his own style was as wordy, and heavily loaded with classical allusions as that of his petitioners, at least it

was redeemed by an undercurrent of humour, of which theirs shows not the slightest trace.

Apart from this crushing word there can be no doubt of his love for letters, nor that the man who hated war, cared for all that could make Britons more cultivated, and Great Britain more beautiful. It is almost startling to find in one Royal Proclamation after another about buildings in London such expressions as :

We could wish . . . that Wee mought be able to say . . . that Wee had found Our Citie and Suburbs of London of Stickes, and left them of Bricke, being a Materiall farre more durable, safe from fire, beautifull and magnificent.

Such declaration of aiming at the 'beautifull and magnificent' is striking in a Royal Proclamation—noble words for a mere 'pedant'.

There is indeed one charge against him which I have no means of refuting. He is said to have kept his books in a ragged and untidy condition, and to have scribbled in their margins. Peacham's *Complete Gentleman* was not published till 1622, and if King James read that delightful book we may at least hope that he amended his ways before he died.

Have a care, says Peacham, of keeping your bookes handsome, and well bound . . . Suffer them not to lye neglected who must make you regarded, and goe in torne coates, who must apparell your mind with the ornaments of knowledge, above the roabes and riches of the most Magnificent Princes.

But as to the scribbling, the same authority says 'For your owne use spare them not for noting or enterlining' and from Montaigne downwards it would be easy to produce a long list of judges who would acquit him with the highest commendation.

Such then was the King, and such the favourite, to whom the petitioners had to address themselves.

The man who wrote the numerous addresses and discourses which we have now to examine, was Edmond Bolton, best known by his *Elements of Armories*, 1610, a tedious book of little heraldic value, and his *Hypercritica*, 1617, a good essay advocating the compiling of a complete body of English History, which he says should be done 'by one hand', as we might expect in those pleasant days in which a man could undertake a 'compendious history of the world' single handed.[1] He was a dependant of the Duke of Buckingham, and a man of learning and tireless in suggesting schemes and seeking for them the patronage of the great.

[1] The occasional writers who mention the proposed Academy always give *Hypercritica* as their reference, but it contains not a single word on the subject.

His style is so prosy and grandiose that it becomes amusing by its very prolixity. Many were the petitions, addresses, proposals written by him on the subject before us, and a good many of them still exist, very neatly written in a small clear hand, often unsigned, sometimes signed by his pseudonym ' Philanactophil ', for it is as ' Friend of the King's Friend ' that he hopes to obtain a hearing. We will briefly survey these petitions, before giving a detailed account of the constitution of the Academy.

A petition was addressed to the Marquess of Buckingham in 1617, and to the King in 1619, a transcript of which is in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. Next we find an address to the King in 1620, with a preface to Buckingham. Among the Harleian MSS.[1] is a beautifully bound little quarto volume containing a transcript of this address. The initial letter on the first page has an illuminated shield suspended on it: Sable a goshawk argent armed jessed and belled or and in the sinister corner a mullet of the same—the arms of one family of Bolton.

In this address he prudently points out that the scheme need cost the Crown nothing, and calmly suggests Windsor Castle as an appropriate building for the Academy.

He says that it is 'after long debate & the demurrer of many 'years' that the Supplicants 'ask His Ma^{tie} to found an Academ Roial 'or College of Honor where lectures & exercises of heroick matter '& of the antiquities of Great Britainn may be had & holden 'for ever;' . . . although to many it will appear little more than a glorious dream . . . 'because the maidenlinesse & inaudacitie 'of our island's genius, which is reputed cold to sodein singularities, '. . . is alone enough to quash this affair in the embrion.'

Then at great length, and ranging from an Agon of Olympus to the judgment of Daniel, he shows that the example of King Solomon countenances 'the magnificent handling of magnificent knowledges'.

This address having been favourably received, the scheme was next moved in Parliament by Buckingham. This must have been on March 5, 1621, when he brought forward a plan of the late Prince Henry for a place of education for the young nobility, a plan which we several times find coupled with that of the Academy. Here also its reception was encouraging, and Bolton at once issued yet another statement, apparently for the general public.

Some verses by Sir John Beaumont to Buckingham are prefixed.[2]

[1] Harl. 6103. [2] Ibid. 6143.

To my Lord Marquess of Buckingham
Concerning the Academ of Honor

My Lord, the hart y^{t} loues you must haue leaue,
Some splendour from your glorie to receaue.
My soul wth gladnesse shines, when I beehould,
Y^{r} worthie praise in B E A V T E O V S W O R K S enroll'd,
When L E A R N E D T O N G V E S yo^{u} their Mæcenas name ;
By which brave Style your office is the same
Which is from parents to their children due .
You cherish them that shall eternize you.
I M V C H A D M I R E T H E SVB J E C T, w^{ch} my friend,
Hath chose for you, and know you will extend
Yo^{r} wings upon his work, S O F A I R E, S O S W EE T E ;
Where P E R F E C T L E A R N I N G and true honor meete,
Whose loving hands in mutual concord gripe :
For you are Learning's Patron : Honour's Type.

John Beaumont.[1]

This address is entitled ·

The Proposition made in Parliament concerning an Academ roial or College and Senate of Honor by the Lord Marquesse of Buckingham, and there approved, as it was occasioned and founded upon y^{e} reasons severallie presented to his Sacred Ma^{tie} and to his Lo^{p} before Christmasse last A. D. 1620 in the name of the Honor of the Kingdom and of the Antiquities thereof. The copies of all which are comprised in this book A.D. 1621.

He refers to the old Society of Antiquaries, gives the names of twenty-seven of its former members, and of twenty-five living men worthy of being enrolled in the Academy.

Of King James's interest and approval we have proof in a valuable document written within a few months of this last appeal. It is a letter from the King to Prince Charles on June 25, 1622, written in his own hand, and now in the Record Office together with a transcript. In this letter, as in Parliament, the educational scheme is mentioned at the same time.

The King states that he has long desired to advance both these public works but has hitherto been prevented by lack of means. Now, however, he is informed of certain sums of money due to the Crown, which he intends to give to the Prince ' to be employed to the laying the foundation of such publicke worke '. And he resolves ' to contribute further means hereafter for the future settling and finishing this good beginning '.

[1] J. B also wrote one of the commendatory poems prefixed to the *Elements of Armories*, 1610

Whilst the men of learning were thus advancing step by step towards their goal, they were meanwhile losing some of the ablest and keenest among them. Richard Carew of Anthony died November 6, 1620, and now Camden also died, November 9, 1623, and was buried in Westminster Abbey in the presence of 'a great assembly of all conditions and degrees', all the College of Heralds attending. He had refused the Mastership of Requests, and he had declined the honour of knighthood, but he would have been proud to take his place in the intellectual order which King James was about to establish.

Sir George Buc, another member of the old group, died the same year,—the first historian to attempt the task of clearing the reputation of Richard III.

In 1624 Bolton published the most important of his books: *Nero Cæsar, or Monarchie Depraved,* with a dedication to Buckingham, signed 'Philanactophil'.

A Roman history would not seem a very likely place in which to find reference to a British Academy, but one so zealous for his scheme could drag it in anywhere, and in the 47th chapter we find the following ingenious pleading.

Dio Prusias (surnamed of his golden eloquence, Chrysostomus) though otherwise a stranger at Rhodes, ... made a famous free oration there, in Trajan's time, to rectifie the decaying of opinions, and practice of honour among them. A most noble argument, and as nobly handled. The Rhodians, who abounded in brazen statues, standing consecrated to the everlasting names of their represented Worthies, were injuriously growne, for sparing cost, to rase out old inscriptions to gratifie new deserts. Against this bad encroaching custome Dion bent his engin of reason, and speech, and objected Nero's priviledge. That *College of Honour,* for which your Lordship in your excellently honest zeale to our country, openly moved, meetes everywhere with aids, and supports of authority, and reason; and Dios oration alone were able to introduce that sacred noursing of brave encouragements; diurnitie of remembrance for publicke merit, by statuarie, plasticke, fusorie, or other the arts of magnificence. A secret, little understood, but never to be too soone enuied among the noble.

The King, in spite of his troubles at home and vexations abroad, seems to have taken a keen interest in the project. In his progress of 1624 Bolton had an interview with him, and wrote to Buckingham:[1] 'In the last progress I gave entertainment to his Ma^{tie} in your behalf, so much to his satisfaction that hee assented to sundrie particulars when y^{r} Grace was absent. . . . I have provided a Brief

[1] Tanner, 89.

of those poincts w^{ch} y^{e} King allowed concerning this Academ roial.'— It must have been at this time or soon afterwards, that he wrote a full account to Buckingham,[1] headed: 'How far the King hath alreadie gone in, for erecting his Academ roial, or College of Honor, without charge to the Crown, or without any other charge but voluntarie or free contributions,' in which he states that the King has given his assent to the establishment of the Academy, to be incorporated under the Great Seal of England, and describes its functions and privileges.

With all these documents to guide us, we can now sum up the constitution of the Academy in a few lines, only adding that there is one, and only one, of Bolton's MSS. which I have had to take at second hand. This one, dated 1626, was at one time the property of Sylvanus Morgan, and was long afterwards owned by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A. It was sold at his death and I have been unable to trace it, but must rely on the description of it read to the Society of Antiquaries nearly seventy years ago by Hunter.

I have necessarily gone over the same ground covered by Hunter in that paper, concerning the efforts made to establish the Academy, but with the advantage of using several MSS. which were unknown to him.

From this MS. of 1626 we take the latest available details of the constitution of the Academy, and the list of eighty-four proposed Academicians.

The Academ roial was to be incorporated under the Great Seal, to have a mortmain of £200 a year, and a common seal. Concerning this seal, Bolton[2] says:

> I propounded to His Majestie that upon the face it should have his roial effigies in a chair of state, with his name and arms, and in the ring 'Jacobus Rex Fundator Collegii'. Upon the reverse King Salomon in a throne, visited by the Queen of Saba, with some such words of Scripture as signifie the cause of the Queen's access, being wisdom, and the Love thereof. His Ma^{tie} willingly approved the first side, but would not as then allowe of the reverse, out of a Princely fear, lest his modestie might suffer, as ascribing Salomon's part to himself.

The Members were to be of three classes:

Titularies. Knights of the Garter, Lord Chancellor, and the Chancellors of the two Universities.

Auxiliaries. Selected lords, and some from the new plantations.

Essentials. Able and famous laymen. These were the real Academicians, the other two classes being but an ornamental fringe.

[1] Tanner, 94. [2] Ibid., 94.

They were to be '30 years old at the least, and no way interested

by profession in any set form of studie, but free to fair life, and books of honor'.[1] They were to have a ribbon and badge, of which he gives a drawing, an augmentation to their arms, and precedence in their several ranks.

Their Duties were to be threefold:

I. The supervision of translations of secular works:

that good books might be sincerely turned out of foreign tongues into ours. His Majesty did assent thereunto, gladly acknowledging that false weights and measures in words were as diligently to be discovered and as equally to be detected as in wares, and rather by so much more as things intellectual are more excellent than things palpable and corporal; and did also add of his own accord that it should be theirs to authorize all books and writings which were to go forth in print which did not *ex professo* handle theological arguments, and to give to the vulgar people indexes expurgatory and expunctory upon all books of secular learning printed in English, never otherwise to be public again.

II. To celebrate the memory of the secularly noble of Great Britain that the history of our country may rescue itself from the shears and stealths of tailors, and obtain at last a grave and free authentic text, not only in our mother tongue, but in the Latin also, thereby to correct the errors and repress the ignorance and insolencies of Italian Polidores, Hollandish Meterans, rhapsodical Gallo-Belgici and the like, wherein Mr. Camden hath gone before us, to his everlasting praise

III. To keep a constant register of public facts, to be with them of the academy as in old Rome among the Pontifices.

It is laid down that they are 'to pick out, if it may be, what to praise; to strangers respective and Kind, and among themselves sincere'.

There were to be quarterly meetings, and an annual meeting on St. George's Day.

If, as we cannot doubt, this scheme was the work of that learned little group who met at Darby House in 1614 to endeavour to 'revive their meetings, and supping together, so departed', Cotton, Spelman, Davies, St. George 'and others', they must have felt now, that their prolonged efforts to establish the far greater plan which they had evolved out of their former one, were at last successful. The petitions written by their profuse penman had been approved, the royal sanction given, and the royal interest in the matter repeatedly and cordially shown.

The charter was promised, they might inaugurate the great

[1] Tanner, 94.

national Academy as soon as it had passed the Great Seal. Some of their comrades had died since 1614, but the learned and literary men of the day were lacking neither in number nor genius, and a brilliant assembly might be counted upon.

But on March 27, 1625, King James died, and with him died all hope of the British Academy for nearly three centuries. Petitions were at once addressed to King Charles, but with not the slightest chance of success. The monarch who deprived Sir Robert Cotton of the use of his own books, and sent John Selden to the Tower, had not the faintest sympathy with any scheme of literary (or other) discussions. Probably he froze it to death with his first glance.

Bolton writes to Buckingham within a few months of Charles's accession, urging him to bring the matter forward again in Parliament, with a wily suggestion that it would divert the minds of Buckingham's enemies from their 'bitter and curious phansies'. But Buckingham's attention could no longer be caught, and both in Parliament and in the country his days of power were over.

The last document we have on the subject is an ambitious address to Charles entitled The Cabanet Royal, in which Bolton tries to persuade the king that his love for medals and statues of dead heroes ought to include encouragement for the living, and suggests that there are things which 'marble and metal cannot give, but writing only'. He urges upon Charles as 'a proposition very heroicall' ... 'to gather together the choyse and flower of all the best and ablest persons' who, dispersed throughout England, are 'ignorant for a great part the one of the other', and to combine them 'into a Corporation roial, as a commonweal of witt', and he inserts enough adulation of the kingly office to melt the heart of any but a Snow King. But it was all in vain.

I will now give the list of the names of eighty-four proposed members [from Sylvanus Morgan's MS.] which I have roughly classified as (i) Authors, scholars and artists; (ii) Antiquaries, scientists and heralds; and (iii) Statesmen and officials, though it is obvious that many of them could be ranged under more than one of the headings.

Authors and Scholars and Artists

Sir William Alexander. Poet. Afterwards Secretary of State for Scotland and Earl of Stirling, to whom was given the colossal grant of Nova Scotia. The great friend of Drayton and Drummond of Hawthornden. Bolton writes to Buckingham: 'Yo^r

Grace had Sir W^m Alexander's verses to the same purpose' [commendation of the scheme] 'at Royston'.

William Austin. Of Lincoln's Inn. Wrote many devotional works in Latin and English Howell writes him an ecstatic letter about his poems. His epitaph said · 'Qui in contemplandis fuit pro Angelo, in agendis pro Daedalo, in itinere pro vehiculo, in mensa pro convivio, in morbo patiens pro miraculo, in morte fidelis pro exemplo.'

Sir Robert Ayton. Poet. Held many offices. 'Clarissimi omnigenaque virtute et eruditione, praesertim Poesi ornatissmi Eqvitis Domini R. Aiton' [Epitaph, Westminster Abbey]. An early version of Auld Lang Syne is attributed to him [Hist. Soc. Trans.]. Wrote in English, Scotch, and Latin, and according to Dempster also in French and Greek [*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*].

Sir John Beaumont. Bosworth Field was not published till 1639, but probably well known in MS. He wrote a letter prefixed to Bolton's *Elements of Armories*, and a sonnet on this scheme.

James Bishop. Camden writes: 'Twenty years since, while J. Bishop [whose memory for his learning is dear to me] and myself turned over all our Historians we could then find, for divers ends . . . &c' [*Remains:* Chap. 'Grave Speeches,' &c.].

George Chapman. The poet.

John Chapperline. Davis of Hereford writes verses to 'My elected component Judge of this my too busie idleness, M^r. John Chapperline' ·

> For wert thou as well practiz'd in our lawes,
> As thou art in our lawes of poesie,
> Thou should'st Chiefe Justice bee (at least) because
> Thy judgement 's law thy reason 's verity.

James Clayton. Wrote commendatory verses prefixed to *Bosworth Field.*

Sir John Constable. Davis of Hereford writes, 'To the most acute and learned Sir J. Constable, K^t.':

> The love I beare unto thy worth and name
> Provokes me (weakling) to extend my might
> To adde one feather to thy tow'ring fame.

Michael Drayton. It is rather a shock to read in the *Citizen of the World*, in the very letter in which Goldsmith invents the name 'Poets Corner', that he says of Drayton, 'I never heard of him before.'

George Fortescue. Wrote verses to *Bosworth Field*, and to Hawkins's *Odes of Horace*, and on Ben Jonson and many others; also Latin essays. He was Beaumont's brother-in-law.

Sir Ralph Freeman. Succeeded Naunton as Master of Requests 1618; published both prose and verse, entertained Buckingham at Merchant Taylors' Hall.

Sir Thomas Hawkins. 'He was an ingenious man, was as excellent in the faculty of music as in poetry' [Wood, *Athenae*]. Davis of Hereford says, 'Thou lov'st the muse, then thee she needs must love,' &c. He and his two brothers were all busy translators from French and Latin. His *Odes of Horace* are best known.

Sir Henry Holcroft. The translator of Procopius.

Hugh Holland. Member of the Mermaid Club, wrote chiefly Latin poems; wrote sonnet prefixed to First Folio Shakespeare. Bolton names him among those whose English poems are not easily to be mended' [*Hypercritica*].

Inigo Jones.

Ben Jonson.

Sir Francis Lovel. Of the family of the Sir Thomas Lovel who built the gateway for Lincoln's Inn from Chancery Lane; Davis of Hereford writes: 'To the learned, judicious, and my much honoured alye Sir Francis Lovell, K^t^.,

> Thou art much more than thou wilt seeme to bee
> Yet bee thou wilt what best beseemeth thee.'
> [*To Worthy Persons.*]

Sir Roger Manners. Was at Trinity Hall with Bolton, who writes that he had 'the happiness to be fellow pupil, chamberfellow, and bedfellow with that virtuous and most studious gentleman, which . . . bred such a love between us as while I live shall never die'. His epitaph attributes to him both learning and arts—Hist. MSS. Commission, Cowper, ii. 65.

Sir Tobie Matthew. Translated the *Life of S. Theresa* out of Spanish, and Bacon's Essays into Italian.

Sir Thomas Nevile. Wrote commendatory verses to *Bosworth Field.*

Sir Adam Newton. The learned tutor under whose influence Prince Henry learned to love men of genius.

James Palmer. Gentleman of the Bedchamber 1622, afterwards Chancellor of the Order of the Garter and Assay Master of the Mint. 'A very honest and skilful man in his own profession,' says Goodman. He was an artist himself and a judge of pictures. His own collection was sold by auction in 1689. Governor of

the tapestry works at Mortlake. 'Most zealous for this scheme.' [Bolton to Buckingham.]

Sir Benjamin Rudyerd. Poet. Donne's great friend; and commemorated in Ben Jonson's three glowing epigrams. A Hampshire man by both parents.

Sir Edmund Scory. Grandson of the Bishop of Chichester and Hereford, and son of a prebendary of Hereford Wrote introductory poem to Drayton's *Heroical Epistles.*

Thomas Warrock. Organist at the Chapel Royal and Westminster Abbey, and a musician of some note; father of Sir Philip Warwick, author of the Memoirs. Thomas Warrock's father was organist at Hereford Cathedral, and to him Davis wrote: 'To my deare friend, countryman, and expert Master in the liberall science of Musick, Mr Thomas Warrock.

> One city brought us forth, and brought us up,
> . . Thou deserv'st the best
> For thy rare hand, head, heart, and loving breast.'

Lawrence Whitaker. Wrote verses in four languages for Coryate's *Crudities*, besides the prose Epistle which serves as Preface

Thomas Wilson. Knighted 1618. Translator of Montemayor's *Diana.* He was the spy who was employed to betray Sir Walter Raleigh. Keeper of the Records at Whitehall 1606–29; where he was a valuable and zealous public servant.

Sir Henry Wotton. Could claim a place in each class.

ANTIQUARIES, SCIENTISTS, HERALDS

Sir Thomas Aylesbury Held several offices. Was a pupil of the mathematician Hariot and one of his literary executors. In a letter to Hariot he calls himself 'your loytering scholar, whose little credit in the way of learning is all waies underpropped with the name of so worthie a Maister'. Dr. Richard Corbet, wrote a poem to him, beginning

> My Brother and much more . . .
> Now for the Peace of God and Men, advise
> (Thou that hast wherewithal to make us Wise)
> Thine own rich Studies, and deep Hariot's Mine
> In which there is no Dross, but all Refine . &c
> *On the Occasion of a Blazing Star* [comet of 1618].

Herald Bradshaw. Rouge Croix, afterwards Windsor Herald, and Deputy Chamberlain of the Exchequer.

Edmond Bolton. Of Trinity Hall.

Sir John Burroughs. In 1622 was at Venice, corresponding with Cotton about buying MSS. Next year was made Keeper of the Tower Records, eventually became Garter King at Arms. Anstis says 'he was a good judge of men, and a learned knight'; he wrote some historical treatises.

William Bold. Another of Sir R. Cotton's collectors of antiquities.

Sir Robert Cotton.

Sir Kenelm Digby. Had much to say on every conceivable subject. Called in his epitaph 'The age's wonder for his noble parts, Skill'd in six tongues, and learn'd in all the arts', and by a less flattering writer, 'the Pliny of our age for lying'

Thomas Habington. Made collections for the antiquities of Worcestershire, which were pronounced by Dr. William Hopkins to be of little value. Father of William the poet.

Herald Neve, afterwards Sir William le Neve, Clarenceux Of French descent. A man of worth, education and skill in heraldic pursuits It was a collateral descendant of his who was the first President of the Society of Antiquaries, revived under George I.

Sir Richard St. George. Clarenceux. 'Not only learned, but the friend and companion of the greatest antiquaries, his contemporaries' [Noble, *Hist. of Coll of Arms*]. He was one of those who tried with Camden and Spelman to revive the original Society of Antiquaries.

Sir Henry St. George, son of Sir Richard, afterwards Garter.

Sir Nicholas Saunders, mathematician. There are 28 volumes formerly belonging to Saunders, chiefly on scientific subjects, and also an illuminated thirteenth-century MS., now in the Library of the College of Physicians.

Sir William Segar. Garter. Said to be of Dutch descent. Wrote verses prefixed to Gwillim's *Display* and prose commendation of *Elements of Armories*. He made accurate heraldic collections.

John Selden

Sir Henry Spelman.

Patrick Young. The learned Keeper of the Royal Library, to whose influence was due the purchase of Isaac Casaubon's books, and who in editing Greek text introduced the intelligent plan of printing in red ink the additions necessary for filling blanks in the MS.

STATESMEN, PUBLIC SERVANTS, OFFICIALS

John Angel. One of the name was Janitor of Windsor Castle.

Sir Francis Barnham, at this time M.P. for Maidstone. Sir Henry

Wotton names him among a 'constellation of his chiefest friends' —'all men of singular conversation'. Letter to Dynely, St. Bartholomew's Day, 1638.

Captain Bingham, a scholarly soldier of a fighting family. One of the name, afterwards Sir John, was Keeper of the Armoury at Hampton Court.

Sir Edward Coke.

Sir Francis Cottington, the diplomatist.

Sir John Danvers, at this time he was M.P. for Oxford University. His career ranged from Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to signatory of the death warrant of Charles I. He was celebrated for the beautiful garden he laid out at his Chelsea House, now Danvers Street.

Sir Dudley Digges. Diplomatist and politician, published several pamphlets. Tradescant, who was attached to his suite as naturalist when he was sent to Russia, wrote an account of their journey [MS.].

George Gage. Travelling agent employed at Rome by James I. Had artistic tastes.

James Galloway. If this is the eldest son of the Scotch divine, Patrick Galloway, he became Lord Dunkeld in 1645

Sir Peter Hayman. M.P., was eventually in disfavour at Court, for not lending on Privy Seal.

Sir Edward Hungerford. M.P., made K.B. in 1625. A Parliamentary General in the Civil War.

Sir Thomas Lake. Member of the Society of Antiquaries, who, after holding high offices, fell under heavy disgrace. He was 'called the Swiftsure; such his celerity and solidity in all Affairs' [Lloyd's *State Favourites*].

Sir Richard Lucy. Son of Shakespeare's Lucy, created baronet in 161$\frac{7}{8}$, was M.P. for Old Sarum in the Long Parliament.

Sir Robert Mansel. Vice-Admiral of England in 1618, well known to readers of *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ.*

Patrick Maule. Gentleman of the Bedchamber. Under Charles I became Keeper of Eltham and Earl of Panmure.

Sir William Monson. Admiral, and a learned man. His *Tracts on Naval Affairs* were not published till 1703.

Sir Sidney Montagu. Master of Requests. Son of Sir Edward, High Sheriff of Northamptonshire.

Sir Francis Nethersole. The King's agent at Prague. Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia, and, like all her servants, devoted to her. In his early days, when Public Orator at Cambridge, he

gave some offence to the King, in his oration of welcome, by speaking of the Prince of Wales as 'Jacobule', but the cloud passed, and he became a trusted official Prefixed verses to Giles Fletcher's *Christs Victory*.

Colonel Ogle. A distinguished soldier, afterwards Sir John, and member of James's Council of War. Peacham describes the resort of scholars and soldiers to his table when he was Governor of Utrecht, and the discourses on every sort of intelligent subject, 'whose table seemed many times a little Academy' [*Complete Gentleman*].

Michael Oldsworth. Secretary to Lord Pembroke, and afterwards M.P. Herrick writes verses to him :

> Fix on that column then, and never fall,
> Held up by fame's eternall pedestall.

His father was a member of the Society of Antiquaries.

Endymion Porter. Groom of the Bedchamber, with a liking for art and poetry.

Sir Edward Powel There are several. If this was Powel of Pengethby, Herefordshire, he was a Master of Requests.

Thomas Roper. Of two at this time, the most probable seems the father of S. Roper the antiquary who helped Dugdale in collecting the antiquities of Warwickshire.

Patrick Ruvin. This seems less likely to be the Patrick Ruthin, afterwards Earl of Forth, who won the favour of Gustavus Adolphus by his unrivalled powers of drinking, than the one whose daughter became Maid of Honour to Henrietta Maria and married Vandyke. He was a brother of Lord Gowrie.

Sir Edwin Sandys. Son of the Archbishop of York; chiefly interested in colonizing schemes. He was an energetic M.P., and had the temerity to urge in the House of Commons, in 1607, that all prisoners should have the benefit of counsel, which deeply shocked the Attorney-General [Hobart].

Sir Francis Steward. A well-known sailor and a learned gentleman. Ben Jonson dedicated to him his *Silent Woman*, addressed 'To the truly noble by all Titles, Sir Francis Stuart', and signed 'Your unprofitable but true Lover, Ben Jonson'.

Richard Turpin. Gentleman of the Bedchamber, 1622.

Private Individuals

Sir John Bath. There is some correspondence about 'stopping Sir John Bath's patent' in 1620, in Parr's *Life of Ussher*, and one Sir John Bath was knighted in 1623.

John Coburn. May have been of the family of the former York herald.

Christopher Darcie Knighted 1623 at Hampton Court.

Sir William Ewers. The Warden of the Welsh Marches, Sir Ralph Ewers, had a son of the name.

Sir George Fane. Knighted at Whitehall 1603, before the coronation.

Sir William Gordon. Many of the name.

Edward Kynton. May be placed, though not with certainty, as a nephew of Sir Thomas Hawkins.

Henry Liggon. If Lingen is meant, we have here another Herefordshire man, afterwards knighted.

Thomas Sackville One Thomas Sackvile, son of the poet Dorset, fought with renown against the Turks and died in 1646.

— *White*

John Williams. One of the name was a 'dear and worthy friend' of Drayton, and was the King's jeweller.

Alexander Wye.

With regard to the rather large number of entirely undistinguished names included in the list, it must be noted, first, that Bolton owns, 'My judgment is nothing at all in Poems, or Poesie' [*Hypercritica*, 4th Address, sect 3], and next, that he inserted as many as possible of his private friends, fellow Roman Catholics, neighbours in Leicestershire where he had spent the early part of his life, and friends of the circle of Davis of Hereford, and of Worcestershire. When the list had been revised by the leaders of the movement, there can be little doubt that in place of these there would have been entered some of the many great names whose omission surprises us now.

Of Bolton's latter days we know little. His biographer in the *D N.B.* knows of no letter of his later than 1633, but in 1634 I find him still busy writing about projects that require noble patrons·

'The humble un-ambitious and therefore nameless author, known with favor to His late Majesty (of ever sacred memory) under the allowed disguise of the cipher or name of "Philanactophil" now seeks support for what he describes as his "ponderous and new considerations upon the first six books of the Annals of Cornelius Tacitus concerning Tiberius Cæsar, whose general aim is to preserve the noble and other the ingenuous youth of this monarchy from taking harm by their unwary reading that historian (who is no friend to regality").'[1]

with which last bid for the favour of the powerful we may take our leave of this unwearied petitioner.

The educational scheme of Prince Henry, which was so often

[1] Hist. MSS. Commission, Earl Cowper, ii. 65–6 Coke MSS.

coupled with that of the Academ roial, dwindled down into a private venture

Sir Francis Kynaston held an Academy at his house in Covent Garden in 1632, and published *The Constitution of the Musæum Minervæ* in 1636, from which we learn that it was simply a private school. Of this gentleman the only noteworthy contemporary record I find is the following.

> Sir Francis Kinaston by experience falsified the Alchymists report, that a hen being fed for certain days with gold, should be converted into gold, and should lay golden eggs; which being tryed, was no such thing.

A coat of arms was granted by Sir J. Burroughs in 1635 to the regent and professors of the Musæum Minervæ, but the death of Kynaston in 1642 seems to have killed it.

Sir Balthazar Gerbier next held an Academy of the same sort at his house in Bethnal Green 1648–50 He had formerly been H.M. resident at Brussels, and painter to the Duke of Buckingham, afterwards Master of the Ceremonies to Charles I, and later on designed the triumphal arches erected for the reception of Charles II. Some authorities tell us that it was he, and not Inigo Jones, who designed the Water Gate, the only remaining part of Buckingham's stately York House in the Strand. If so he has still some claim on our respect. He published several of the lectures delivered at his school, which was eventually destroyed by the mob. He sometimes uses the expression 'Royal Academy', but these academies have no connexion whatever with the Academ roial of King James.

The larger idea of a National Academy for the advancement of learning was being thought out by Bacon at the very time when the scheme we have been considering was first formulated,[1] but Salomon's House was intended for scientific research Cowley who was born when the *New Atlantis* was being written, 1618, carried on the same idea. His travelling professorships are derived straight from Bacon, though to Cowley we owe the added touch of caution in the rule: 'That they' [the Professors] 'shall take a solemn Oath never to write anything to the College but what after very diligent examination they shall fully believe to be true.' Cowley's also is the final rule which raises his College to a height almost beyond human perfection. 'That they shall all keep an inviolable and exemplary Friendship with one another.'

The encouragement of scientific research advocated by Bacon

[1] *New Atlantis*, 1614–18.

and Cowley had its natural outcome in the foundation of the Royal Society. Cowley, however, later in life, was one of those who hoped to see the creation of an Academy for literary purposes, and a few meetings towards that end were held at Gray's Inn, at which John Evelyn, Waller, Dryden, Sprat, and others were present. Cowley's death, according to Evelyn, was one of the causes of the failure of this attempt.[1]

Cowley died 1667, and that year was born Swift, who advocated an Academy in the only writing to which he affixed his name: 'A proposal for correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue,' 171½. His was an imitation of the French Academy, and only aimed at standardizing the language.

The seventeenth century saw the birth of the Royal Society.

The eighteenth, the new foundation of the Society of Antiquaries.

The twentieth, the creation of that British Academy,[2] first conceived and so very nearly accomplished by the framers of the Academ roial of King James.

I will end with a few characteristic axioms, or rather headings, which I find in Bolton's handwriting, and signed by him, in a draft of an intended book, one of his many unaccomplished designs, entitled Agon Historicus. There are fifty of these headings, out of which I give half a dozen:

17. That the studies of Honor, and Antiquitie are not voluptuarie, vain, or felicitated in the senses.

18. That no nature is good which doth not vehemently incline to them

24. Of English witts, and authors, with censures upon the cheif.

31. Whither ever any Englishman attained to the heigth of commendation in any kinde of Studie.

App. 1. Of mere Materiators, enimies of style, and of mere Logodedoelists, or Phrase-wrights, enimies of matter.

App. 2. That it is more profitable for virtue among us, to found a College for the Studies of Honor, and Antiquitie of Britainn, then to erect a Librarie, as bigg as K. Ptolomes.

[1] The mention by Thackeray of a supposed intention on the part of George III to create a literary order, 'The Order of Minerva,' is too vague to be seriously noticed.

[2] The change in the pronunciation of this word is dated for us, by a letter in the hand of Dr. John Wallis (1616–1703), whose reproach is directed to those who 'pretend a necessity of erecting an Acaddemy (as they call it, because that is a new word, and of a *French* sound, better than our Académy)'.

Chronology

Petition to Queen Elizabeth from Society of Antiquaries. [Draft] Cott. Faustina E. v

Letter of R. Carew to Cotton. Cott., Julius C. iii.

Meeting at Darby House to revive Society of Antiquaries.

Spelman. Preface to *The Original of the 4 Terms,* published 1723.

Petition of 1617. Transcript, Library of Society of Antiquaries.

Petition of 1620. Harl. 6103.

Proposition in Parliament, 1621. Journal of House of Lords, March 5, 1620–1.

Statement of plan, 1621 Harl. 6143.

Letter of James to Charles, 1622. State Papers, Dom., James I, vol. 131.

Letter of Bolton to Buckingham, undated [after 1624]. Tanner 89, Bodl. Lib.

Letter of Bolton to Buckingham, undated [late James I]. Tanner 94.

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Letter of Bolton to Sir John Coke. Hist. MSS. Commission, Cowper, vol. ii, pp. 65–6. Coke MSS.

Agon Historicus, undated. Cott. Faustina E. 1.

Bacon writes *New Atlantis*
Cowley born } 1618.

Cowley dies
Swift born } 1667.

The 84 'Essentials' in Alphabetical Order

Sir Wm. Alexander.
John Angel.
Wm. Austin.
Sir Thos. Aylesbury.
Sir Robt. Ayton.
Sir Francis Barnham
Sir John Bath.
Sir John Beaumont.
Capt. Bingham.
James Bishop.
Wm. Bold.
Edmond Bolton.
— Bradshaw.
Sir John Burroughes.
George Chapman.
John Chapperline.
James Clayton.
John Coburn.
Sir Edward Coke.
Sir John Constable.
Sir Francis Cottington.
Sir Robert Cotton.
Sir John Danvers.
Christopher Darcie.
Sir Kenelm Digby.
Sir Dudley Digges.
Michael Drayton.
Sir Wm. Ewers.
Sir George Fane.
George Fortescue.
Sir Ralph Freeman.
George Gage.
James Galloway.
Sir Wm. Gordon.
Thos. Habington.
Sir Thos. Hawkins.
Sir Peter Hayman.
Sir Henry Holcroft.
Hugh Holland.
Sir Edd. Hungerford.
Inigo Jones.
Ben Jonson.
Edward Kyrton.
Sir Thos. Lake.
Henry Liggon.
Sir Francis Lovel.

Sir Richard Lucy
Sir Roger Manners.
Sir Robert Mansel.
Sir Tobie Matthew.
Patrick Maule.
Sir Wm. Monson.
Sir Sidney Montagu.
Sir Francis Nethersole.
Herald Neve.
Sir Thos. Nevile.
Sir Adam Newton.
Col. Ogle.
Michael Oldsworth.
James Palmer.
Endymion Porter.
Sir Edward Powel.
Thos. Roper.
Sir Benjamin Rudyerd.
Patrick Ruthin.
Thos. Sackvile.
Sir Henry St. George.
Sir Richard St. George.
Sir Nic. Sanders.
Sir Edwin Sandys.
Sir Edmund Scory.
Sir Wm. Segar.
John Selden
Sir Henry Spelman.
Sir Francis Steward.
Richd. Turpin.
Thos. Warrock.
Lawrence Whitaker.
— White.
John Williams.
Thos. Wilson.
Alexr. Wye.
Sir Henry Wotton.
Patrick Young.

NOTE SUR UN PASSAGE OBSCUR DE LA LETTRE DE JEDONJA D'ÉLÉPHANTINE À BAGOHI, GOUVERNEUR DE JÉRUSALEM

(*Papyrus Sachau* I, 16, II, 15)

BY PROFESSOR A VAN HOONACKER

Communicated November 24, 1915

PARLANT du châtiment qui a atteint les auteurs de la destruction du temple de Jahô, Jedonja, dans la requête à Bagohi dont les papyrus Sachau I et II nous ont conservé deux exemplaires, s'exprime ainsi au sujet du principal coupable Widarnag: I, 15: '. . . nous avons jeûné et adressé nos prières à Jahô le Dieu du ciel

16 זו החוין בוידרנג זך כלביא הנפקו כבלא מן רגלוהי . . . . . .'

L'exemplaire II au lieu de החוין offre חוינא, et כבלוהי avec le suffixe au lieu de כבלא.

Déjà dans החוין (חוינא) ב une première difficulté se présente. On ne saurait comprendre à la lettre: '(. . . Jahô le Dieu du ciel) qui *nous a laissé jeter nos regards sur* ce Widarnag . . . .', sous prétexte que dans la ligne suivante Jedonja dit, en parlant des autres coupables: 'tous ont été tués et *nous avons jeté nos regards* (וחזין) *sur eux*.' Car חזה, à la forme Haphel comme à la forme Pael, signifie, non pas *faire regarder*, mais faire *apparaître, montrer*. Il faudra donc comprende, ou bien, en prenant le suffixe comme complément indirect et en attribuant au verbe une signification absolue: '. . . *qui nous a offert un spectacle dans* ce Widarnag'; ou bien, en laissant au suffixe la valeur du complément direct: '. . . *qui nous a manifestés dans* ce Widarnag . . .', c'est-à-dire: qui a fait éclater la justice de notre cause dans le sort infligé à notre ennemi.

Mais c'est dans les mots suivants que se trouve l'intérêt principal du passage. Certains proposent de voir dans כלביא un adjectif à joindre comme qualificatif au nom de Widarnag (*der Hundische*).

D'autres rejettent à bon droit cette manière de voir, ne fût-ce que pour la raison que le nom כלבא lui-même aurait avec beaucoup plus de force et de justesse exprimé la notion du prétendu qualificatif. Il n'y a guère de doute que כלביא ne soit le pluriel de כלב et sujet הנפקו. C'est une énonciation au sujet des chiens que nous offre la ligne I, 16 (II, 15). Il doit avoir été dit, semble-t-il, que les chiens ont dévoré Widarnag qui est supposé leur avoir été jeté, mort ou vivant, en pâture.

Mais, à première vue, les termes employés ne paraissent point répondre à cette idée. Le complément de הנפקו est כבלא (II : כבלוהי). Ce mot signifie *entraves*, *liens*, *cordes*. On lui suppose ultérieurement la signification d'*anneaux* en général. Et l'on traduit en conséquence: 'les chiens ont arraché *les anneaux* de ses pieds.' Les anneaux en question auraient été les insignes de la dignité de l'officier perse. Dans les *Schweich Lectures* pour 1914 j'ai adopté une interprétation analogue ('les chiens ont arraché *les cordons* de ses pieds,' pp. 42, 45). D'autres conjectures ont été émises touchant le sens de cette phrase énigmatique. Mais les divers essais d'après lesquels le terme כבלא est censé figurer ici au sens propre d'*entraves*, ou d'*anneaux*, ou de *cordons*, laissent toujours subsister des doutes, d'abord parce que le rôle attribué aux chiens n'est pas celui que l'on s'attendait à leur voir remplir, ensuite à cause de la signification prêtée au verbe הנפקו.

On peut traduire ce verbe par *arracher*, mais à condition qu'il soit bien entendu que le sens propre est celui de *faire sortir*. Ceci est le sens tout à fait précis du verbe en question. J'ai proposé, dans les *Schweich Lectures*, de faire droit à cette donnée du problème en faisant observer que la tournure: faire sortir les cordons des pieds, aura été employée par un renversement de l'idée: faire sortir les pieds des cordons (ou des anneaux). Il y a en effet d'autres exemples d'inversions de ce genre. Mais il faut avouer que c'est assez dur.

L'emploi du verbe הנפקו a suggéré déjà à d'autres l'idée que les כבלא de notre texte seraient à comprendre en un sens impropre et l'on a proposé la traduction: les chiens ont arraché (*fait sortir*) *les tendons* (ou *les nerfs*) de ses pieds. Ce qui semble une énonciation d'un contenu trop faible.

Tandis que j'étais occupé à la correction des épreuves imprimées de mes *Lectures* une autre hypothèse se présenta à mon esprit. Le mot רגלים (*pieds*, *jambes*) s'emploie en hébreu comme un euphémisme dont la valeur est bien connue (comp. par ex. 2 Rois xviii, 27=

Isaie xxxvi, 12; Is. vii, 20; Ézéch. xvi, 25 . . .). En rapport avec cet emploie du terme רגלים, j'eus un moment quasi la certitude que les כבלא ou *cordes* de notre texte devaient être un terme employé par mépris pour désigner les intestins. Mais ne trouvant point, dans l'usage des langues sémitiques, de confirmation positive à une pareille acception, j'abandonnai l'idée. Depuis lors j'eus l'occasion de constater le fait qu'en néo-hébreu le mot יַתְרָא, proprement *corde, lien*, s'emploie pour signifier l'intestin, ou une partie de l'intestin. Cette analogie m'enhardit à poser la question de savoir si le passage tant discuté de la lettre de Jedonja ne serait pas à traduire '. . . *les chiens ont arraché les intestins* (II. *ses* intestins) *de son ventre* . . .'

CAMBRIDGE, 21 juillet 1915.

ON MAHDIS AND MAHDIISM[1]

BY

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read December 8, 1915

THE Christian, the Jewish, and the Islamic systems share the notion of an expected Deliverer, who is to come and restore or adjust all things. They differ, however, somewhat in the formula employed. The Christian thinks of a Second Coming, the Jew of one who is to come, while the Islamic phrase is 'come forth' or 'rise up', suggestive of appearance after concealment or of rebellion against existing authority; for this latter notion is expressed in several Semitic languages by the word which signifies *come out*. Jews agree with Christians in designating the Deliverer by the name *Messiah*, of which the Greek is *Christ*, meaning 'anointed'; and of this usage what appears to be an authoritative explanation is given in the Gospel, where it is said to be based on the application of a prophecy of Isaiah,[2] *the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the poor*, i.e. to announce an improvement in their fortunes. The parallel clause indicates that the phrase *anoint* means merely 'commission'; according to a usage probably based on some form of folk-lore which does not further concern us. What is far from clear is at what time the employment of the word *Messiah* in the sense of expected Deliverer first arose from this text. The existing evidence suggests that its use is not earlier than the commencement of Christianity, since in pre-Christian Jewish documents the return of Elijah is awaited on the faith of a prophecy of Malachi, but not the coming of a Messiah.

In the Islamic system there was at first no place for such an expectation. The world must first be in decided disorder before the restoration of a better state of things becomes a crying need. For a quarter of a century after the death of Mohammed the Islamic

[1] Professor Snouck Hurgronje's essay 'Der Mahdi' (*Revue Coloniale Internationale*, 1886), having been published before most of the works used here, covers little of the same ground.

[2] lxi. 1.

world prospered exceedingly. While a constant succession of victories was crowning Moslem arms, a Deliverer and Restorer was not required. But as this period reached its end, the sky began to cloud over, and in the year 35 we hear the doctrine proclaimed that Mohammed himself was to return. For various reasons this opinion made little headway. As, however, the civil wars broke out afresh after the death of the first Umayyad sovereign, and the defeat and death of the Prophet's grandson at Moslem hands shook Islam to its foundations, the need for a deliverer became urgent, and may be said never to have ceased. A name was at some time produced for the expression of this idea, and this is *Mahdi*, first given by historians to 'Ali's son Mohammed by the Ḥanefite woman, since then applied to an expected deliverer, who is sometimes identified with the Christian Messiah, more often with some member, real or pretended, of the Prophet's house. The origin of this name and the development of the doctrine form the subject of the present inquiry.

Of the personage with whom the title Mahdi is first associated we possess a fairly full biography in the encyclopaedic work of Ibn Sa'd, who died 230 A. H., about 150 years later than Mohammed the Mahdi.[1] This can be supplemented from the Chronicle of Ṭabari, which is some fifty years later, and from those of Ya'ḳūbi and Dinawari, of about the same date. After the death of Ḥusain at Kerbela in 61 A. H., this son of 'Alī, though not descended from the Prophet, was for a time the most important member of the 'Alawid family, and indeed claimed the sovereignty; in the year 68 his was one among the four standards under which Moslems made the pilgrimage. His biographer ascribes to him, however, the doctrine that the choice of a sovereign should be unanimous, and unwillingness to accept the office on any other terms. The title *Mahdī*, meaning 'guided', was not apparently taken by him, though, according to Ibn Sa'd, he had no objection to its being employed, whilst he preferred to be known by his name *Mohammed* or his patronymic *Abu'l-Kasim*;[2] this anecdote, however, is unlikely to be historical. In the account of Ṭabari the title is given him by the adventurer Mukhtār, who for a time usurped power in the eastern provinces of the Caliphate, on the pretence that he was authorized by this Mohammed to avenge the death of Ḥusain, and win the throne for himself. In his addresses Mukhtār spoke of his supposed chief as *the Mahdī son of the Waṣī*,[3] where the latter word signifies *the Trustee*, and was familiarly used by the Shi'a of 'Alī, as the

[1] Vol. v. 66-86. [2] 68 ult. to 69, 2. [3] Ṭabari, ii. 534.

person to whom Mohammed the Prophet had entrusted his community at his death.[1] When Mukhtār forged a letter of recommendation from him for the people of Ḳufah, he began it with the words *from Mohammed the Mahdi*, and, according to Ṭabari, an expert of the time guessed therefrom that the letter was a fabrication, since Mohammed did not use that title of himself in his correspondence.[2] It is disconcerting to find that in the contemporary account of Dinawari the signature of the letter is not *Mohammed the Mahdi*, but *Mohammed son of 'Alī*, and the expert detects the forgery, not by the title, but by the fact that the lead wherewith the letter was sealed was still white, whereas it should have blackened in the interval occupied by transmission.[3] Indeed, in the account of Dinawari the title *Mahdi* does not appear, just as it fails in the account by Ya'ḳūbi.

Ibn Sa'd, however, confirms the opinion of Ṭabari that Mukhtār was in the habit of using this title of his supposed master; and he at least indicates the sort of sense which the word had. Like the name *Trustee* applied to 'Alī, it had some personal appropriateness; the underlying theory being that within the Prophet's family there is certain esoteric information, which enables them to dispense with the Traditions of the Prophet which with the Sunnis form the second source of law. In accordance with this 'Alī himself is called *al-Hādī*, 'the Guide,' or *imām al-Hudā*, 'the Leader of Guidance'; [4] i. e. the person to whom the Prophet communicated this esoteric knowledge, and who handed it on to his own sons. And this is the point of an anecdote told by Ibn Sa'd, wherein Mohammed b. al-Ḥanafiyyah is asked whether it is true that the Prophet's family possess such esoteric knowledge, and replies that they have nothing save the Koran and a scroll attached to the Prophet's sword, containing a very few words.[5] This same story is told twice by a jurist of the generation preceding that of Ibn Sa'd, once on the authority of 'Alī himself, and once on that of another of his sons, and in each case a different account is given of the content of this interesting document.[6] Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, according to this, denied the existence of this esoteric 'guidance'; and since he is also said to have declared the Koran to be the only 'guidance',[7] he was opposed to the Sunnites also.

We seem then to have traced the name *Mahdī* in this context to its actual source, our main authority being a poet who preached the

[1] Kamil of Mubarrad, ii. 130, Cairo, 1308. [2] Ṭabari, ii. 611.
[3] p. 294, 5. [4] Aghānī, vii. 13, 16, 23. [5] 77, 7.
[6] Shafi'i, Umm vii. 292; vi. 3 [7] Ibn Sa'd, 70, 3.

sovereignty of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah in the century after his death, a doctrine associated with a sect called the Kaisanis. The word then meant the member of the Prophet's house who was in possession of the esoteric 'guidance' which he was supposed to have communicated to them; fragments of which are occasionally cited by those historians who are devoted to the cause of his family.[1] And this enables us to understand how the succession could be claimed for members of the family of 'Alī who were not also descended from the Prophet; for 'Alī, according to this doctrine, was the heir in the sense that he was the depository of the true supplement to the Koran,[2] and this mysterious knowledge might be communicated to any of his sons by him. Mukhtār then might well maintain that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah was in possession of it, and so was the person best qualified to be sovereign. And indeed it might seem that within the utterances of Mukhtār recorded by Ṭabari we can trace the development of the word *Mahdi* into a technicality. In the first of these he describes Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah as 'the appointed ruler, the mine of excellence, the trustee of the trustee, and the *Imām Mahdī*, the guided sovereign'. According to this, just as Mohammed the Prophet left 'Ali in charge of the community, so 'Ali had left his son Mohammed in charge of it. There was, however, a theory that just as Mohammed was the last of the prophets, so 'Ali was the last of the trustees;[3] and this consideration may have caused Mukhtār to omit the phrase *the trustee of the trustee*, and adhere to the title *Mahdi* in describing the personage whose agent he professed to be.

We find a trace of this doctrine in the story that the title which was handed on by Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah to his son was transmitted by that son to the 'Abbāsid family, of whom two brothers mounted the throne successively.[4] The form in which Ṭabari tells this story confirms this view. The son of the Mahdī, meeting the then head of the 'Abbāsid family, informs him that he (the former) is in possession of certain mysterious knowledge which he is prepared to communicate under pledge of secrecy; this knowledge being that the 'Abbāsids are destined to occupy the throne.[5] In the appendix Ṭabari further states that the Mahdi's son handed over his books and with them his claims to the representatives of the 'Abbāsids; the books, we must suppose, contained the esoteric guidance whose existence, according to Ibn Sa'd, was denied by the Mahdi.[6]

[1] See e.g. Fakhri, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 121. [2] Cf. Ṭabari, ii. 1682, 6.
[3] Ibid., i. 2942. [4] Fakhri, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 168. [5] Ṭabari, iii. 24
[6] Ibid., iii. 2500. Ṭabari's contemporary, Ibn Ḳutaibah, says the same. Ma'arif, Cairo, 1300, p. 73.

This theory is yet more clearly stated in the treatises on the Sects. The Kaisani doctrine, according to Shahrastani, was that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah was a master of all the sciences, having acquired from the two Sayyids, 'Alī and Ḥusain, all mysteries connected with the interpretation of the Koran, geography and psychology.[1] According to the same writer there was a sect called after his son Abū Hāshim, which held that the sovereignty belonged to the possessor of that mysterious knowledge which had been the property of 'Alī and had by him been transmitted to his son Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah.[2] Not all the members of this sect agreed that Abū Hāshim had transmitted his knowledge to the 'Abbāsids. 'Abd al-Ḳāhir of Baghdad, who wrote on sects in the middle of the fifth century, says the same of the Kaisanis,[3] and mentions other sects which believed in the series 'Alī, Mohammed b. al-Ḥanafiyyah, Abu Hāshim, while divided concerning the successor of the last. Little confidence can be placed in the statements of these heresiologues. What is noticeable is that the opinion ascribed by these authorities to obscure sects is given in the third century by Ṭabari and Ibn Kutaibah as an orthodox view favouring the claims of the 'Abbāsids.

We have then ample authority for the supposition that the word *Mahdī* as applied to Mohammed b. al-Ḥanafiyyah meant the depository of the esoteric knowledge. Yet it must be admitted that in the account of Ibn Sa'd there is an anecdote which suggests that the word in the time of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah was already familiar to the Moslems in the sense of Messiah or expected Deliverer. At one time, according to this author, this personage thought of going to Kufah to join his over-energetic agent Mukhtār. This would by no means have suited Mukhtār's purpose, who was well aware of the advantage of professing to act for a master who was at a distance. He therefore let it be known that the Mahdi was to be distinguished by the following test: if any one struck him with the sword in the street, the weapon would be unable to penetrate the Mahdi's flesh, and would effect no injury. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah naturally regarded this as a threat that if he came to Kufah he would be assassinated, whence he kept away.[4] If this story were true, it would imply that the people of Kufah had some notion of a Mahdi apart from the person of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, since they wanted a criterion showing whether he was or was not the Mahdi. The story seems to suit the crafty and unscrupulous character of Mukhtār exceedingly well; yet there is reason for thinking that it belongs to folk-lore rather than

[1] Ed. Cureton, p. 109.
[2] Ibid., p. 112.
[3] Al-fark bain al-firaḳ, p. 28.
[4] Ibn Sa'd, 74, 13–15.

to history, since much the same is told of one Ibn Ṣā'id, who in the Prophet's time was supposed to be Anti-Christ; Omar wished to strike him with the sword, but was told by the Prophet that if he were really whom Omar feared, the sword would have no effect.[1] Another objection would be that the contemporary poet Ḳuthayyir cited the archaeologist Ka'b al-Aḥbār, whose death-date is a little after 30 A.H., for the statement that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah was the Mahdi; though he afterwards granted that this reference was fictitious.[2] Probably the verse itself is a fabrication. Further, according to Mas'udi, when the pretender Zaid was crucified in the year 122 an Umayyad poet said he had never before seen a Mahdi crucified;[3] it is to be observed that in Ṭabari's account of this personage the word Mahdi is not used; the title which he took was *Manṣūr*.[4] This verse then also is likely to be spurious. In the year 144, when the pretender Mohammed b. 'Abdallah made his appearance, the people of Medinah called out 'the Mahdi has come forth';[5] but in his case, as will be seen, the title was actually taken as an imperial name. It would seem then that the Messianic use of the word prior to the time of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah is insufficiently attested, and that as applied to him it meant what we have seen.

This then appears to be the original sense of the word *Mahdi* as applied to the first person in connexion with whom it is used. We shall find as we proceed that it was forgotten or thought inadequate, whence other etymologies were offered. The question next arises whether the application of the title to Mohammed b. al-Ḥanafiyyah is not the result of an 'Abbāsid fiction; for, as has been seen, he came to occupy an important place in the establishment of the 'Abbāsid claim; the 'Abbāsids and not the 'Alawids inherited the claim of 'Alī because the son of this Mohammed had left his books to the 'Abbāsids. Now we have seen that in the matter of the forged letter Ṭabari's story hinges on its being signed *Mahdi*, whereas Dinawari's hinges on something different, and the title is not even mentioned in his account or that of Ya'ḳūbi. Now, that the pretender of 144 called himself *Mahdi* seems to be certain, since it appears in independent copies of his letter reproduced by Mubarrad and Ṭabari, and in another letter of the Caliph Manṣūr this is stated. On the other hand, in the controversial correspondence between Manṣūr and this pretender the 'Abbāsid Caliph makes no allusion whatever to his inheritance of the claims of 'Alī through Ibn

[1] Muslim, ii. 372, Cairo, 1290
[2] Aghānī, viii. 33.
[3] Murūj, v. 471.
[4] Ṭabari, ii 1701.
[5] Ibid., iii. 159.

al-Ḥanafiyyah; whence we may reasonably suppose that this fiction had not yet been excogitated.

Hence it is not certain that the title is any older than the pretender Mohammed b. 'Abdallah, and it appears to have been taken by him merely as an imperial title,[1] similar to that which the second 'Abbāsid Caliph had adopted. Owing to its adoption by this pretender, Manṣūr after overthrowing him selected it as a title for his own son,[2] who also bore it as his imperial name when Caliph. Now the poet Sayyid Ḥimyarī, who gave the title in his latest poem [3] to Mohammed b. al-Ḥanafiyyah, was an encomiast of this Caliph al-Mahdi, and uses the title of the Caliph in a manner which does not suggest that the word had at first any mysterious sense. But in the meantime a prophecy of the future advent of a Mahdi had been invented and ascribed to the prophet Mohammed. This, according to the author of the Aghānī, took place on the occasion on which Manṣūr presented his son to the public as the heir to his throne, when a courtier arose and declared that the Prophet had foretold *the Mahdi is from us, Mohammed b. 'Abdallah, but his mother is not of us; he shall fill the earth with justice even as it has been filled with injustice.*[4] The courtier called on some one who was present to attest this tradition, and fear of Manṣūr made him do so. The fiction about the mother was due to the fact that the pretender Mohammed b. 'Abdallah had boasted in his correspondence of his belonging to the Prophet's house on both sides. A story attached to this would certainly imply that the names *Mahdi* and *he who shall rise up from the family of Mohammed* were already technicalities at the time; but the first story suggests that then for the first time was any prophecy of a future Mahdi heard of, and not of *a* Mahdi, but of *the* Mahdi, viz. the prince whom Manṣūr had appointed to succeed him. But the prophecy having been circulated, the word *Mahdi* came to have the sense 'the sovereign who shall fill the earth with justice even as it has been filled with injustice'; and the poet Sayyid Ḥimyarī, by the time he composed his last ode, may have been familiar with it in that meaning.

When once this tradition had been invented and attested, the basis of the future doctrine of the Mahdi had been laid. For like other traditions it experienced many changes in the course of transmission, and the different forms which it assumed served as the foundation of various theories. By the omission of the clause about the mother,

[1] *Lakab Sultānī*; see Nuzhat al-Hādī, ed Houdas, p 23.

[2] Ṭabari, iii. 341, 5.

[3] Aghānī, vii. 4.

[4] Ibid., xii. 85

it became a prophecy that some one named Mohammed, son of 'Abdallah the Mahdi, would fill the world with justice, &c.; this seemed a clear prophecy of the success of the pretender of the year 144, who had in fact been defeated and killed; since the Prophet's prediction could not thus be frustrated, there must have been some mistake: resort was therefore had to the Koranic theory of the Christian crucifixion, according to which that event had been imaginary; the same thing had happened in the case of this Mohammed b 'Abdallah, according to his followers; a demon had assumed his shape and been slain instead.[1] He was still somewhere and would yet come forth and fulfil the prophecy. Those who yet further omitted the words *son of 'Abdallah*, or substituted for them *father of Kāsim*, found that the prophecy must apply to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, and this personage would correspond with the detail about the mother; hence the same account might serve for him, and he at least had not been executed, and there was some uncertainty as to the time and place of his death.[2] Finally, the prophecy might be reduced to the prediction of a sovereign bearing the title Mahdi who should fill the world with justice. This became the important matter, the other details being secondary. Hence we get the assertion in the Sayyid Ḥimyarī's later poems that Mohammed b. al-Ḥanafiyyah had not tasted death nor would taste it until he had led his hosts to victory. The place of his retirement was Mount Raḍwa, near Yanbu', where food is miraculously supplied him, and he has the society of angels, besides that of lions and panthers.

To a certain extent these hopes are reflected in the narrative of Ibn Sa'd; according to him, Mohammed b. al-Ḥanafiyyah promised a follower that his cause would yet triumph, would come forth as undeniably as the dawning or even the midday sun.[3] The date of Ibn Sa'd would not be inconsistent with these anecdotes being based on the verses of the Sayyid Ḥimyarī; but they may also refer to the triumph of the 'Abbāsids, who inherited his claims.

By the time of the compilation of the Tradition the fictitious prophecy about the Mahdi had obtained wide circulation, and only the most critical of the Traditionalists, Bokhari, omits it altogether. In the collection of Tirmidhi, according to one form of the tradition, the Prophet foretold that his community should be ruled by a man with the same name as himself; according to another, he had foretold the appearance of a Mahdi in his community; this personage was to

[1] Al-fark bain al-firak, p. 45. [2] Murūj, v 268.
[3] 70, 23–26; 71, 7–14.

live a certain number of years, the reporter forgot whether five, seven, or nine.[1] As late as the fourth century A.H. the view was maintained that the Mahdi of the prophecy was the Caliph who had reigned 158–169.[2] In the collection of traditions by Ibn Mājah,[3] a contemporary of Tirmidhi, the form which the prophecies take is such as to favour either the claims of the 'Abbāsids in general, or those of the Shi'ah; for one of the traditions makes the Mahdi a descendant of Fāṭimah, which would exclude the 'Abbāsids as well as various branches of the family of 'Alī. In both these works a fantastic etymology is given to the word Mahdi; it is interpreted as 'the giver' (*muhdī*), and the sovereign whose reign is foretold is in consequence to be exceedingly munificent. When asked for money he will shovel it out. There can be no doubt with what design this particular fiction was invented. It is of interest that in a much more respectable collection of traditions, that of Muslim, though the name Mahdi does not figure, the detail about the shovelling out of money remains: a sovereign is foretold who will possess this amiable quality.[4]

Besides this etymology there appears to be another which has not been without its influence on the history of Mahdiism. One of Ibn Mājah's traditions runs: *the Prophet said: certain persons shall come out from the East and prepare the way for the Mahdi.*[5] This phrase 'prepare the way' suggests a derivation from the verb *mahhada*, 'to prepare a way,' often used of preparing a way to the throne;[6] and a tradition given by Abū Dāwūd specifies the East as Transoxania, and gives the names of the two persons 'who shall prepare the way for the family of Mohammed, even as the Ḳuraish prepared the way for the Prophet'. This last phrase gives the commentators considerable trouble, and probably refers to the supposed importance which Meccah had acquired in Arabia before his time The theory that the Mahdi is some one for whom a way is prepared brings the word very near the Messiah of the Gospel. In the case of the Fātimid Mahdi this principle was carried out.

The oracles about the Mahdi put together in Abū Dāwūd's collection[7] have been of greater importance in the history of these movements than the others. It is here that a description of the Mahdi is given; his nose is to be of a particular shape, and his hair

[1] Tirmidhi, ii. 36, ed. Cairo, 1292.
[2] Muṭahhar b. Tāhir, ii. 162, ed. Cl. Huart.
[3] ii. 269, Cairo, 1313.
[4] Muslim, ii. 370.
[5] *Yuwaṭṭi'ūna.*
[6] See Dozy, *Supplément.*
[7] iv. 174, Bombay ed.

of a particular cut. In the case of two persons who became famous by the endeavour to realize the oracles about the Mahdi, it is the work of Abū Dāwūd which the historians cite. One of the oracles is very lengthy and perhaps belongs to the enterprise of that Mohammed b. ʿAbdallah who took the title Mahdi, but, if so, only part of the programme was fulfilled. For this person was to defeat miraculously the forces sent against him. The reference may, however, be different.

The whole set of traditions relative to the Mahdi were subjected to criticism of the native type by the philosopher Ibn Khaldūn in an elaborate essay.[1] His result is generally unfavourable to their authenticity, and it appears from the details which he gives that much vagueness attached to the subject One fact that strikes him is that the most trustworthy of all the collections of Traditions, that of Bokhari, had no mention whatever of the Mahdi, whence belief in his coming is not necessary for the orthodox. The remainder of this writer's criticisms are clearly flavoured with rationalism. He did not believe that supreme power in the state could be secured except through clan-patriotism, and held that in his time, the eighth century of Islam, the Prophet's family were nowhere, except perhaps in Arabia, possessed of such clan-organization as would permit them to come thus to the front. Historically he was not altogether justified in this theory; for both after and before his time Mahdis were able to achieve a very considerable measure of success.

We find then that in the hopes which centred in the first Mahdi both the doctrines which were afterwards the substance of this creed are represented; the Deliverer was to be a member of the Prophet's house and he was to emerge from concealment. His function is represented by the phrase 'he shall fill the world with justice even as it is filled with injustice'; but various modes wherein this was to be done are occasionally specified, e.g. restoring such religious practices as have fallen into oblivion, fighting with the unbelievers, and even taking Constantinople. It is curious that the Sayyid Ḥimyarī, who died about 180 A.H., is said to have been a believer in transmigration, which is not quite the same as reappearance after concealment, though there is doubtless some similarity between the two notions. A whole series of Mahdis came to be expected by different sects, these being persons who had either raised the standard of revolt or been expected to do so. A slight variety of the doctrine is to be found in the case of one Ṣāliḥ, prophet of the North African

[1] Prolegomena, Beyrut, 1900, 311–330.

tribe Bargwata, who is said to have flourished in the first quarter of the second Islamic century. According to Ibn Khaldūn, whose language may indeed have been affected by later conceptions, he claimed to be 'the greatest Mahdi, who should appear at the end of the world, and have for his companion Jesus, who would pray behind him': an interesting detail, for, whereas orthodox Islam accepts the doctrine of the Second Advent of the Christian Saviour, ordinarily no trouble is taken to reconcile this notion with that of the appearance of a Mahdi also. After a reign of forty-seven years according to the historian this prophet went eastward, promising to return in the time of his seventh successor.[1] In the fifth century of Islam, his return was still expected in this region.[2] The dynasty which he founded, though the territory which it governed was moderate in size, nevertheless lasted for a considerable time; and whether he took, as Ibn Khaldūn states, the name Mahdi or not, it is noticeable that far more success has attended the efforts of the claimants to the title in Africa than elsewhere.

The lists of the persons whose return was expected by different sects need not be given *in extenso*; in some of these cases the death of the pretender had been witnessed by numerous persons; of Ali himself an adherent asserted that nothing would cause him to believe in his death; it would make no difference, he said, if you were to bring me his brain seventy times.[3] In some other cases there was at least a doubt of the time and place where the event occurred. In the fact of the widespread belief in the continued existence and ultimate return of these personages we are confronted with a psychological puzzle, to which there is no apparent clue. The controversialist Ibn Ḥazm compares the varieties of this belief with the legend of al-Khiḍr, identified with Elijah, but not easily distinguishable from the Wandering Jew, whom some of Ibn Ḥazm's contemporaries claimed to have met.

The connexion of the Mahdi with the end of the world was not known to Ibn Sa'd, and in the collection of traditions, which are later by some fifty years than his time, it seems to come in very gradually. That connexion is not close; for in origin the Mahdi is only the rightful sovereign who is to rule as rightful sovereigns should.[4] He is to displace those who have wrongfully usurped the Caliphate. In the idea that the Mahdi's coming is to inaugurate the end of the world, we probably have a clear case of the influence on Islam of Jewish and Christian beliefs. And the

[1] Ibn Khaldūn, vi 207

[2] Ibn Ḥazm, Fiṣal, iv. 481

[3] Ibid., l. c.

[4] So Abu Tammam, 293 (of the 'Abbāsids).

longer the advent of the Deliverer was delayed, the more naturally would it be connected with the end of all things. The signs of the approaching advent were to be found in any extraordinary events, whether fortunate or unfortunate; thus the historian of Morocco tells us that the time for the appearance of the Mahdi was thought to have arrived because on the one hand the Sultan of Morocco had taken Timbuktoo and the territory belonging to it, while on the other there were civil war, pestilence, and famine.[1] The phrase used by Ibn Khaldūn, who, as we saw, speaks of the *greatest Mahdi*, implies that other persons might have a right to the title, who were destined to usher in not the final catastrophe, but a new dynasty.

The fact that by the time when the great collections of traditions were compiled there was doubt whether the Mahdi should belong to the 'Abbāsids or the 'Alawids is reflected in a curious story from the middle of the fourth century. A man with the name Mohammed b. Abdallah, which, as has been seen, was regarded as necessary for the purpose, arose, claiming to be the Mahdi who should put things right; according to the opinions of those whom he addressed, he called himself an 'Abbāsid or an 'Alawid. He for a time found favour with the commander Sabuktakin, who was powerful at this period, and who supported the cause of the 'Alawids; and, since the authorized sovereign withdrew from effective leadership and claimed that the duties imposed by his office belonged not to him but to the captain of the guard who had usurped the power, there was room for a Mahdi. Sabuktakin's favour was extended to the man on the supposition that he represented the family of 'Ali; when it turned out that he belonged to the other family that favour was withdrawn, and the enterprise came to nothing.[2]

In a treatise of the fourth Islamic century, already quoted, the *Book of Creation and History*,[3] by one Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir of Jerusalem, an epitome is given of the views about the Mahdi current at the time. One view for which the authority of the Prophet is cited is that the only Mahdi to be expected is the Christian Saviour; and, as has been seen, if the appearance of the Mahdi is to be at the end of the world, and the Second Advent of the Christian Saviour is expected, it is hard to find any function for a Mahdi. This difficulty probably gave rise to the identification, for which a tradition was cited; and notwithstanding that the empire of the Al-Mohades had been founded by a Mahdi, one of its sovereigns in 1220 A.D. declared

[1] Nuzhat al-Hādī, ed. Houdas, p. 307.
[2] Miskawaihi, vi. 315.
[3] Ed. Huart, ii. 161, 2.

from the pulpit that 'Īsā, son of Mariam, was the only Mahdi.[1] Those who held this opinion derived the word from the Arabic *mahd* 'cradle', making it signify 'the prophet who spoke in the cradle', with reference to the miracle recorded in Sura xix

Muṭahhar also gives some more of the marks whereby the Mahdi is to be known when he appears, about which indeed there was no accord. He was, in the opinion of some, to be the son of a slave girl, with brown eyes, teeth of extreme whiteness, and a beauty-spot on the cheek; some held that he would be born in Medinah, and be reared in Meccah; and some held that he would come forth from the fortress Alamut. The first of these details seems to be a variety of the original fiction according to which the Mahdi would not be, on the mother's side, of the Prophet's family. The suggestion that he would come from Alamut is of great interest, for this place only became famous in the following century, when the founder of the sect called Assassins, Ḥasan Ṣabāḥ, established his notorious community there, doubtless because the neighbourhood was a favourable one for the propagation of his views. One sign of the Mahdi, based on the example of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, is that his patronymic shall be, like that of the Prophet, *Abu'l-Ḳasim*; and, perhaps in consequence of this opinion, the employment of this patronymic is tabooed by many authorities. Ibn Sa'd produces a special licence from the Prophet to account for the use of it by Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, notwithstanding the fact that this personage was born after the Prophet's death. According to others, the sign of the Mahdi was something more like that postulated by Mukhtār; he ought to be able to make the impression of his seal in stone as others do in wax.[2]

The account of Muṭahhar is of some interest for what it omits, viz. the name of the personage whose reappearance is expected by the largest number of Mahdiists, and the name of the Mahdi who up to the time of this writer had scored the greatest success. This latter was the founder of the 'Ubaidid, afterwards called the Fāṭimid, Caliphate, whose African capital was called Mahdiyyah after the first sovereign of the dynasty. The wonderful story of his rise bears some resemblance in its earlier scenes to that of Mukhtār and Mohammed b. al-Ḥanafiyyah; in both cases the hard work of organizing victory was done by an agent; the Mahdi himself remaining in the background. In the case of 'Ubaidallah the concealment was so carefully maintained that when

[1] E. Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, ii. 149.
[2] Ibid., i. 318.

the victory had been won and the successful forerunner had to produce his Mahdi, according to some authorities he had to improvise one; the person for whom the agent had been fighting had disappeared entirely. And even in the rise of the 'Abbāsid dynasty the same plan was observed, though it does not appear that the title Mahdi was taken by the successful usurper; while the battles were being fought, the person who was to profit by success was in hiding, saying his prayers.

The author who has been quoted makes an allusion, though a very inaccurate one, to the 'Ubaidī Mahdi; he says nothing about the personage whose return, or rather coming forth, is still awaited. This is one Mohammed b. Ḥasan al-'Askarī, whose father died in the year 260, and who himself, according to some, never came into the world at all, while those who hold that he did suppose that he disappeared when still a child. He is usually located in Samarra, a city which for a short time displaced Baghdad as the capital of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate; there, according to the usual account, he disappeared in his ninth year, and has never since appeared. In the time of Mas'ūdi, i.e. the fourth century of Islam, those who awaited his appearance were called *Kaṭ'iyyah*, 'Positivists',[1] because they made sure of the death of the preceding Imam, Mūsa b. Ja'far, without having ascertained it. Ibn Batūṭā, the famous traveller of the eighth Islamic century, professes to have found a cult of this personage in Ḥillah on the Euphrates, and indeed describes a ceremony which was practised daily, wherein he was summoned to appear.[2] This story is copied by his contemporary Ibn Khaldūn,[3] with some slight variations, the chief of them being that whereas according to the traveller the ceremony takes place in front of a mosque called *The Sanctuary of the Lord of the Age*, according to the philosopher it takes place in front of the entrance to the cellar wherein the Mahdi disappeared. The philosopher elsewhere expresses doubts concerning the veracity of this traveller, and perhaps should have exhibited some scepticism on this subject also; there may, indeed, have been a ceremony of the kind in Ḥillah, but its connexion with the expected Mahdi may have been fictitious.

A new chapter in the history of Mahdis was started by the remarkable man who founded the al-Mohade empire. This personage, Ibn Tumart, who assumed the title in 1122 A.D., appears to have done so because the theory was now current in Africa that a *Mahdi* had

[1] Murūj, viii. 40; Tanbīh, p. 232. [2] ii. 98.
[3] Prolegomena, Beyrut, 1900, p. 199

the right to usurp authority, whereas no one else had; and like others he is supposed to have worked to a great extent through a confederate, who indeed even supplied the requisite miracle. The confederate was a learned man, who for a time posed as unlearned; one day he declared that he had learned the Koran by heart in a dream, and when the claim had been tested and found just, the miracle convinced the most stubborn; he then proclaimed Ibn Tumart *Mahdi*, and the necessary pedigree was soon discovered. This miracle is not unlike that of the Koran itself, and the merit of ingenuity may be claimed by its inventor, whether the anecdote be historical or not; but it must further be said of Ibn Tumart that he set an example of conduct for future Mahdis. His name is associated with asceticism in the European sense; and the description which is given of his manner of life[1] meets us with very little variety in the case of his successors in other parts of the Islamic world. 'Pious and devout, he lived in squalid poverty, subsisting on the coarsest fare and attired in rags; his courage was great; he blamed with extreme severity the conduct of those who transgressed the divine law, and not content with obeying God's commandments, he laboured to enforce their strict observance; an occupation in which he took such pleasure that he seemed to have been naturally made for it, and he suffered with patience the vexations to which it exposed him. The ill usage which he incurred at Meccah by his zeal caused him to pass into Egypt, and having expressed the highest disapprobation of the culpable proceedings which he witnessed there, he was treated by the people in the roughest manner, and the government drove him out of the country. When he saw himself in danger of personal violence and chastisement, his speech became incoherent, and this circumstance was considered as a proof of his insanity. On quitting Cairo he proceeded to Alexandria and embarked for his native country, North Africa; when in the East he dreamed that he had drunk up the sea at two different times. He was no sooner on board the vessel than he began to reform the profane conduct of the crew, obliging them to say their prayers at the regular hours, and to read each time a portion of the Koran. On arriving at Mahdiyyah he took up his abode in a mosque situated on the roadside; there he used to sit at a window, watching those who passed by, and whenever he perceived anything reprehensible, such as musical instruments or vessels containing wine, he never failed to go out and break them.' Presently he found it necessary to migrate to Morocco. In this region it was the custom for the men to go about veiled and the women unveiled; Ibn Tumart

[1] Ibn Khallikan, transl. de Slane, iii. 205 foll.

did not hesitate to rebuke the king's daughter whom he met riding unveiled, and even to resort to blows to enforce his opinion concerning the impropriety. The mode wherein he gathered followers, and disciplined them into an army capable of defying the existing authority and ultimately displacing it, differs but slightly from that which has repeatedly been tried with success or failure.

Whereas, however, in the case of earlier Mahdis the right to the sovereignty was the primary matter, the practices and doctrines wherein they were interested secondary, with Ibn Tumart it is clear that the rôle of reformer was primary, and the impersonation of the 'man to arise from the family of Mohammed' secondary; and in the case of later Mahdis it would appear that the person who has claimed this title has usually been some one answering a call; that call being due either to the prevalence of practices apparently inconsistent with the teaching of Islam, or to political conditions which rendered immediate change and improvement desirable.

A hundred and fifty years after Ibn Tumart's time a Mahdi arose in the neighbourhood of Sijilmasa, whose miracle lay in the power of transmuting metals; it would seem, however, that this personage, known as Ibn Abi 'Amārah, presently found this rôle too difficult, and, posing as the miraculously surviving member of an otherwise extinct dynasty, had slightly more success.[1] In 1612 the loss of Al-'Arāish to the Spaniards through the treachery of a Moslem pretender was the signal for the rise of a Mahdi called Abu Maḥalli, also at Sijilmasa.[2] He had originally plunged deeply into Sufism, and adopted the rules of the Raḥmāniyyah order. His reputation for learning and sanctity having spread abroad, he began to receive visitors who consulted him on various questions; his answers were mystically worded; yet occasionally he flung aside his reserve, declared himself the true Mahdi, and announced that he would one day be called Sultan. When he decided to adopt this rôle publicly, he wrote to the chiefs of the tribes and the notables of the towns bidding them abandon heretical practices and act in conformity with the *Sunnah*—an order which those who regularly awaited a Mahdi would have wished differently worded. Persuading his followers that bullets would be unable to pierce their skins, he marched against his native town, whence he had been absent during the period of preparation, and after defeating the governor entered it in triumph; soon afterwards he defeated the Sultan of Morocco in battle, and entered the capital in triumph. Here, however, he appears to have forgotten his rôle of reformer, and

[1] Mercier, ii. 220.
[2] Nuzhat al-Hādī, ed. Houdas, 325.

abandoned himself to the delights of sovereignty; in consequence, another religious leader easily defeated and ousted him. Like one who has already been mentioned, he posed at different times as an 'Abbāsid and an 'Alawid.

The word *Mahdi* is the source of the name adopted by an Indian sect called Mahdawis, which arose in the sixteenth century, a time when it is thought that the approach of the first millenium of the Islamic era encouraged various mystical hopes. The first person mentioned in connexion with this movement was one Mir Sayyid Mohammed of Jaunpur; a pupil of his, Miyan Abdallah, a Niyazi Afghan, having made the pilgrimage to Meccah, on his return both claimed the title and adopted the manners of a Mahdi. These were evidently modelled on Ibn Tumart's: 'he took up his abode in Biana, and, making his dwelling in the corner of a grove far from the haunts of men, on the borders of a tank, he used to cast water on his head; and when the times of prayer came round he used to gather together certain of the labourers, hewers of wood and drawers of water who had to pass that way, and compel them to form an assembly for prayer: with such a degree of enthusiasm that if he met any man disinclined for the meeting, he would give him a few coins and encourage him, thus not allowing the reward of the assembly to escape him.'[1] With this personage it would appear that Mahdiism, from being the acknowledgement of the claim of some individual to the sovereignty, became something more like a mode of life; the Mahdawis had a religious service of their own, analogous to those which distinguish other Sufi sects, and might be called *dervishes*, as the Sudanese Mahdi called his followers. His example was followed by one Sheikh 'Alā'i, who had previously distinguished himself in the same place by arrogance and ambition. According to the contemporary historian, he started a sort of communistic society, bestowing all his worldly possessions, even to his books, upon the poor; three hundred householders, abandoning all other sources of gain and traffic, agriculture and skilled labour, spent their time with him. Whenever anything was given by Providence, they used to divide it justly, apportioning to each his share. The form which these gifts of Providence took is not explained, but may be inferred from the sequel. Much of the time was evidently spent in devotion Twice daily after prayers Sheikh 'Alā'i would preach, and so eloquent were his expositions of the Koran that almost every one who heard him of his own accord withheld his hand from all worldly occupation, and elected to join the society, abandoning his family and relations and

[1] Muntakhab al-tawārikh, transl. Ranking, p. 508.

children, enduring the hardships of poverty, hunger, and religious warfare, and never troubling himself further about his work or gains. Many a one thought it his duty to empty his cooking-vessels at nightfall of all the necessities of life, even to salt and flour and water, and let them remain upside down, thus keeping by them nothing in the way of provision, from their extreme faith in the providence of Almighty God; the saying *Each day brings new provision* was the basis of their practice.

The next section throws some light on the way wherein this daily provision was obtained. They were in the habit of keeping arms and implements of war with them always as a protection against their enemies; these, however, were not used exclusively for defensive purposes. Whenever they saw any irreligious or forbidden action, either in the city or the market, they went and called the offenders to account by main force, and admitted no investigation by the governor, and on most occasions they got the best of it; they aided every magistrate of the city who acted in conformity with their religious tenets and principles in carrying out his measures, while no one who was opposed to their views could stand against them.

Since these associates had abandoned their ordinary means of subsistence and formed an organized company of armed men, it was evident that their existence was incompatible with the maintenance of the established authority, and the Sheikh found it desirable to move elsewhere; he was unable, however, to work his way to Gujrat, as he at first intended, and returned to Biana, whence he was presently summoned to appear at the court of Islām Shah at Agra, to explain his intentions. Thither he went accompanied by a fully armed body-guard, and, paying no heed to the customary observances of kingly assemblies, greeted the whole assembly in the style prescribed by the laws of Islam. Apparently this sovereign wished to have Sheikh 'Alā'i publicly refuted by other theologians, but this expedient was unsatisfactory, owing to the ability and eloquence of the Sheikh, who succeeded in winning to his side an ever-increasing number of Islām Shah's officers; and when, if the historian is to be believed, Islām Shah had offered the Sheikh supreme religious authority in his dominions on condition of his abandoning his claim to the title Mahdi, and this offer had been refused, the Sultan, not finding himself strong enough to order the Sheikh's execution, bade him leave the kingdom and go to the Deccan. The Sheikh proceeded as far as the frontier town Hindiya, and there too began to tamper successfully with the Sultan's officers. Islām Shah hastened, before it was too late, to arrest the Sheikh, who was executed in the year

1550. His teacher, Miyan Abdallah, who had also remained in the hill-country of Biana, accompanied by three or four hundred men fully armed and equipped, raising disturbances, had prior to this been arrested and punished to a sufficient extent to make him abandon Mahdawism, and eventually earn a government pension. The fall of Islām Shah two years after the execution of the Mahdi is regarded by the historian as the divine vengeance for this deed.[1]

If the approach of the close of the first millennium was the signal for the appearance of a Mahdi, it would seem that the close of the first twelve hundred years led to similar expectations. An endeavour was made to realize them by a couple of men who found in the traditions of Abū Dāwūd the prophecy that *there shall come forth from Transoxania a man named al-Ḥārith, whose vanguard shall be commanded by a man named Mansūr, who shall prepare the way for the family of Mohammed, and it is incumbent on all Moslems to obey and aid them.*[2] At this time the Empress Catherine was hoping to acquire immortal fame by annihilating the Ottoman Empire and restoring that of Byzantium; a scheme which she inaugurated by seizing possession of the Crimea, and, under the pretence of securing the independence of the Crim Tartars, really subjecting them to herself. An attempt was made to revive the fortunes of Islam by a couple corresponding to those mentioned by Abū Dāwūd; these respectively took the titles the *Imām Ḥarith* of Bokhara, and the *Imām Mansūr*.[3] The latter acquired such importance that Frederick the Great at one time took the view that the whole fate of the Porte depended on this person's success.[4] Of his origin, very different accounts are given. According to the Turkish spy sent to report on him, he had begun life as a keeper of geese, been promoted to lambs and then to sheep; according to the Dutch Consul in Smyrna at the time, he was a descendant of Nadir-Shah, who had come from Persia to Smyrna, and thence migrated to Leghorn, where he adopted the name Montmorli, from an estate bestowed on him by one of his sponsors. An unfortunate love-affair compelled him to leave Italy and try his luck, first in France, then in Egypt, and, after reconversion to Islam, in Smyrna and Constantinople. According to yet another account, he was a Piedmontese monk who had been sent to Asia from the Propaganda, and there got into disgrace by showing leanings towards Islam. In any case, he first obtained notoriety in the year 1785, when he appeared in

[1] The account in the work translated by Ranking is far fuller than that in Elliot, *History of India*, iv. 301–4.

[2] Abū Dāwūd, iv. 179. [3] Jevdet, iii. 239. [4] Zinkeisen, vi. 578.

Abchasia as the champion of Islam against Russian aggression, and, owing to his powers as an orator and a linguist, soon found himself at the head of an army of 100,000 men. Like his more immediate forerunners, he insisted on a form of asceticism; all luxuries were tabooed, including coffee and tobacco. Unlike the Sheikh 'Alā'ī, who waged implacable war against musical instruments, the Imam Manṣūr introduced martial music, which was found to be a powerful aid in inspiring his followers with enthusiasm. The Christians in Mingrelia and Circassia adopted Islam in great multitudes, and joined his ranks. For a time he scored a series of considerable successes over the Russian forces; these were indeed welcome to the Turks, who were speedily themselves to be involved again in war with their hereditary enemy; but the Imām Mansūr let the Sultan understand that his campaign was not undertaken in the interests of the Porte, and read the official head of Islam some stern lectures on his conduct and the abuses which he tolerated: in consequence whereof the Imām was denounced as an impostor in all the mosques, and the reporting of his successes forbidden.

The career of this personage appears to have been meteoric; his general appeal to the Islamic peoples to unite against the infidel met with a certain amount of sympathy, and some financial support, but he was unable to maintain a large force for more than an occasional raid, and in October 1787 met with a reverse which seems to have finished his career. In the war which broke out at this time between Turkey and Russia allied with Austria he played no part.

The Imām Manṣūr appears to have worked, like some of his predecessors, ostensibly in the interests of a Mahdi, who, however, at an early period abandoned the cause. Since his time the Mahdi who has acquired the greatest fame is that Mohammed Aḥmad who, between the years 1881 and 1885, troubled the Sudan, and left his successor a mighty empire. Of his career a masterly account is given by Sir Reginald Wingate in his *Fire and Sword in the Sudan*. This personage claimed to be the twelfth Imām, the Mohammed b. Ḥasan al-'Askarī, who for more than ten centuries had been in hiding, though at times, as we have seen, changing his refuge. A peculiarity about the line which he adopted was that he endeavoured to reproduce the career of the Prophet Mohammed, by having a *hijrah* or Migration, and four *lieutenants*, which indicates a curious conception of the meaning of the word *khalīfah*; one of these became famous as his successor, and was finally extinguished by Lord Kitchener.

It is curious that whereas the contemporary Sanūsī Mahdi bore on his person a mark which corresponded with that Seal of Prophecy which distinguished the Prophet Mohammed, viz. a naevus between the shoulders, the Sudanese Mahdi was satisfied with the beauty spot on the right cheek, which according to some authorities was to indicate the Mahdi.

The measures taken by the Protectorate of Nigeria in recent years to regulate taxation, emancipate slaves, and introduce other reforms led to the rise of numerous Mahdis; between the years 1900 and 1905 there were a dozen in Sokoto, and as many in the other provinces. In 1905 Mahdis arose simultaneously in Saturu, Bauchi, and Kontagara. Most of these were caught, tried, and executed, the government regarding such severity as necessary for the preservation of order. In 1907 there was one Madhi at Bima in Bauchi, 'but the situation was in general satisfactory.'[1]

[1] *Revue du Monde musulmán*, iv. 144.

SECOND ANNUAL PHILOSOPHICAL LECTURE

HENRIETTE HERTZ TRUST

THE SOCRATIC DOCTRINE OF THE SOUL

By Professor JOHN BURNET, LL.D.

Read January 26, 1916

My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,

When the President and Council did me the honour of inviting me to deliver the Annual Philosophical Lecture, and when they asked me to take Socrates as my subject, they were, of course, aware that the treatment of such a theme must be largely philological and historical. I certainly, have no claim to be regarded as a philosopher, but I have tried hard to understand what Socrates was and what he did, and I conceive that to be a question of genuine philosophical interest. Whatever else it is, philosophy, in one aspect of it, is the progressive effort of man to find his true place in the world, and that aspect must be treated historically, since it is part of human progress, and philologically, since it involves the interpretation of documents. I am not afraid, then, of the objection that most of what I have to say to-day is history rather than philosophy. We are men, not angels, and for many of us our best chance of getting a glimpse of things on their eternal side is to approach them along the path of time. Moreover, some of us have what may be called a sense of loyalty to great men. In a way, no doubt, it does not matter whether we owe a truth to Pythagoras or Socrates or Plato, but it is natural for us to desire to know our benefactors and keep them in grateful remembrance. I make no apology, therefore, for the historical character of much that I have to lay before you, and I shall begin by stating the problem in a strictly historical form.

I

In a letter to the philosopher Themistius, the Emperor Julian says:

The achievements of Alexander the Great are outdone in my eyes by Socrates son of Sophroniscus. It is to him I ascribe the wisdom of Plato, the fortitude of Antisthenes, the generalship of Xenophon,

the Eretriac and Megaric philosophies, with Cebes, Simmias, Phaedo and countless others. To him too we owe the colonies that they planted, the Lyceum, the Stoa and the Academies. Who ever found salvation in the victories of Alexander? . . . Whereas it is thanks to Socrates that all who find salvation in philosophy are being saved even now.[1]

These words of Julian's are still true, and that is partly why there is so little agreement about Socrates. The most diverse philosophies have sought to father themselves upon him, and each new account of him tends to reflect the fashions and prejudices of the hour. At one time he is an enlightened deist, at another a radical atheist. He has been lauded as the father of scepticism and again as the high priest of mysticism; as a democratic social reformer and as a victim of democratic intolerance and ignorance. He has even been claimed—with at least equal reason—as a Quaker. No wonder that his latest biographer, H. Maier, exclaims:

In the presence of each fresh attempt to bring the personality of Socrates nearer to us, the impression that always recurs is the same: 'The man whose influence was so widespread and so profound cannot have been like that!'[2]

Unfortunately that is just the impression left on me by Maier's own bulky volume, though he has mastered the material and his treatment of it is sound as far as it goes. Unless we can find some other line of approach, it looks as if Socrates must still remain for us the Great Unknown.

That, to be sure, is not Maier's view. He thinks he knows a great deal about Socrates, or he would not have written 600 pages and more about him. The conclusion he comes to is that Socrates was not, properly speaking, a philosopher, which makes it all the more remarkable that the philosophers of the next generation, however much they differed in other respects, all agreed in regarding Socrates as their master. Maier makes much of the differences between the Socratic schools and urges that these could not have arisen if Socrates had been a philosopher with a system of his own. There seems to be something in that at first sight, but it only makes it more puzzling that these philosophers should have wished to represent their philosophies as Socratic at all. In modern times the most inconsistent philosophies have been called Cartesian or Kantian or Hegelian, but in these cases we can usually make out how they were derived from

[1] 264 c.

[2] H. Maier, *Sokrates, sein Werk und seine geschichtliche Stellung* (Tubingen, 1913), p. 3.

Descartes, Kant, or Hegel respectively. Each of these thinkers had set up some new principle which was then applied in divergent and even contradictory ways by their successors, and we should expect to find that Socrates did something of the same kind. Zeller, from whom most of us have learned, thought he knew what it was. Socrates discovered the universal and founded the *Begriffsphilosophie*. Maier will have nothing to do with that, and I rather think he is wise. The evidence does not bear examination, and in any case the hypothesis would only account for Plato (if it would even do that). The other Socratics remain unexplained. If, however, we are to be deprived of this ingenious construction, we want something to replace it, and for this we look to Maier in vain. He tells us that Socrates was not a philosopher in the proper sense of the word, but only a moral teacher with a distinctive method of his own, that of 'dialectical protreptic'. In other words, his 'philosophy' was nothing more than his plan of making people good by arguing with them in a peculiar way. Surely the man whose influence has been so great 'cannot have been like that!'

II

Now it is clearly impossible to discuss the Socratic question in all its bearings within the limits of a single lecture, so what I propose to do is to take Maier as the ablest and most recent advocate of the view that Socrates was not really a philosopher, and to apply the Socratic method of reasoning from admissions made by the other side. If we try to see where these will lead us, we may possibly reach conclusions Maier himself has failed to draw, and these will be all the more cogent if based solely on evidence he allows to be valid. He is a candid writer, and the assumptions he makes are so few that, if a case can be made out on these alone, it stands a fair chance of being a sound one. The experiment seemed at least worth trying, and the result of it was new to myself at any rate, so it may be new to others.

I resolved not to quarrel, then, with Maier's estimate of the value of our sources. He rejects the testimony of Xenophon, who did not belong to the intimate Socratic circle, and who was hardly more than twenty-five years old when he saw Socrates for the last time. He also disallows the evidence of Aristotle, who came to Athens as a lad of eighteen thirty years after the death of Socrates, and who had no important sources of information other than those accessible to ourselves. That leaves us with Plato as our sole witness, but Maier does not accept his testimony in its entirety. Far from it. For reasons I need not discuss, since I propose to accept his conclusion as a basis

for argument, he holds that we must confine ourselves to Plato's earliest writings, and he particularly singles out the *Apology* and *Crito*, to which he adds the speech of Alcibiades in the *Symposium*. In these two works, and in that single portion of a third, he holds that Plato had no other intention than 'to set the Master's personality and lifework before our eyes without additions of his own'.[1] This does not mean, observe, that the *Apology* is a report of the speech actually delivered by Socrates at his trial, or that the conversation with Crito in the prison ever took place. It simply means that the Socrates we learn to know from these sources is the real man, and that Plato's sole object so far was to preserve a faithful memory of him. Maier uses other early dialogues too, but he makes certain reservations about them which I wish to avoid discussing. I prefer to take his admissions in the strictest sense and with all the qualifications he insists on. The issue, then, takes this form: 'What could we know of Socrates as a philosopher if no other account of him had come down to us than the *Apology*, the *Crito*, and the speech of Alcibiades, and with the *proviso* that even these are not to be regarded as reports of actual speeches or conversations?' I should add that Maier also allows us to treat the allusions in contemporary comedy as corroborative evidence, though they must be admitted with caution. Such are the conditions of the experiment I resolved to try.

III

In the first place, then, we learn from the *Apology* and *Crito* that Socrates was just over seventy when he was put to death in the spring of 399 B.C., and that means that he was born in 470 or 469 B.C. He was, then, a man of the Periclean Age. He was already ten years old when Aeschylus brought out the Orestean Trilogy, and about thirty when Sophocles and Euripides were producing their earliest tragedies. He must have watched the building of the new Parthenon from start to finish. We are far too apt to see Socrates against the more sombre background of those later days to which Plato and Xenophon belonged, and to forget that he was over forty when Plato was born. If we wish to understand him historically, we must first replace him among the surroundings of his own generation. In other words, we must endeavour to realize his youth and early manhood.

To most people Socrates is best known by his trial and death, and that is why he is commonly pictured as an old man. It is not always remembered, for instance, that the Socrates caricatured by Aristophanes in the *Clouds* is a man of forty-six, or that the Socrates who

[1] p. 147.

served at Potidaea (432 B.C.) in a manner that would have won him the V.C. to-day was about thirty-seven. On that occasion he saved the life of Alcibiades, who must have been twenty at least, or he would not have been on active service abroad. Even if we assume that Potidaea was his first campaign, Alcibiades was eighteen years younger than Socrates at the very outside, and his speech in the *Symposium* carries us still further back, to the time when he was about fifteen.[1] In reading the account he is made to give of the beginning of his intimacy with Socrates, we are reading of a boy's enthusiasm for a man just turned thirty. The story makes a different impression if we keep that in view. What concerns us now, however, is that the 'wisdom' of Socrates is assumed to be matter of common knowledge in these early days. It was just because he had some strange, new knowledge to impart that Alcibiades sought to win his affection.[2] We shall see the bearing of that shortly.

From the *Apology* we learn further that Socrates conceived himself to have a mission to his fellow-citizens, and that his devotion to it had brought him to poverty. He cannot have been really poor to begin with; for we have found him serving before Potidaea, which means that he had the property qualification required at the time for those who served as hoplites. Nine years later (423 B.C.), however, when Aristophanes and Amipsias represented him on the comic stage, it appears that his neediness was beginning to be a byword. They both allude to what seems to have been a current joke about his want of a new cloak and the shifts he was put to to get one. Amipsias said he was 'born to spite the shoemakers', but Socrates may have had other reasons than poverty for going barefoot. In the same fragment he is addressed as a 'stouthearted fellow that, for all his hunger, never stooped to be a parasite'. Two years later, Eupolis used stronger language. He calls Socrates a 'garrulous beggar, who has ideas on everything except where to get a meal'. Of course we must not take this language too seriously. Socrates was still serving as a hoplite at Delium, the year before the *Clouds* of Aristophanes and the *Connus* of Amipsias, and at Amphipolis the year after. Something, however, must have happened shortly before to bring him into public notice, or the comic poets would not all have turned on him at once, and it is also clear that he had suffered losses of some kind.

[1] In passing from the story of his first intimacy with Socrates to that of Potidaea, Alcibiades says *ταῦτά τε γάρ μοι ἅπαντα προυγεγόνει, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κτλ.*, 'That was an old story, but at a later time, &c.' (*Symp.* 219 e, 5).

[2] He thought it would be a stroke of luck *πάντ' ἀκοῦσαι ὅσαπερ οὗτος ᾔδει* (*Symp.* 217 a, 4).

Very likely these were due to the war in the first place, but the *Apology* makes him poorer still at the close of his life, and he is made to attribute that to his mission. We may infer, I think, that the public mission of Socrates had begun before the year of the *Clouds*, but was still something of a novelty then, so that its nature was not clearly understood. He was absent from Athens, as we know, the year before, and presumably in the preceding years also, though we do not happen to hear of any actual battle in which he took part between Potidaea and Delium. We are told, however, that his habit of meditation was a joke in the army before Potidaea, and that it was there he once stood wrapped in thought for twenty-four hours.[1] It looks as if the call came to him when he was in the trenches; and, if so, the mission cannot have become the sole business of his life till after Delium, when he was forty-five years old. Now we have seen that he was known for his 'wisdom' long before that, and the *Apology* confirms the speech of Alcibiades on this point. It was before Socrates entered on his mission that Chaerepho went to Delphi and asked the oracle whether there was any one wiser than Socrates, from which it follows that this 'wisdom', whatever it was, was something anterior to and quite independent of the public mission described in the *Apology*. To sum up, the evidence Maier admits is sufficient to prove that Socrates was known as a 'wise man' before he was forty, and before he began to go about questioning his fellow-citizens. Whatever we may think of the details, both the *Apology* and the speech of Alcibiades assume that as a matter of course, which is even more convincing than if it had been stated in so many words.

On the other hand, it does not seem likely that the mission of Socrates stood in no sort of relation to the 'wisdom' for which he was known in his younger days. The *Apology* does not help us here. It tells us a good deal about the mission, but nothing as to the nature of the 'wisdom' which prompted the inquiry of Chaerepho, while Alcibiades is not sufficiently sober in the *Symposium* to give us more than a hint, which would hardly be intelligible yet, but to which we shall return. It will be best, then, to start with the account given in the *Apology* of that mission to his fellow-citizens to which Socrates devoted the later years of his life, and to see whether we can infer anything from it about the 'wisdom' for which he had been known in early manhood.

[1] *Symp.* 220 c, 3 sqq. Maier says (p. 301 n.) that this obviously depends on trustworthy tradition.

IV

We are told, then, that at first Socrates refused to accept the declaration of the Pythia that he was the wisest of men, and set himself to refute it by producing some one who was certainly wiser. The result of his efforts, however, was only to show that all the people who were wise in their own eyes and those of others were really ignorant, and he concluded that the meaning of the oracle did not lie on the surface. The god must really mean that all men alike were ignorant, but that Socrates was wiser in this one respect, that he knew he was ignorant, while other men thought they were wise. Having discovered the meaning of the oracle, he now felt it his duty to champion the veracity of the god by devoting the rest of his life to the exposure of other men's ignorance.

It ought, one would think, to be obvious that this is a humorous way of stating the case. For very sufficient reasons the Delphic oracle was an object of suspicion at Athens, and, when Euripides exhibits it in an unfavourable light, he only reflects the feelings of his audience. It is incredible that any Athenian should have thought it worth while to make the smallest sacrifice in defence of an institution which had distinguished itself by its pro-Persian and pro-Spartan leanings, or that Socrates should have hoped to conciliate his judges by stating that he had ruined himself in such a cause. We might as well expect a jury of English Nonconformists to be favourably impressed by the plea that an accused person had been reduced to penury by his advocacy of Papal Infallibility.

On this point recent German critics have an inkling of the truth, though they draw quite the wrong conclusions. Several of them have made the profound discovery that the speech Plato puts into the mouth of Socrates is not a defence at all, and was not likely to conciliate the court. They go on to infer that he cannot have spoken like that, and some of them even conclude that the whole story of the oracle is Plato's invention. That is because they start with the conviction that Socrates must have tried to make out the best case he could for himself. 'He only needed,' says Maier,[1] 'to appeal to the correctness with which he had always fulfilled the religious duties of an Athenian citizen. Xenophon's *Apology* makes him speak thus. And he certainly did speak thus.' The inference is characteristically German, but the Socrates we think we know from the *Apology*, the *Crito*, and the speech of Alcibiades would never have stooped to do anything of the sort. He was not afraid of the State, as German

[1] p. 105.

professors occasionally are. He certainly admitted its right to deal with its citizens as it thought fit, but that is a very different thing from recognizing its title to control their freedom of thought and speech. The Socrates of the *Crito* insists, indeed, that a legally pronounced sentence must be executed, and that he must therefore submit to death at the hands of the State; but we misunderstand him badly if we fail to see that he asserts even more strongly his right not to degrade himself by a humiliating defence, or to make things easy for his accusers by running away, which is just what they wanted him to do. No. Each party must abide by the sentence pronounced; Socrates must die, and his accusers must lie under condemnation for wickedness and dishonesty. That is what he is made to say in the *Apology*,[1] and he adds that so it was bound to be.

Even Xenophon, who does put forward the plea of religious conformity on behalf of Socrates, shows rather more insight than the Germans. In his own *Apology* he admits that other accounts of the speech—Plato's, of course, in particular—had succeeded in reproducing the lofty tone (*μεγαληγορία*) of Socrates. He really did speak like that, he says,[2] and he was quite indifferent to the result of the trial. Unfortunately this is immediately spoilt by a complaint that no one had accounted for his indifference, so that it seemed 'rather unwise', just as it does to the Germans. Xenophon's own view, which he modestly attributes to Hermogenes, is that Socrates wished to escape the evils of old age by a timely death. He did not want to become blind and hard of hearing. It has not been given either to Xenophon or to the Germans to see that the only thing to be expected of a brave man accused on a trumpery charge is just that tone of humorous condescension and *persiflage* which Plato has reproduced. As we shall see, there are serious moments in the *Apology* too, but the actual defence is rather a provocation than a plea for acquittal. That is just why we feel so sure that the speech is true to life.

We need not doubt, then, that Socrates actually gave some such account of his mission as that we read in the *Apology*, though we must keep in view the 'ironical' character of this part of the speech. Most English critics take it far too seriously. They seem to think the message of Socrates to his fellow-citizens can have been nothing more than is there revealed, and that his sole business in life was to expose the ignorance of others. If that had really been all, it is surely hard

[1] 39 b, 4 sqq.

[2] Xen. *Apol.* 1 ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι τῷ ὄντι οὕτως ἐρρήθη ὑπὸ Σωκράτους. Plato was present at the trial, but Xenophon was 'somewhere in Asia'.

to believe that he would have been ready to face death rather than relinquish his task. No doubt Socrates held that the conviction of ignorance was the first step on the way of salvation, and that it was little use talking of anything else to people who had still this step to take, but even Xenophon, whom these same critics generally regard as an authority on 'the historical Socrates', represents him as a teacher of positive doctrine. It ought to be possible to discover what this was even from the *Apology* itself.

V

We must not assume, indeed, that Socrates thought it worth while to say much about his real teaching at the trial, though it is likely that he did indicate its nature. There were certainly some among his five hundred judges who deserved to be taken seriously. Even if he did not do this, however, Plato was bound to do it for him, if he wished to produce the effect he obviously intended to produce. As a matter of fact, he has done it quite unmistakably, and the only reason why the point is usually missed is that we find it hard to put ourselves in the place of those to whom such doctrine was novel and strange.

The passage which lets us into the secret is that where Socrates is made to tell his judges that he will not give up what he calls 'philosophy', even though they were to offer to acquit him on that condition. Here, if anywhere, is the place where we look for a statement of the truth for which he was ready to die, and Plato accordingly makes him give the sum and substance of his 'philosophy' in words which have obviously been chosen with the greatest care, and to which all possible emphasis is lent by the solemnity of the context and by the rhetorical artifice of repetition. What Socrates is made to say is this:

> I will not cease from philosophy and from exhorting you, and declaring the truth to every one of you I meet, saying in the words I am accustomed to use: 'My good friend, . . . are you not ashamed of caring for money and how to get as much of it as you can, and for honour and reputation, and not caring or taking thought for wisdom and truth and for your soul, and how to make it as good as possible?'

And again:

> I go about doing nothing else but urging you, young and old alike, not to care for your bodies or for money sooner or as much as for your soul, and how to make it as good as you can.[1]

'To care for their souls,' then, was what Socrates urged on his fellow-citizens, and we shall have to consider how much that implies.

[1] 29 d, 4 sqq., and 30 a, 7 sqq.

First, however, it should be noted that there are many echoes of the phrase in all the Socratic literature. Xenophon uses it in contexts which do not appear to be derived from Plato's dialogues. Antisthenes, it seems, employed the phrase too, and he would hardly have borrowed it from Plato. Isocrates refers to it as something familiar.[1] The Athenian Academy possessed a dialogue which was evidently designed as a sort of introduction to Socratic philosophy for beginners, and is thrown into the appropriate form of a conversation between Socrates and the young Alcibiades. It is not, I think, by Plato, but it is of early date. In it Socrates shows that, if any one is to care rightly for himself, he must first of all know what he is; it is then proved that each of us is soul, and therefore that to care for ourselves is to care for our souls. It is all put in the most provokingly simple way, with the usual illustrations from shoemaking and the like, and it strikingly confirms what is said in the *Apology*.[2] I am not called upon to labour this point, however, for Maier admits, and indeed insists, that this is the characteristic Socratic formula. Let us see, then, where this admission will lead us.

Just at first, I fear, it will seem to lead nowhere in particular. Such language has become stale by repetition, and it takes an effort to appreciate it. So far as words go, Socrates has done his work too well. It is an orthodox and respectable opinion to-day that each one of us has a soul, and that its welfare is his highest interest, and that was so already in the fourth century B. C., as we can see from Isocrates. We assume without examination that a similar vague orthodoxy on the subject existed in the days of Socrates too, and that there was nothing very remarkable in his reiteration of it. That is why Maier, having safely reached this point, is content to inquire no further, and pronounces that Socrates was not a philosopher in the strict sense, but only a moral teacher with a method of his own. I hope to show that he has left off just where he ought to have begun.

For it is here that it becomes important to remember that Socrates belonged to the age of Pericles. We have no right to assume that his words meant just as much or as little as they might mean in Isocrates or in a modern sermon. What we have to ask is what they would mean at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War; and, if we ask that question, we shall find, I believe, that, so far from appearing commonplace, the exhortation to 'care for his soul'

[1] For references see Maier, p. 333, n. 3. The allusion in Isocrates (*Antid.* § 309) was noted by Grote (*Plato*, vol. i, p. 341).

[2] [Plato] *Alc.* I. 127 e, 9 sqq.

must have come as a shock to the Athenian of those days, and may even have seemed not a little ridiculous. It is implied, we must observe, that there is something in us which is capable of attaining wisdom, and that this same thing is capable of attaining goodness and righteousness. This something Socrates called 'soul' (ψυχή). Now no one had ever said that before, in the sense in which Socrates meant it. Not only had the word ψυχή never been used in this way, but the existence of what Socrates called by the name had never been realized. If that can be shown, it will be easier to understand how Socrates came to be regarded as the true founder of philosophy, and our problem will be solved. This involves, of course, an inquiry into the history of the word ψυχή, which may seem to be taking us a long way from Socrates, but that cannot be helped if we really wish to measure the importance of the advance he made. It will be obvious that in what follows I have been helped by Rohde's *Psyche*, but that really great work seems to me to miss the very point to which it ought to lead up. It has no chapter on Socrates at all.

VI

Originally, the word ψυχή meant 'breath', but, by historical times, it had already been specialized in two distinct ways. It had come to mean *courage* in the first place, and secondly the *breath of life*. The first sense has nothing, of course, to do with our present inquiry, but so much confusion has arisen from failure to distinguish it from the second, that it will be as well to clear the ground by defining its range. There is abundant evidence in many languages of a primitive idea that pride and courage naturally expressed themselves by hard breathing, or—not to put too fine a point upon it—snorting. Perhaps this was first observed in horses. At any rate, the phrase 'to breathe hard' (πνεῖν μέγα) survived in the sense of 'to be proud', and warriors are said 'to breathe wrath' and 'to breathe Ares'. So the word ψυχή was used, just like the Latin *spiritus*, for what we still call 'high spirit'. Herodotus and the Tragedians have it often in this sense and Thucydides once.[1] From this is derived the adjective εὔψυχος, 'spirited', 'courageous', and the 'magnanimous' man, the μεγαλόψυχος, is properly the 'man of spirit'. It is clear that, if we wish to discover what Socrates really meant by ψυχή, when he called the seat of wisdom and goodness by

[1] Thuc. ii. 40, 3. In Herod. v. 124 we are told that Aristagoras was ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος. From the context we see clearly that this means he was poor-spirited. I mention this because Liddell and Scott are wrong on the point.

that name, we must eliminate all instances of the word which fall under this head.

The second meaning of ψυχή is the 'breath of life', the presence or absence of which is the most obvious distinction between the animate and the inanimate. It is, in the first place, the 'ghost' a man 'gives up' at death, but it may also quit the body temporarily, which explains the phenomenon of swooning (λιποψυχία). That being so, it seemed natural to suppose it was also the thing that can roam at large when the body is asleep, and even appear to another sleeping person in his dream. Moreover, since we can dream of the dead, what then appears to us must be just what leaves the body at the moment of death. These considerations explain the worldwide belief in the 'soul' as a sort of 'double' of the real bodily man, the Egyptian *ka*, the Italian *genius*, and the Greek ψυχή.

Now this 'double' is not identified with whatever it is in us that feels and wills during our waking life. That is generally supposed to be blood and not breath. Homer has a great deal to say about feelings, but he never attributes any feeling to the ψυχή. The *θυμός* and the *νόος*, which do feel and perceive, have their seat in the midriff or the heart; they belong to the body and perish with it. In a sense, no doubt, the ψυχή continues to exist after death, since it can appear to the survivors, but in Homer it is hardly even a ghost, since it cannot appear to them otherwise than in a dream. It is a shadow (*σκιά*) or image (*εἴδωλον*), with no more substance, as Apollodorus put it, than the reflection of the body in a mirror.[1] Departed souls are witless and feeble things. Tiresias is the exception that proves the rule, and in the *Nekyia* it is only when the shades have been allowed to drink blood that consciousness returns to them for a while. That is not because death has robbed the ψυχή of anything it ever had; it had nothing to do with the conscious life when it was in the body, and cannot therefore have any consciousness when detached from it. A few favourites of heaven escape this dismal lot by being sent to the Isles of the Blest, but these do not really die at all. They are carried away still living and retain their bodies, without which they would be incapable of bliss. This point, too, is well noted by Apollodorus.[2]

[1] Apollodorus *περὶ θεῶν* (Stob. *Ecl.* i, p. 420, Wachsm.) *ὑποτίθεται τὰς ψυχὰς τοῖς εἰδώλοις τοῖς ἐν τοῖς κατόπτροις φαινομένοις ὁμοίας καὶ τοῖς διὰ τῶν ὑδάτων συνισταμένοις, ἃ καθάπαξ ἡμῖν ἐξείκασται καὶ τὰς κινήσεις μιμεῖται, στερεμνώδη δὲ ὑπόστασιν οὐδεμίαν ἔχει εἰς ἀντίληψιν καὶ ἁφήν.*

[2] Apollodorus, *ib.* (Stob. *Ecl* i, p. 422) *τούτοις μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ σώματα παρεῖναι.*

VII

It is generally agreed that these views can hardly be primitive, and that the observances of the mortuary cult (τὰ νομιζόμενα), which we find practised at Athens and elsewhere, really bear witness to a far earlier stratum of belief. They show that at one time the ψυχή was supposed to dwell with the body in the grave, where it had to be supported by the offerings of the survivors, especially by libations (χοαί) poured over the tomb. It has been fairly inferred that the immunity of the Homeric world from ghosts had a good deal to do with the substitution of cremation for burial. When the body is burnt the ψυχή has no longer a foothold in this life. At any rate, the early Athenian ghost was by no means so feeble and helpless a thing as the Homeric. If a man's murder went unavenged, or if the offerings at his grave were neglected, his ghost could 'walk', and the feast of the Anthesteria preserved the memory of a time when departed souls were believed to revisit their old homes once a year. There is no trace of anything here that can be called ancestor-worship. It is something much more primitive than that. Though less helpless, and therefore more formidable, than the Homeric 'shade', the early Athenian ghost is dependent on the offerings of the survivors, and they make these offerings, partly, no doubt, from feelings of natural piety, but mainly to keep the ghost quiet. That is hardly to be called worship.

It is plain, on the other hand, that these beliefs were mere survivals in the Athens of the fifth century B. C. We should know next to nothing about them were it not that the mortuary observances become of legal importance in cases of homicide and inheritance, so that the orators had to treat them seriously, and, moreover, they went on quite comfortably side by side with the wholly inconsistent belief that departed souls all went to a place of their own. We know now that Lucian's picture of Charon and his boat faithfully reproduces the imagery of the sixth century B. C.; for it agrees exactly with the representation on a recently discovered piece of black figured pottery.[1] There we see the souls—miserable little creatures with wings—weeping on the bank and praying to be taken aboard, while Charon sits in the stern and makes all he has room for work their passage by rowing. The people who decorated a piece of pottery, obviously intended for use in the mortuary cult, with such a scene had evidently no living belief in the continued existence

[1] Furtwangler, *Charon, eine altattische Malerei* (Archiv fur Religionswissenschaft, viii (1905), pp. 191 sqq.).

of the soul within the grave. We find the same contradiction in Egypt, but there both beliefs were taken seriously. The Egyptians were a business-like people, and got out of the difficulty by assuming two souls, one of which (the *ka*) remains in the tomb while the other (the *ba*) departs to the place of the dead. Similar devices were adopted elsewhere, but the Greeks felt no need for anything of the sort. We may safely infer that the old belief had lost its hold upon them.

Whichever way we take it, the traditional Athenian beliefs about the soul were cheerless enough, and we cannot wonder at the popularity of the Eleusinian Mysteries, which promised a better lot of some sort to the initiated after death. It does not appear, however, that this was at all clearly conceived. The obligation of secrecy referred to the ritual alone, and we should hear something more definite as to the future life, if the Mysteries had been explicit about it. As it is, the chorus in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes probably tell us all there was to tell, and that only amounts to a vision of meadows and feasting—a sort of glorified picnic. Of one thing we may be quite sure, namely, that no new view of the soul was revealed in the Mysteries; for in that case we should certainly find some trace of it in Aeschylus. As a matter of fact, he tells us nothing about the soul, and hardly ever mentions it. To him, as to most of his contemporaries, thought belongs to the body; it is the blood round the heart, and that ceases to think at death. The life to come has no place in his scheme of things, and that is just why he is so preoccupied with the problem of the fathers' sins being visited on the children. Justice must be done on earth or not at all.

In any case, the promises held out in the Mysteries are quite as inconsistent with the beliefs implied by the mortuary cult as are Charon and his boat, and the fact that the Eleusinia had been taken over by the state as part of the public religion shows once more how little hold such beliefs had on the ordinary Athenian. I do not mean that he actively disbelieved them, but I should suppose he thought very little about them. After all, the Athenians were brought up on Homer, and their everyday working beliefs were derived from that source. Besides, Homer was already beginning to be interpreted allegorically, and the prevailing notion in the time of Socrates certainly was that the souls of the dead were absorbed by the upper air, just as their bodies were by the earth. In the *Suppliants* Euripides gives us the formula 'Earth to earth and air to air', and that is no heresy of his own.[1] It was so much a matter of course that it had

[1] Eur. *Suppl.* 533— πνεῦμα μὲν πρὸς αἰθέρα,
τὸ σῶμα δ' ἐς γῆν.

been embodied in the official epitaph on those who had fallen at Potidaea some years earlier (432 B.C.).[1] There is nothing remarkable in that. There was no room in the public religion for any doctrine of immortality. The gods alone are immortal, and it would be shocking to suggest that human beings might be so too. The dead are just the dead, and how can the dead be deathless? In the heroic age, indeed, some human beings had attained immortality by being turned into gods and heroes, but such things were not expected to happen now. The heroic honours paid to Brasidas at Amphipolis had a political motive, and were hardly taken seriously.

VIII

So far I have been dealing with the beliefs of the ordinary citizen and with the official religion of Athens, but it would have been easy to find people there who held very different views about the soul. There were the members of Orphic societies in the first place, and there were also the votaries of Ionian science, who had become fairly numerous since Anaxagoras first introduced it to the Athenians. On the whole, the Orphics would be found chiefly among the humbler classes, and the adherents of Ionian science chiefly among the enlightened aristocracy. Even in the absence of direct testimony we should be bound to assume that Socrates, who was interested in everything and tested everything, did not pass by the two most remarkable movements which took place at Athens in his own generation, and if we wish to replace him among the surroundings of his own time we must certainly take account of these. The religious movement was the earlier in date, and claims our attention first.

The most striking feature of Orphic belief is that it is based on the denial of what we have just seen to be the cardinal doctrine of Greek religion, namely, that there is an impassable, or almost impassable, gulf between gods and men. The Orphics held, on the contrary, that every soul is a fallen god, shut up in the prisonhouse of the body as a penalty for antenatal sin. The aim of their religion as practised was to secure the release (*λύσις*) of the soul from its bondage by means of certain observances directed to cleansing and purging it of original sin (*καθαρμοί*). Those souls which were sufficiently purged returned once more to the gods and took their old place among them.

That is certainly not primitive belief but theological speculation, such as we find among the Hindus and, in a cruder form, among the

[1] *C. I. A.* i. 442—

αἰθὴρ μὲν ψυχὰς ὑπεδέξατο, σώματα δὲ χθών.

Egyptians. The trouble was till recently that there seemed to be no room for an age of such speculation within the limits of Greek history as we knew it, and many modern scholars have followed the lead of Herodotus in holding that it came from the 'barbarians', and in particular from Egypt. On the other hand, Orphicism was closely bound up with the worship of Dionysus, which seems to have come from Thrace, and we can hardly credit the Thracians with a gift for mystical theology. If, however, we take a wider view, we shall find that doctrines of a similar character are to be found in many places which have nothing to do with Thrace. Zielinski has shown strong grounds for believing that the Hermetic theology, which became important in later days, originated in Arcadia, and especially in Mantinea, the home of the prophetess Diotima, who is certainly not to be regarded as a fictitious personage.[1] There were mystical elements in the worship of the Cretan Zeus, and a book of prophecies was extant in later days composed in the dialect of Cyprus, which is practically identical with the Arcadian.[2] The geographical distribution of the doctrine strongly suggests that we have really to do with a survival from the Aegean Age, and that the period of theological speculation we seem bound to assume was just the time of the power of Cnossus. If that is so, the priests of Heliopolis in the Delta may quite as well have borrowed from Crete as *vice versa*, if there was any borrowing at all. There is no need to look for remote origins.

However that may be, it is certain that such doctrines flourished exceedingly in the sixth century B.C., and that their influence on the higher thought of Greece was by no means negligible. We must, however, be careful to avoid exaggeration here; for, while it is certain that the Orphics attached an importance to the 'soul' which went far beyond anything recognized in the public or private religion of the Greek states, it is by no means so clear that they went much beyond primitive spiritism in the account they gave of its nature. In so far as the soul was supposed to reveal its true nature in 'ecstasy', which might be artificially produced by drugs or dancing, that is obvious; but, even in its higher manifestations, the doctrine still bears traces of its primitive origin. The earliest statement in literature of the unique divine origin of the soul is to be found in a fragment of one of Pindar's Dirges,[3] but even there it is called an 'image of life'

[1] Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, ix (1906), p. 43.

[2] On Euklos the Cyprian see M. Schmidt in Kuhns Zeitschrift, ix (1860), pp 361 sqq. The identity of the Arcadian and Cypriote dialects is the most certain and fundamental fact with regard to the Aegean Age.

[3] Pindar, fr. 131 Bergk.

(αἰῶνος εἴδωλον) surviving after death, much in the Homeric way, and we are expressly told that it 'sleeps when the limbs are active' (εὕδει δὲ πρασσόντων μελέων) and shows its prophetic nature only in dreams. In fact, as Adam said, it is rather like what has been called 'the subliminal self' in modern times, and is quite dissociated from the normal waking consciousness.[1] It may be divine and immortal, but it is really no concern of ours except in sleep and at the moment of death. It is not identified with what we call 'I'.

IX

The word ψυχή had also been used by the scientific schools of Ionia in quite another than the popular and traditional sense. This appears to have originated in the doctrine of Anaximenes, that 'air' (ἀήρ), the primary substance, was the life of the world, just as the breath was the life of the body. That doctrine was being taught at Athens by Diogenes of Apollonia in the early manhood of Socrates, who is represented as an adherent of it in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes. The emphasis lies entirely on the cosmical side, however. There is no special interest in the individual human soul, which is just that portion of the boundless air which happens to be shut up in our body for the time being, and which accounts for our life and consciousness. There is a great advance on primitive views here in so far as the ψυχή is identified for the first time with the normal waking consciousness, and not with the dream-consciousness. This point is specially emphasized in the system of Heraclitus, which was based precisely on the opposition between waking and sleeping, life and death.[2] The waking soul is that in which the elemental fire burns bright and dry; sleep and death are due to its partial or total extinction. On the other hand, the soul is in a state of flux just as much as the body. It, too, is a river into which you cannot step twice; there is nothing you can speak of as 'I' or even 'this'. Anaxagoras preferred to call the source of motion he was obliged to postulate νοῦς instead of ψυχή, but for our present purpose he meant much the same thing. The common feature in all these theories is that our conscious life comes to us 'from out of doors' (θύραθεν), as Aristotle puts it, employing a term elsewhere used in describing respiration. Its existence is of a temporary and accidental character, depending solely on the fact that for the moment a portion of the primary substance is

[1] Adam, *The Doctrine of the Celestial Origin of the Soul* (Cambridge Praelections, 1906). Adam pointed out (p. 32) that Myers chose the Pindaric fragment as the heading of his chapter on Sleep (*Human Personality*, vol i, p. 121)

[2] See my *Greek Philosophy, Part I, Thales to Plato*, § 41.

enclosed in a particular body. It will be seen that this fits in well enough with the view commonly accepted at Athens and expressed in the formula 'Earth to earth and air to air'. That is why no one was shocked by the scientific view. The 'sophists' were accused of almost everything, but I do not remember any place where they are blamed for failing to 'think nobly of the soul'. There was no doctrine of soul in the received religion, or none worth talking about, and there could therefore be no impiety in what the sophists taught. The Orphic doctrine was far more likely to offend current prejudices.

The Pythagoreans might, perhaps, have developed a more adequate doctrine of the soul; for they shared the religious interest of the Orphics and the scientific interests of the Ionians. As it happened, however, their musical and medical studies led them to regard it as a 'blend' (*κρᾶσις*) or 'attunement' (*ἁρμονία*) of the elements which compose the body, of which, therefore, it is merely a function.[1] Democritus went so far, indeed, as to distinguish the pleasures of the soul as more 'divine' than those of the 'tabernacle' (*σκῆνος*) or body; but, since he held the soul to be corporeal, that was only a difference of degree.[2] On the whole, we must conclude that neither religion or philosophy in the fifth century B.C. knew anything of the Soul. What they called by that name was something extrinsic and dissociated from the normal personality, which was altogether dependent on the body.

X

In the Athenian literature of the fifth century the idea of soul is still more unknown. We might have expected that the Orphic, if not the scientific theory, would have left some trace, but even that did not happen. In a matter of this kind vague general impressions are useless, and the observations I am about to make are based on what I believe to be a complete enumeration of all instances of the word *ψυχή* in the extant Athenian literature of the fifth century, including Herodotus, who wrote mainly for Athenians. I was much surprised by the result of this inquiry, which showed that, down to the very close of the century, there is hardly an instance of the word in any other than a purely traditional sense.

In the first place, as I have said before, it often means 'high spirit' or courage, but that does not concern us for the present. In a certain number of passages it means 'ghost', but ghosts are not often mentioned. In a larger number of places it may be translated 'life', and that is where possible misunderstandings begin. It has

[1] See ib. § 75. [2] See ib. § 155.

not, in fact, been sufficiently observed that ψυχή, in the literature of this period, never means the life of a man except when he is dying or in danger of death, or, in other words, that the Attic usage is so far the same as the Homeric. You may lose or 'give up' your ψυχή or you may save it; you may risk it or fight or speak in its defence; you may sacrifice it like Alcestis or cling ignobly to it like Admetus. To 'love one's ψυχή' is to shrink from death, and φιλοψυχία is a common word for cowardice. In the same sense you may say that a thing is dear as 'dear life'. As for the ψυχαί of other people, you may mourn them or avenge them, in which case ψυχή clearly means *lost* life, and may just as well be rendered 'death' as 'life'. The one thing you cannot do with a ψυχή is to live by it. When Theseus in Euripides[1] bids Amphitryon 'do violence to his soul', he means 'Force yourself to live', and the literal sense of his words is 'Hold in the breath of life by force' and do not let it escape. 'Refuse to give up the ghost' comes near it. Similarly, the expression 'Collect your ψυχή'[2] properly means 'Make an effort not to swoon', and implies the same idea of holding one's breath. You will search the Athenian writers of the fifth century in vain for a single instance of ψυχή meaning 'life', except in connexion with swooning or death.

The ψυχή is also spoken of in the tragedians as the seat of certain feelings, in which case we naturally render it by 'heart'. What has not been observed is that these feelings are always of a very special kind. We saw that Pindar thought of the ψυχή as a sort of 'subliminal self' which 'sleeps when the limbs are active', but has prophetic visions when the body is asleep. In Attic tragedy this function is generally attributed to the heart and not the 'soul', but there is one place at least where ψυχή seems definitely to mean the 'subconscious'. In the *Troades* the infant Astyanax, when about to die, is pitied for having had no conscious experience of the privileges of royalty. 'Thou sawest them and didst mark them in thy ψυχή, but thou knowest them not.'[3] This seems to be the only place where knowledge of any kind is ever ascribed to the ψυχή, and it is expressly denied to be knowledge. It is only the vague awareness of early childhood which leaves no trace in the memory. We note the same idea in another place where something is said to strike upon the

[1] Eur. *Herc.* 1366 ψυχὴν βιάζου. Wilamowitz's interpretation of this is singularly perverse.

[2] Eur. *Herc.* 626 σύλλογον ψυχῆς λαβὲ | τρόμου τε παῦσαι. Cf. *Phoen.* 850 ἀλλὰ σύλλεξον σθένος | καὶ πνεῦμ' ἄθροισον.

[3] Eur *Tro.* 1171. See B. H. Kennedy in Tyrrell's note.

ψυχή as familiar, that is, to awaken dormant memories.[1] That explains further how the ψυχή may be made to 'smart' by being touched on the raw, and also why certain griefs are said to 'reach' the ψυχή. We still speak of a 'touching' spectacle or an appeal that 'reaches' the heart, though we have forgotten the primitive psychology on which the phrases are based.

If we follow up this clue we find that the feelings referred to the ψυχή are always those which belong to that obscure part of us which has most affinity with the dream-consciousness. Such are all strange yearnings and forebodings and grief 'too great for words', as we say. Such, too, is the sense of oppression and gloom which accompanies the feelings of horror and despair, and which is spoken of as a weight of which we seek to lighten our ψυχή. Anxiety and depression—what we call 'low spirits'—have their seat in the ψυχή, and so have all unreasoning terrors and dreads. Strange, overmastering passion, like the love of Phaedra, is once or twice said to attack the ψυχή.[2] Twice in Sophocles it is the seat of kindly feeling (εὔνοια), but that goes rather beyond its ordinary range.[3] It is safe to say that the ψυχή is never regarded as having anything to do with clear perception or knowledge, or even with articulate emotion. It remains something mysterious and uncanny, quite apart from our normal consciousness. The gift of prophecy and magical skill are once or twice referred to it, but never thought or character. It is still, therefore, essentially the 'double' of primitive belief, and that is just why it can address us or be addressed by us as if it were something distinct from us. That, of course, became a mannerism or figure of speech, but it was not so at first. The 'soul' of the Watchman in the *Antigone*, which tries to dissuade him from making his report to Creon, can claim kindred with the 'conscience' of Launcelot Gobbo in Shakespeare's *Merchant*.

We shall now be able to see the bearings of some special uses of the word ψυχή. It is spoken of, for instance, as the seat of a guilty conscience. That is brought out clearly by a remarkable passage in Antipho,[4] where he is making his client argue that he would never have come to Athens if he had been conscious of guilt. 'A guiltless ψυχή will often,' he says, 'preserve both itself and an exhausted body, but a guilty one will leave even a vigorous body in the lurch.' It is from the same point of view that the law of homicide demands the forfeiture of the guilty 'soul' (ἡ δράσασα or βουλεύσασα ψυχή),[5] a phrase in which the use of ψυχή as the seat

[1] Soph. *El.* 902.
[2] Eur. *Hipp.* 504, 526.
[3] Soph. *O. C.* 498, fr. 98.
[4] *De caede Herodis*, § 93
[5] Antipho, *Tetr.* Γ. α, 7. Cf. Plato, *Laws*, 873 a, 1.

of conscience is combined with its meaning of life as a thing to be lost. Several passages of the tragedians are to be interpreted in the light of this. Aeschylus, indeed, makes the conscience reside in the heart, as was to be expected, but he is emphatic in referring it to the dream-consciousness. It is 'in the night season' that the sore of remorse breaks out.[1] Even the placid Cephalus of Plato's *Republic* is wakened once and again from his sleep by the fear that he may have some sin against gods or men on his conscience.

Another mysterious feeling closely associated with the subconscious element in our life is the sentiment of kinship, what the French call *la voix du sang*. The Greeks, too, usually spoke of blood in this connexion, but Clytemnestra in Sophocles addresses Electra as 'born of my ψυχή',[2] and occasionally near kinsmen are spoken of as having 'one soul' instead of 'one blood'.

Finally, we must notice a curious and particularly instructive use of the word, which we know to have been derived from popular language. The ψυχή is the seat of wayward moods and appetites, and especially of those unaccountable longings for certain kinds of food and drink which sometimes emerge from the more irrational and uncontrolled part of our nature. The Cyclops in Euripides, who has not tasted human flesh for ever so long, says he will do his ψυχή a good turn by eating Odysseus up.[3] Even Aeschylus does not disdain to make the ghost of Darius advise the Persian elders to 'give their souls some pleasure day by day'.[4] Just so the Romans said *animo* or *genio indulgere*, and spoke of acting *animi causa*. It is a quaint piece of primitive psychology, and it is certainly convenient to make a 'double', for which you are not strictly responsible, the source of those strange yearnings for good living to which the best of us are subject now and then. The Egyptian *ka* had similar tendencies. Looked at in this way, the ψυχή is the merely 'animal' element of our nature.

I have now covered practically all the uses of the word ψυχή in the Athenian literature of the fifth century. Even in Lysias, who belongs to the fourth, there is only one instance of the word in any but a traditional sense, which is the more remarkable as he had belonged to the fringe at least of the Socratic circle. The few exceptions I have noted are all of the kind that proves the rule. When Herodotus is discussing the supposed Egyptian origin of the belief in immortality, he naturally uses ψυχή in the Orphic sense.[5]

[1] See Headlam, *Agamemnon*, p. 186
[2] Soph. *El.* 775.
[3] Eur. *Cycl.* 340
[4] Aesch. *Pers.* 840.
[5] Herod. ii. 123

Hippolytus in Euripides speaks of a 'virgin soul', but he is really an Orphic figure.[1] Otherwise the word is used by Euripides in a purely traditional manner, even in the *Bacchae*. Aeschylus employs it very seldom, and then quite simply. Sophocles, as might be expected, is rather subtler, but I cannot find more than two passages where he really goes beyond the limits I have indicated, and they both occur in one of his latest plays, the *Philoctetes*. Odysseus tells Neoptolemus that he is to 'entrap the ψυχή of Philoctetes with words',[2] which seems to imply that it is the seat of knowledge, and Philoctetes speaks of 'the mean soul of Odysseus peering through crannies',[3] which seems to imply that it is the seat of character. These instances belong to the very close of the century and anticipate the usage of the next. There is no other place where it is even suggested that the 'soul' has anything to do with knowledge or ignorance, goodness or badness, and to Socrates that was the most important thing about it.

Now, if even the higher poetry observed these limits, we may be sure that popular language did so even more strictly. When urged to 'care for his soul', the plain man at Athens might suppose he was being advised to have a prudent regard for his personal safety, to 'take care of his skin' as we say, or even that he was being recommended to have what is called 'a good time'. If we can trust Aristophanes, the words would suggest to him that he was to 'mind his ghost'. The *Birds* tell us how Pisander came to Socrates 'wanting to see the ψυχή that had deserted him while still alive', where there is a play on the double meaning 'courage' and 'ghost'. Socrates is recognized as the authority on ψυχαί, who 'calls spirits' (ψυχαγωγεῖ) from the deep.[4] The inmates of his thought-factory (φροντιστήριον) are derisively called 'wise ψυχαί' in the *Clouds*.[5] It is true that once in Aristophanes we hear of 'crafty souls' (δόλιαι ψυχαί), which reminds us of the *Philoctetes*; but the speaker is an oracle-monger from Oreos, so that is another exception that proves the rule.[6] We may, I think, realize the bewilderment which the teaching of Socrates would produce, if we think of the uncomfortable feeling often aroused by the English words 'ghost' and 'ghostly' in their old sense of 'spirit' and 'spiritual'. There is something not altogether reassuring in the phrase 'ghostly admonition'.

[1] Eur. *Hipp.* 1006.
[2] Soph. *Phil* 55.
[3] Soph. *Phil.* 1013.
[4] Arist. *Birds* 1555 sqq
[5] Arist. *Clouds* 94.
[6] Arist. *Peace* 1068.

XI

The novelty of this Socratic use of the word ψυχή is also indicated by the curiously tentative phrases he is sometimes made to substitute for it, phrases like 'Whatever it is in us that has knowledge or ignorance, goodness or badness'.[1] On the same principle I should explain the reference of Alcibiades in the *Symposium* to 'the heart or soul or whatever we ought to call it'.[2] Such fine historical touches are much in Plato's way, and the hesitation of Alcibiades is natural if Socrates was the first to use the word like this. He denied, if I am not mistaken, that the soul was any sort of mysterious second self, and identified it frankly with our ordinary consciousness; but, on the other hand, he held it to be more than it seemed to be, and therefore to require all the 'care' that the votaries of Orpheus bade men give to the fallen god within them. No doubt it is open to any one to maintain that, even so, Socrates was not really original. He only combined the Orphic doctrine of the purification of the fallen soul with the scientific view of the soul as the waking consciousness. That is a favourite device of those who make it their business to depreciate the originality of great men. Against it it may be urged that the power of transfusing the apparently disparate is exactly what is meant by originality. The religious and the scientific view might have gone on indefinitely side by side, as we find them in fact simply juxtaposed in Empedocles. It took a Socrates to see that they were complementary, and by uniting them to reach the idea best rendered in English by the old word 'spirit'. In that sense and to that extent he was the founder of philosophy.

From the *Apology* alone it may, I feel sure, be inferred that to Socrates the immortality of the soul followed as a necessary corollary from this view of its nature, but the important thing to notice is that this was not the point from which he started nor that upon which he chiefly dwelt. If, for a moment, I may go beyond the *Apology* and *Crito* for a negative argument, it is not a little remarkable that, both in the *Phaedo*[3] and the *Republic*[4], Plato represents the closest intimates of Socrates as startled by his profession of belief in immortality. It does not seem, then, that this formed the ordinary theme of his discourse. What he did preach as the one thing needful for the soul was that it should strive after wisdom and goodness.

[1] Cf. *Crito* 47 e, 8 ὅτι ποτ' ἐστὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων, περὶ ὃ ἥ τε ἀδικία καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἐστίν.

[2] *Symp.* 218 a, 3 τὴν καρδίαν γὰρ ἢ ψυχὴν ἢ ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸ ὀνομάσαι κτλ.

[3] Plato, *Phaed.* 70 a, 1 sqq.

[4] Plato, *Rep* 608 d, 3

Of course, Maier is compelled by the evidence he admits as valid to recognize that Socrates called his work in life 'philosophy', but he holds that this philosophy consisted solely in the application of the dialectical method to moral exhortation. That is why he says Socrates was no philosopher in the strict sense of the word. If he only means that he did not expound a system in a course of lectures, that is doubtless true; but, even at the worst of times, philosophy never meant merely that to the Greeks. It is not correct either to say that the wisdom of which Socrates is made to speak in the *Apology* and *Crito* was merely practical wisdom. At this point Maier makes a bad mistake by importing the Aristotelian distinction between φρόνησις and σοφία into the discussion. No doubt that distinction has its value, but at this date φρόνησις and σοφία were completely synonymous terms, and they continued to be used quite promiscuously by Plato. It is wisdom and truth (φρόνησις καὶ ἀλήθεια) that the soul is to aim at, and it is an anachronism to introduce the Aristotelian idea of 'practical truth'. If the word φρόνησις is on the whole preferred to σοφία, it is only because the latter had rather bad associations, like our 'cleverness'. It is hardly worth while, however, to waste words on this point; for the Socratic doctrine that Goodness is knowledge amounts to a denial that there is any ultimate distinction between theory and practice.

XII

The conditions of our experiment did not allow us to admit much evidence, and that seemed at first rather unpromising. Nevertheless, we have been able to reach a result of the first importance, which must now be stated precisely. We have found that, if the *Apology* is to be trusted in a matter of the kind, Socrates was in the habit of exhorting his fellow-citizens to 'care for their souls'. That is admitted by Maier. We have seen further that such an exhortation implies a use of the word ψυχή and a view of the soul's nature quite unheard of before the time of Socrates. The Orphics, indeed, had insisted on the need of purging the soul, but for them the soul was not the normal personality;[1] it was a stranger from another world that dwelt in us for a time. The Ionian cosmologists had certainly identified the soul with our waking consciousness, but that too came to us from outside. As Diogenes of Apollonia put it,

[1] The doctrine of παλιγγενεσία or transmigration, in its usual form, implies this dissociation of the 'soul' from the rest of the personality. For this reason, I do not believe that Socrates accepted it *in that sense*.

it was a 'small fragment of god',[1] by which he meant a portion of the cosmical 'air' which happens for the time being to animate our bodies. Socrates, so far as we could see, was the first to say that the normal consciousness was the true self, and that it deserved all the care bestowed on the body's mysterious tenant by the religious. The jests of Aristophanes made it plain that Socrates was known as a man who spoke strangely of the soul before 423 B.C., and this takes us back to a time when Plato was not five years old, so that there can be no question of him as the author of the view he ascribes to Socrates. We may fairly conclude, I think, that the 'wisdom' which so impressed the boy Alcibiades and the impulsive Chaerepho, was just this.

I promised not to go beyond the evidence allowed by Maier, and I must therefore stop on the threshold of the Socratic philosophy. I cannot, however, refrain from suggesting the lines on which further investigation would proceed. In a dialogue written thirty years after the death of Socrates, the *Theaetetus*, Plato makes him describe his method of bringing thoughts to birth in language derived from his mother's calling, and we can prove this to be genuinely Socratic from the evidence of Aristophanes who had made fun of it more than half a century before.[2] The maieutic method in turn involves the theory of knowledge mythically expressed in the doctrine of Reminiscence. The doctrine of Love, which Socrates in the *Symposium* professes to have learnt from Diotima, is only an extension of the same line of thought, and it may be added that it furnishes the natural explanation of his mission. If Socrates really held that the soul was irresistibly driven to go beyond itself in the manner there described, there was no need of an oracle from Delphi to make him take up the task of converting the Athenians. That, however, is transgressing the limits I had imposed on myself, and I do not wish to prejudice what I believe to be the solid result we have reached. That in itself is enough to show that it is of very little consequence whether we call Socrates a philosopher in the proper sense or not; for we now see how it is due to him that, in Julian's words, 'all who find salvation in philosophy are being saved even now.' That is the problem we set out to solve. I only wished to throw out a few hints to show that Maier would have to write another 600 pages at least to exhaust the implications of his own admissions. Some of us will prefer to think it has been better done already by Plato.

[1] A. 19. Diels, μικρὸν μόριον τοῦ θεοῦ.

[2] Arist. *Clouds* 137.

quia sic adam sine coitu
adam factus est ita ille de
uirgine spu sco operante
processit. siue ut quidam
dicunt formae contra
rio. hoc est sic ille peccati
put ita et iste iustitiae;
Sed non sic delictum ita et
donum; ne informae aequa
liter putaretur; Si enim
unius delicto multi mor
tui sunt multo magis gra
tia di et donum in gratia
a unius hominis ihu xpi
in plures abundauit; plus
praeualuit iustitia in
uiuificando quam peccatum
in occidendo quia adam tan
tum se et suos posteros in
terfecit xps autem et qui erant
tunc in corpore et posteros
liberauit; hi autem qui contra
traducem peccati si ita
illa impugnare nituntur
sic adae inquiunt peccatum
etiam non peccantib; nocuit
ergo et xpi iustitia etiam
non credentib; prodest
quia similiter immo et ma
gis dicit p unum saluari quam
p unum ante perierant; dein
de aiunt si baptismus mun
dat antiquum illud delic
tum qui de duob; baptizati
tis nati fuerint debent

hoc carere peccato;
non enim potuerunt ad fili
os transmittere quod
ipsi minime habuerunt; illud
quoque addunt si quia
sicut anima non est ex tra
duce sed sola caro ipsa
tantum habet traducem
peccati et ipsa sola poe
nam meretur; iniustum
esse dicentes ut hodie
nata anima non ex
massa adae tam anti
quum peccatum portaret
alienum; dicunt etiam nul
la ratione concedi ut
ds qui propria homini
peccata remittit im
putet aliena; Et non
sicut per unum peccan
tem ita et donum; Sed
amplius; Nam iudicium
ex uno in condemnati
onem; ex uno peccante
processit iudicium mor
tis; Gratia autem ex mul
tis delictis in iustifica
tionem; quia non inue
nit adam multas iusti
tias quas destrueret
xps autem gratia sua mul
torum peccata dissoluit;
et adam solam formam fe
cit delicti xps uero et
gratis peccata remisit
et iustitiae dedit exemplum;

Karlsruhe, Cod. Augiensis (Reichenau) cxix (saec. ix in.), fol 17 v
(reduced in size) = Anon. in ep. Rom. v 14–16.

THE CHARACTER AND HISTORY OF PELAGIUS' COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL

By PROFESSOR A. SOUTER

Read March 15, 1916

NINE years ago, when last I had the honour to address the Academy,[1] I chose as my subject, 'The Commentary of Pelagius on the Epistles of Paul: The Problem of its Restoration'. In that lecture I endeavoured to sketch the history of the attempts to recover the lost commentary of Pelagius, the oldest extant book by a British author, and called attention to the anonymous MS., no. CXIX, of the Reichenau collection in the Grand-Ducal Library at Karlsruhe,[2] which I claimed to be the only known example of the work in its original form. I also argued that it was the Vulgate text of the epistles that was employed by the author as the basis of his commentary, and suggested that this Reichenau MS. might thus be the best surviving authority for that text. It was at the same time my good fortune to prove for the first time that the related commentary, printed under the name of Primasius, was none other than the revision of the Pelagius commentary, which Cassiodorus and his pupils prepared. The lecture dealt also with other matters, which need not now be referred to.

The cordiality with which the paper, when published in the *Proceedings of the Academy*, was received[3] was most encouraging. The leading arguments encountered no sort of opposition. Indeed it

[1] Dec. 12, 1906, the lecture in *Proceedings*, vol. ii, pp. 409-39. I am indebted to Messrs J. Taylor and R. Weir for their kind revision of the present lecture.

[2] I have to thank Dr. Holder for permission to reproduce a photograph of one page.

[3] Cf. H. T. Andrews in the *British Congregationalist*, March 7, 1907; C. Weyman in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, xxviii (1907), pp. 405 f.; Ad. Julicher in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, March 30, 1907, Ed Riggenbach in *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, Feb. 15, 1907; G. Morin in *Revue bénédictine*, Jan. 1910; G. Kruger in *Theologischer Jahresbericht* for 1907 (published Feb. 1909); L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Église*, iii (1910), p. 210, Leipoldt in *Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte* for 1907, p 107; E. Dentler, in *Theologische Quartalschrift* for 1907, pp. 619 ff.; *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. lxx, April 1910, pp. 186 f.

was not long before the principal argument of all received surprising confirmation from Dr. Mercati's discovery of two sixth-century leaves at the Vatican, representing another copy of the same uninterpolated form of the commentary.[1] The intervening years have brought me fresh proofs of the correctness of the thesis I put forward. In that interval I have, by the confidence and generosity of various public bodies,[2] including the Academy itself, been enabled to undertake eight more research journeys. The work of collation has been long and laborious, but I am happy to say that my collection of materials has been complete since August last. Concurrently with the collection of materials, I have used such time as has been at my disposal for the study of their character and significance, and I now proceed to communicate the more important conclusions to which this study has led me.

The question of the biblical text used by the author as the basis of his commentary is not quite so easy to answer with absolute definiteness as it appeared at first. If we take the evidence of all the MSS. as a whole, that is, not merely that of the Reichenau MS., but that of the other anonymous MSS., the Pseudo-Jerome MSS., and the Cassiodorus text, there can be no doubt that the net result offers a text in harmony with that of Wordsworth and White's minor text of the Vulgate, which is based on what its editors believe to be the best MSS. The Pelagian text thus arrived at is far nearer to the Vulgate than it is to any Old-Latin text of which we have knowledge. Yet every now and again Pelagius is assuredly commenting on a reading which according to the best of our knowledge is not, and cannot be, the Vulgate reading. For example, he clearly omitted the negative in the famous passage Gal. ii. 5, where the Vulgate has it. The annotations, unfortunately, do not often provide us with absolutely sure evidence *for* one reading and *against* another. The commentary was in fact adaptable to more than one class of biblical text, and its brevity and glossarial character rendered it suitable for insertion in copies of the Apostle, which had no necessary sort of relation with the text that lay before Pelagius. The study of passages from the epistles quoted in the course of comments on other passages does not help us much. Few such passages are of any length, and they appear to have been quoted sometimes from memory. No conclusive result can be drawn

[1] *Journal of Theological Studies*, viii (1906–7), pp 526–36, cf. *Athenaeum* for Feb. 8, 1908, Ed. Riggenbach in *Theologisches Literaturblatt* for Sept. 6, 1907.

[2] Hort Fund at Cambridge, Revision Surplus Fund at Oxford, Magdalen College, Oxford; The Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland.

from them. It is very rarely that Pelagius himself refers to various readings. In Rom. xii. 13 he prefers *necessitatibus*, supported by Fuldensis, to *memoriis*, supported by Amiatinus. In Col. iii. 15, while reading *grati*, he says that some copies have *gratia*. In 1 Cor. x. 22 he comments on *An aemulamur* (or *adulamur*) *dominum?* The variant he mentions as occurring in other manuscripts, *ipsi me zelauerunt in non deo*, has not turned up yet in any biblical Latin manuscript at this point, and is doubtless a reference to the reading of the LXX (and Old-Latin) of Deut. xxxii. 21, from which the Pauline quotation comes. These, with 2 Thess. ii 3 *discessio* (*refuga*), are, I think, all the instances of reference to various readings.

The question of the text used by Pelagius was complicated by the discovery that a fifteenth-century MS. at Balliol,[1] bearing the name of Jerome, but uninterpolated, or almost uninterpolated, offers a text, which can hardly be described as anything but Old-Latin. This MS. is, for the settling of the compass of the commentary, as well as for the actual wording of it, second in importance to the Reichenau MS. alone, and yet its biblical text is widely different. That of the Balliol MS. is closely related to the text provided by the *Book of Armagh*, as is evident from the fact that it shares four of the nine readings Dr. Gwynn marks as unique.[2] Nor can it be denied that there is a number of places where the Reichenau MS. itself agrees with the *Book of Armagh* (even against the Balliol MS.), as Prof. White has kindly pointed out to me. When we remember that this remarkable MS. also contains certain prologues, preceded, and perhaps rightly, by the name of Pelagius as their author, we begin to ask the question whether Pelagius did not after all use an Old-Latin text, closely akin to that provided by it. As I have said, there is hardly any internal evidence in the commentary itself to decide the question whether it was this type of Old-Latin text or the Vulgate which Pelagius chose as his basis. If the Balliol MS. were Italian in ancestry, as well as in script, there would not be much doubt that Pelagius had preferred an Old-Latin text. (The Roman fragments and the interpolation in Ambrosiaster MSS., so far as they go, rather support the Balliol MS.) We should then have to explain the textual character of other witnesses

[1] No. 157 (Arch. E 5. 2), saec. xv med. Discovery announced in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, xxviii (1913), No 14, 5 Juli, Sp 442. I have to thank the Governing Body for sending the MS. to Aberdeen for my use, also for permission to have one page photographed.

[2] *Liber Ardmachanus*: the *Book of Armagh*, edited with Introduction and Appendices by J. Gwynn (Dublin, 1913), pp ccxx ff. (on p. ccxx for 'iv. 8' read 'iv 18'). The four passages are Rom. i 27, xii 9, 2 Cor. vii 11, Eph ii 5.

as due to the very natural adaptation of our commentary to the Vulgate with its ever-growing importance. This process is much more likely than the alternative supposition that Pelagius himself used the Vulgate, and that in a distant part of the world, where an earlier type of biblical text was in use, the commentary was copied into a *codex* of that kind, which thus gave rise to the form which we find in the Balliol MS., namely Old-Latin biblical text with the commentary of Pelagius appended. And yet it seems possible that this was what happened. The Balliol MS., though written by an Italian scribe about 1450, was, as internal evidence clearly proves, copied direct from a MS. in 'insular', probably Irish, script [1] This fact brings us closer to the *Book of Armagh*, and suggests that after all the form of biblical text provided in the Balliol MS. is a local, Irish, form. We can readily understand how the Irish, proud of the Italian work of their countryman Pelagius, would adapt it to that type of biblical text which they themselves preferred. The Pauline text of the *Book of Armagh* itself may or may not have been extracted from such a composite text and commentary as the Balliol MS. is. If that be not its origin, then it is an Irish Old-Latin text, brought into partial harmony with the Vulgate.

The question what text of the Pauline epistles Pelagius took as the basis of his commentary is not of merely academic interest. The origin of the Vulgate text of the Pauline epistles itself cannot be discussed without reference to it. For the earliest possible date at which the Vulgate of the Pauline epistles can have been issued is 383, and the date of the Pelagian commentary is 409,[2] only a quarter of a century later. If Pelagius really employed the Vulgate, then, as was pointed out in the earlier lecture,[3] he is, by nearly a century and a half, the earliest continuous and complete [4] witness to it. In view of his importance, I handed over to Drs. Wordsworth and White the text of the Epistle to the Romans and the First Epistle to the Corinthians, as it appears in the Reichenau MS. Their edition of the Epistle to the Romans was published in 1913. I had already, in 1910, in the select apparatus to the Greek New Testament, also published by the Clarendon Press, cited its evidence for all the passages in the Pauline epistles selected by me to illustrate variations of reading. On the basis of what is comprised in these two works, Dom de Bruyne,

[1] As Bp Gray was in Florence, Ferrara, and Padua, it is natural to conjecture that it was a Bobbio MS. from which our copy was made.

[2] Marius Mercator, *Commonit.* ed. S. Baluze (Paris, 1684), p. 135 (= Migne, *P. L.* xlviii. 83 A), *ante uastationem urbis Romae.*

[3] p. 425 (= 17).

[4] Or rather, almost complete.

the learned Benedictine of Maredsous, has recently published the startling, not to say sensational, view, that Pelagius himself is the author of the Vulgate text of the Epistles of St. Paul.[1] His arguments must now be summarized.

He begins by pointing out that, while there is no doubt whatever that Jerome revised the Gospels, there is room for doubt whether the revision in any real sense extended to the other books of the New Testament. The difficulty as to these has been felt by many critics and explained in various ways. De Bruyne marshals the arguments against the Hieronymian origin of the Vulgate of the Pauline epistles. (1) Augustine enthusiastically adopted Jerome's revision of the Gospels about A.D. 400, and about 420 began to employ Jerome's translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew. But the text of the Pauline epistles used by Augustine remained Old-Latin to the end of his days, and differed equally from the Vulgate and from the text employed by Jerome in his four commentaries. (2) Jerome's revision of the Gospels was sharply criticized from the beginning, but about the revision of the Pauline epistles there is complete silence. (3) Hardly any MSS. of the Vulgate Gospels are without Jerome's preface, and the books of the Vulgate Old Testament are nearly always preceded by their prefaces; but for the Pauline epistles there is no preface by Jerome. (4) We possess a very large number of quotations from the epistles of St. Paul in the writings of Jerome, as well as complete commentaries on four epistles written in 387, but Jerome nowhere quotes according to the Vulgate text. Yet he uses his own Vulgate translation of the Old Testament, for example, in his *Commentary on Jeremiah*,[2] and he uses the Vulgate text of Matthew in his commentary on that Gospel [3] If he does not comment on the Vulgate of St. Paul, it is because he is not its author. (5) Further, Jerome definitely stigmatizes a number of translations, which are to be found in all the MSS. of the Vulgate. De Bruyne quotes thirteen instances. He also, after Zegers, refers to 1 Cor. vii. 35, where all Old-Latin MSS. leave a portion unrendered. Jerome renders this part in one way, and the Vulgate in a totally different way. Over against these arguments there are the others, borrowed from Professor White, which point to a revision of the whole New

[1] The article, written in May 1914, was privately printed about Aug. 1914, when I was favoured with a copy by the author's kindness. It has since appeared, in a somewhat extended form, in the *Revue biblique* for Oct. 1915 (35 pp.)

[2] This example is my own: cf. S. Reiter's great edition in the Vienna *Corpus*, vol. lix (1913), pp x ff

[3] Here, however, the investigations of Dr. C. H. Turner in his *Early Worcester MSS.* (Oxford, 1916), pp. x ff., make one enter a caveat.

Testament by Jerome. Three times, in 392, 398, and 404, Jerome states that he revised the whole. De Bruyne gives reasons for regarding Jerome's statements about his own works with caution, but is willing to concede that Jerome revised the whole New Testament in a superficial way, while he rightly states that this view does not prove that our Vulgate is that revision. There are three passages also which Jerome in his seventeenth letter corrects from the false renderings of the Old-Latin to a form identical or nearly identical with the Vulgate. De Bruyne rightly points out that the r ., renderings are the only possible renderings of the true Gree'MS. in and that in the Vulgate they need not have been due to Je to the

He then turns to the fact that the Vulgate is quoted biblical text in 409 in Pelagius' commentary, while he adheres to can readily version of the Gospels. Because Pelagius, he proceeds, heir country-the Vulgate, the Vulgate is not later than he. But xt which they argument has a positive value, by the process of e *Armagh* itself Vulgate cannot be attributed to any other contemp posite text and of whom we have any knowledge. All the early L its origin, then it had to take account of variations of text. Pelagiu harmony with the and he is the very person from whom one would ex lation of St. Paul. Further, just as the Vulgate Gos ius took as the always preceded by Jerome's preface, so the Vulgate E interest. The are ordinarily preceded by prolegomena of undoub f cannot be origin, the *Concordia Epistularum Pauli*, the *Primum q* ble date at the *Romani ex Iudaeis* prologues. A preface, he says, is the . is 383, an edition, and a preface common to all the MSS. of the Vulgate ought to be the work of the author of the Vulgate himself. These two prologues bear in a number of Vulgate MSS. the name of Pelagius.[1] The copyists would never have invented it. Moreover these prefaces are in MSS. of the Pelagian commentary also They would therefore appear to have some relation with the celebrated heretic. The presence of the Pelagian prefaces in MSS. of the Vulgate at least proves that there was *a* Pelagian edition of the Pauline epistles.

So far, I think, I should be prepared to follow De Bruyne entirely, were it not for one or two slight facts, the significance of one of which I should not have understood without the aid of an observation of Professor Burkitt. Some years ago[2] he pointed out that the word *porro* is never found in Old-Latin documents. The concordance shows that it occurs with very great frequency in the Vulgate Old Testament.

[1] See p. 9 for four MSS unknown to De Bruyne.

[2] *Journal of Theological Studies*, xi (1909–10), pp. 262 f. See now also S. Reiter's Hieronymus *In Hieremiam* (C. S. E. L. lix), p 555.

It appears three times in the Vulgate Gospels, and once only in the Vulgate Epistles (1 Cor vii. 35). Now, who put it there, if not Jerome? Yet it occurs in the Pauline text of the Reichenau MS. of Pelagius at that point.[1] Further, if Pelagius be the author of the Reichenau type of text, why does he admit *quoniam* after verbs of saying, in the sense *that*, while he invariably employs the more cultivated *quod* or *quia* in the commentary?

The remainder of De Bruyne's remarkable paper is occupied with the suggestion that the Pelagian Vulgate passed through three editions before it became the Vulgate of the Church. This part of his investigation, though exceedingly ingenious, seems to me to suffer from insufficient information about the evolution of the Pelagian commentary itself It is written too exclusively from the point of view of one whose main concern has lain with the prologues and the texts of biblical MSS. Mine may similarly suffer from the fact that I have paid too exclusive attention to the Pelagius commentary and its adaptations. I welcome his opinion that Pelagius, though he regarded the Epistle to the Hebrews as Pauline, did not regard it as canonical, and therefore did not write a commentary on it. His view of each edition I will first summarize briefly, and then state what I believe to be the objections to it.

The first edition excluded the Epistle to the Hebrews as uncanonical, and its point of view is identical with that of the Pelagian *Concordia*. The order of the epistles in this edition was as in our Bibles. The author of the *Concordia* was probably Pelagius himself. The edition was equipped with the prologues beginning respectively with the words *Omnis textus* and *Epistulae Pauli ad Romanos causa haec est.* De Bruyne recognizes the difficulty involved in the absence of both these prologues, as well as the *Concordia*, from the Reichenau MS. of Pelagius' commentary. There are exactly the same difficulties as regards the Balliol MS., of which he had no knowledge when writing his article. His solution is that the Pauline text occupied the middle of the page, and that the glossarial notes of Pelagius were inserted in the vacant places. Copyists of the text sometimes included the prologues, but the Reichenau copyist did not. Nor, so far as De Bruyne is aware, did any other copyist of the commentary in any form.

It is true that Pelagius himself did not write a commentary on Hebrews. There is none in the Reichenau MS. or the Balliol MS., or one of the two families of Pseudo-Jerome MSS., or the archetype

[1] The authorities are divided: for *porro* cod. Aug., Ps.-Hier., Cassiod., for omission Ball., S.G. 73, Par. 653.

of Cassiodorus. And if MS. 653 of Paris, MS. 73 of St. Gall, and the other family of Pseudo-Jerome MSS. do each contain a commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, it must be pointed out that the commentary varies seriously in all three cases. The inference is clear. The *Concordia* in its shorter well-known form is absent from all MSS. whatever that preserve any form of the Pelagian commentary. In its longer form, however, which Vezzosi found in a biblical MS. of Murbach,[1] and in it alone—a MS. which has been rediscovered by De Bruyne at Gotha[2]—, two MSS. representing one branch of one family of the Pseudo-Jerome MSS. give it. This is clearly a local mediaeval expansion of the shorter form, originating perhaps at Murbach itself, and not later than the eighth century. The author of the *Concordia* in its original form was doubtless a Pelagian, but not necessarily Pelagius himself. One family of Pseudo-Jerome MSS. does give the *Omnis textus* and *Epistulae ad Romanos causa* prologues, in addition to the others. The Reichenau and Balliol MSS., however, agree in giving the *Primum quaeritur* and the *Romani sunt qui ex Iudaeis gentibusque* prologues, which have thus the better claim to belong to the original edition. There is also no doubt whatever as to the order in which Pelagius' copy gave the epistles, and it was *not* the order in which they occur in our Bibles. It is certain, from the Reichenau and Balliol MSS., Paris 653, one of the two families of Pseudo-Jerome MSS., Cassiodorus and Sedulius Scottus, that the Epistles to the Thessalonians followed immediately on the Epistle to the Philippians in the copy used by Pelagius. Some fifty MSS. of the Vulgate at least are also known to have this order.[3] Nor, I think, is De Bruyne right about the arrangement of the Pelagian commentary. The arrangement in the Reichenau MS., as well as that of the sixth-century Roman fragments, and that, throughout the greater part at least, of the Balliol MS., not to speak of any other authorities meantime, favours the view that the plan adopted throughout the commentary was to give first a short piece of Scripture and then a short piece of annotation. Pelagius' own use of the word *subnotare*, with reference to his notes, in a passage not yet printed in its correct form,[4] points to the same conclusion.

The second edition of the Vulgate Pauline epistles envisaged by

[1] *Card. Thomasii Opera* (Romae, 1747), pp. 489–95; cf. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 209, Wordsworth and White's *Romans*, p. 12

[2] Gotha, membr. i 20, fol. 217: see *Revue biblique*, 2e série, v (1908), pp. 75–83. I recollated the *Concordia* in 1913.

[3] Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 341.

[4] In Col. iii. 19, *sicut ad Ephesios plenius subnotatum est.*

De Bruyne had at the beginning the two prologues, *Primum quaeritur* and *Romani ex Iudaeis gentibusque*, which we have found reason to regard as part of the first edition. According to him, the first of these cannot be the work of Pelagius. The fact that it contains a defence of the Epistle to the Hebrews is taken by him as proof that it was written by the reviser who added a copy of Hebrews to the Vulgate Pauline epistles, probably before A.D. 450. This reviser also, he thinks, gave out the *Primum quaeritur* prologue under the name of Pelagius himself. Certainly it is found with his name attached in a certain number of biblical MSS. Zimmer called attention to three of Irish origin,[1] De Bruyne adds three of Italian origin,[2] and from the masterly catalogues of Dr. James I am able to add four of English origin.[3] In this second edition the *Concordia* and *capitula* remained. *Hebrews* was placed last, and equipped with the *In primis dicendum est cur* prologue, which he says is by the same author as wrote the *Primum quaeritur*. (It is interesting to note that this *In primis* prologue occurs in one family of Pseudo-Jerome MSS.) This edition contained *Thessalonians, Colossians* in this order, though De Bruyne admits that he cannot understand why. It contained a commentary like the first, and had some notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews also. This editor also retouched the text of the Pauline epistles, as given by Pelagius, and deserves to be called Pseudo-Pelagius.

The third edition, as conceived by De Bruyne, was a slight revision of the biblical text of Pelagius and Pseudo-Pelagius. With regard to it he feels compelled to speak hesitatingly, because the requisite materials for a judgement are not yet accessible. He distrusts on occasion the biblical text in the Reichenau MS., and this he has a perfect right to do. Perhaps in half the number of passages to which he objects its text is really wrong. In preparing the text of Pelagius for the press, a task which has reached the middle of *Ephesians*, I have had occasionally to desert the Reichenau MS. De Bruyne also is not entirely satisfied with the Vulgate text as printed by Wordsworth and White, and he recognizes that very little is known of the Pseudo-Jerome text. His third edition had the same prefatory material as his second, and it had also the Epistle to the Hebrews, but the

[1] Zimmer, *Pelagius in Irland*, pp. 25 ff.

[2] De Bruyne, p. 26 of the offprint of article (in his n. 1, read '328' for '238').

[3] Corpus Christi Coll., Camb., 48 E. 3 (collated by me in 1913). St. John's Coll., Camb. 183 (G. 15); Eton College, 26 Bk. 3, 2; Dublin, Trinity College, A. 2, 2 (51, Abbott) (the last kindly copied for me by Mr. John Fraser in 1914). All these MSS. seem to have a connexion with St. Albans at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century.

exegetical notes of Pelagius disappeared for ever. The date and place of origin of the edition, as well as the name of the author, are unknown, but the date would appear to be not much later than 450. It was this edition which became the Vulgate of the Church. Towards the end of his profoundly interesting article De Bruyne gives a list of passages from the Epistle to the Romans, where Pelagius' text in the Reichenau MS. differs from the Vulgate. These passages are all taken, of course with full acknowledgement, from the materials which I have collected.

The list contains altogether forty-four passages.[1] Before deciding whether the Reichenau MS. is right in these places, it is advisable to compare with its readings the readings of the other authorities These, in order of value, are the Balliol MS., Paris 653, St. Gall 73, Pseudo-Jerome MSS., and Cassiodorus. Out of the forty-four places there is only one where the Reichenau MS stands alone, unsupported by any of these, and that is the reading *illum* in Rom. iv. 23. where all other authorities read, with the Vulgate, *ipsum*. In twenty-nine of the remaining forty-three places the Reichenau MS. is supported by the Balliol MS, and in some other cases the variation is slight and trifling. In twenty-five places it has the support of Paris 653, in fourteen the support of St. Gall 73, which for three places is wanting, in twenty the support of Pseudo-Jerome MSS, usually of both families, and in fifteen the support of Cassiodorus. It is interesting to note that the MSS. are nearly always divided between two readings; that is, there is rarely, in fact only seven times, a third reading in any of our authorities. This fact would suggest that the Pelagian text was subjected to one revision only, and that De Bruyne is wrong in postulating *three* editions. Of course, if the Balliol MS. be regarded as representing Pelagius' real text, then we shall have three, but not the three De Bruyne has suggested. There are one or two Vulgate readings in the forty-four passages which obtain absolutely no support from any Pelagian MS. What would seem then to have occurred, if we assume that the Reichenau MS. on the whole represents the text used by Pelagius, is that at some early date the Pelagian text, combined with an interpolated form of commentary, was brought into yet closer harmony with what we understand by the Vulgate. On the whole the authorities divide themselves into two classes, (*a*) Reichenau MS., Balliol MS., and Paris 653, less closely Vulgate than (*b*) St. Gall 73 and Pseudo-Jerome MSS. The Cassiodorus text is not constant in its character. For Rom. i. it goes with the Reichenau MS.

[1] Actually forty-five, but the last (xv. 22) is due to my repetition of an old mistake, and is therefore omitted from the numeration here.

against the Vulgate, but later it is generally found on the other side. The difficulty of this investigation must be insisted on as well as the possibility that, when the text is examined for all the epistles, a revision of judgement may be necessary.

Augiensis.		*Vulgate.*
	Rom. i 1	
iesu christi Aug. Ball. 653. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.		christi iesu 73. D.[1]
	i. 3.	
factus est Aug 653. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.		factus est ei Ball. 73 D.
	i. 13	
non enim arbitror Aug Ball		nolo autem D.
non autem arbitror 653.		nolo enim 73 Ps-Hier Cassiod.
	i. 20.	
et diuinitas Aug Ball 653 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod. D.		ac diuinitas
	i. 25.	
in mendacium Aug. 653 73. (½) Ps-Hier Cassiod ½. D.		in mendacio Ball. 73. (½). Cassiod. ½.
	i. 28.	
in notitia Aug. 73. (½) Cassiod.		in notitiam Ball. 653. 73. (½). Ps-Hier. D.
eos Aug. 653. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.		illos Ball 73. D.
	i. 31.	
om absque foedere Aug. Ball. Cassiod. (?)		*hab.* absque foedere 653. 73 Ps-Hier.
		hab. absque honore Cassiod.
	i 32	
solum qui Aug Ball. 653 73. Ps-Hier Cassiod D.		solum
et qui Aug. Ball. 653 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.		et D.
	ii. 1.	
agis quae Aug. 73. Ps-Hier Cassiod.		agis qui Ball. 653. D.
	ii. 3.	
homo omnis Ball. 73 Ps-Hier. ½. Cassiod. (D).		homo Aug. 653 Ps-Hier ½.
quoniam Aug. Ps-Hier. ½. D.		quia Ball. 653 73. Ps-Hier ½. Cassiod

[1] D = *Book of Armagh.*

Augiensis.		*Vulgate.*
	Rom. ii. 8.	
diffidunt Aug. 653.		non adquiescunt Ball. 73 Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
	D neither.	
	ii. 29.[1]	
iudaeus est Aug. Ball Ps-Hier (*Mon.*). Cassiod. $\frac{1}{2}$. D.		iudaeus (*only*) 653. Ps-Hier. Cassiod. $\frac{1}{2}$
qui spiritu Aug. 653. D.		in spiritu Ball. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
	iii. 9.	
tenemus amplius Aug Ball. 653. (D).		praecellimus eos nequaquam Ps-Hier Cassiod.
	iii. 20.	
non. iust ex op. legis Aug. 653.		ex op legis non iust. 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
n. i. o. c. ex op. l. Ball. D. (-atur).		
	iii. 25.	
propitiatorem Aug. Ball. 653. 73. D.		propitiationem Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
fidei Aug. Ball. 653. 73. D.		per fidem Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
propositum Aug. Ball. 653. D.		remissionem 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
	iii. 26.	
Iesu Christi Aug. Ball. 73. D.		Iesu 653 Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
	iv. 5.	
iustitiam secundum propositum dei Aug.		iustitiam Cassiod. $\frac{1}{2}$.
iustitiam secundum propositum gratiae dei Ball. 653. Ps-Hier Cassiod. $\frac{1}{2}$ D		
iustitiam secundum propositum dei gratiae 73.		
	iv. 10.	
in circumcisione cum esset Aug. Ball. 73.		in circumcisione (1°) 653. Ps-Hier. Cassiod. D.
	iv. 17.	
uocat ea quae Ball. 73. Ps-Hier. $\frac{1}{2}$. Cassiod. $\frac{1}{2}$. D.		uocat quae Aug. 653. Ps-Hier. $\frac{1}{2}$. Cassiod. $\frac{1}{2}$.
	iv. 19.	
non considerauit Aug. Ball. 653 73. Ps-Hier. D.		considerauit Cassiod. $\frac{1}{2}$.
nec considerauit Cassiod. $\frac{1}{2}$.		

[1] St. Gall 73 is wanting for ii. 29, iii. 9.

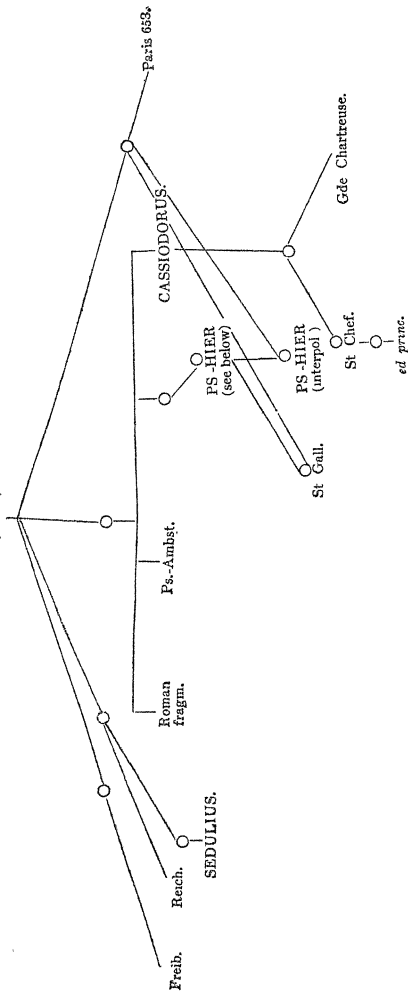
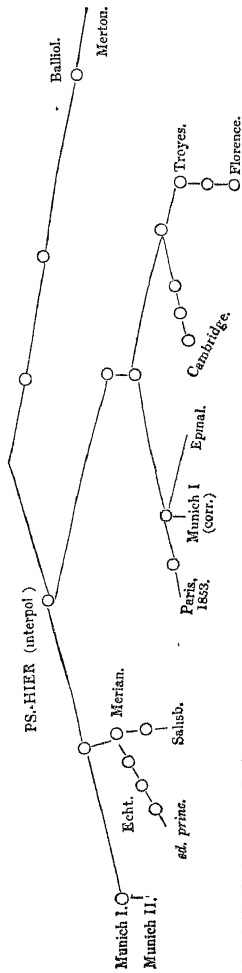
Augiensis.		*Vulgate.*
	Rom. iv. 23.	
illum Aug.		ipsum Ball. 653. 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod. D.
	v. 2	
fidei Aug. Cassiod.		fide 653.
per fidem Ball. 73. Ps-Hier D.		
gratia ista Aug. 73. Ps-Hier. $\frac{1}{2}$.		gratiam istam (Ball). 653. Ps-Hier. $\frac{1}{2}$. Cassiod. D.
	v. 17.	
unius Aug. Ball. 653. 73 Ps-Hier. Cassiod		in unius
	D neither.	
	v 21.	
in mortem Aug. Ball. Ps-Hier. $\frac{1}{2}$. Cassiod. D.		in morte 653. 73.
	Ps-Hier. $\frac{1}{2}$ *wanting*	
	vi 8.	
cum illo Aug. Ball. 73. D.		cum Christo (2°) 653 Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
	vi. 15.	
peccabimus Aug. Ball. Ps-Hier. $\frac{1}{4}$. Cassiod. D.		peccauimus 653. 73. Ps-Hier. $\frac{3}{4}$.
	vi. 16.	
iustitiae Aug Ball. 653 D.		ad iustitiam 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
	viii. 2.	
te Aug. Ball 653. D.		me 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
	ix. 23.	
et ut Aug. Ball. 653.		ut 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod. D.
	ix. 31.	
in legem Aug Ball.		in legem iustitiae 653 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod. D.
	x. 5.	
iust. quae ex lege est quoniam Aug. Ball. D		quoniam iust quae ex lege est 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
iust. quae ex lege est 653.		
fecerit ea Aug. Ball, 653 D.		fecerit 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
uiuet in eis Aug. Ball. 653. D.		uiuet in ea 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.

	Augiensis.	*Vulgate.*
Rom. x. 17	uerbum Aug. Ball. uerbum dei 653. (Cassiod.).	uerbum Christi 73. Ps-Hier Cassiod. D.
xi. 13.	quamdiu Aug. Ball. 653 Ps-Hier $\frac{1}{2}$	quamdiu quidem 73 Ps-Hier. $\frac{1}{2}$ Cassiod. (D).
xiv. 22	fidem quam Aug. Ps-Hier. $\frac{1}{2}$. D.	fidem Ball. 653. 73 Ps-Hier. $\frac{1}{2}$. Cassiod.
xv. 11.	dn̄m omnes gentes Aug. Ball. Ps-Hier. $\frac{1}{2}$. D.	omnes gentes dn̄m 653. 73 Ps-Hier. $\frac{1}{2}$ Cassiod.

We can now pass from the biblical text to the consideration of the commentary itself. Its character was outlined in the previous lecture. The notes are for the most part brief, and are often interwoven with the grammatical structure of the original. The writer is somewhat addicted to a type of note which follows a statement of the Apostle by contradicting an alternative view. Where he is profoundly interested in a topic, he allows himself a longer note; for example, on the life of the sexes (1 Cor. vii. 1–5), baptism (1 Cor. x. 6), the various interpretations of 'heaven' and 'earth' (Eph. i. 10). Further study has added greatly to the list of characteristic expressions which I gave in the last lecture. Among the authorities apparently used are Origen on Romans, as translated by Rufinus,[1] and Ambrosiaster. The mention of the views of others, with whom he disagrees, is introduced by the word *quidam*. There will be considerable difficulty, I fancy, in identifying the *quidam* in every case. Previously I had not realized the extent to which the notes are saturated with biblical language. I can hardly hope to give all the references in my edition. There are more recollections of classical literature than I had fancied at first. In 1 Cor. vii. 1 the definition of *corpus*, 'corpus dicitur omne quod tangitur', comes from Lucretius i. 304 'tangere enim et tangi, nisi corpus, nulla potest res.'[2] In 2 Cor. iv. 2 'uerbo dei *sermonem* uilem admiscent et *per* terram *repentem*' must be a reminiscence of Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 250–1 '*sermones . . . repentis per* humum'. In 1 Cor. xvi. 13

[1] The question of the sources of Pelagius' commentary on Romans has for some time been the subject of an investigation by a former pupil, Mr. Alfred J. Smith. From it I borrow this fact.

[2] This is in one of the few passages which, while present in the Balliol MS., are absent from the Reichenau MS.

TENTATIVE GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

'muliebris omnis inconstantia et *uarietas* iudicatur' must depend on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 569–70 '*uarium* et mutabile semper | femina'. (Cf. in 1 Thess. i.8 and Verg. *Aen.* iv. 174.) In Gal. v. 6 '*praesentem* metuit *poenam*' is all the more likely to come from Juvenal's (i. 142) '*poena* tamen *praesens*', that certain knowledge of Juvenal on Pelagius' part was pointed out in the preceding paper.[1] It would be easy to enlarge on the characteristics of the commentary, but as these can be in great measure appreciated from a reading of the Pseudo-Jerome, and as they will form part of the subject of my edition of Pelagius, I refrain from dealing further with them now, in order to secure more space for what is more novel.

Several years ago Dean Armitage Robinson handed me a short paper which he had drafted in his Cambridge days, with permission to make what use of it I pleased. From it I gained a most valuable suggestion towards the identification of the genuine Pelagius commentary among the various claimants. It will be recollected that Marius Mercator is one of the two contemporaries of Pelagius, who make actual quotations from the commentary. What I had not observed was the real significance of Mercator's words *et post pauca*, where he omits a clause or two of his original.[2] Save at that point he is quoting *in extenso* from Pelagius. Now, if we compare all the forms of the commentary on Rom. v, we shall find his reference suits only the form preserved by the Reichenau MS. and others presently to be mentioned. If we take the Pseudo-Jerome or Paris 653 or S. G. 73, we shall find that *pauca* are omitted in several other places of the long passage Mercator cites, as well as the place where he says *et post pauca* But if we bring his quotation face to face with the Reichenau form, we see that there and there only, where he makes explicit mention of the fact, are *pauca* indeed omitted.

That the Reichenau form, that is, roughly speaking, the published Pseudo-Jerome *minus* the notes introduced by the word *Item*, represents the original Pelagian commentary, can be proved by several other arguments which it was not possible for me to use at the time of the last lecture. Dr. Mercati's fortunate discovery of two conjugate leaves of a sixth-century half-uncial MS. of the same short form of the commentary has already been referred to.[3] Again, it is well known that in most MSS. of the Ambrosiaster commentary, including the oldest of all, the Monte-Cassino half-uncial MS. of the sixth century,

[1] p. 425 (= 17).
[2] ed. Baluze, p. 135 (last words) = Migne, *P. L.* xlviii. 85 B.
[3] See p. 2.

est sed etiam in eos qui sine precepto legem contempsere naturae Qui est for
ma futuri siue ideo forma fuit xpi quia sicut adam sine coitu a deo factus
est ita ille ex uirgine spiritu sancto processit operante Quidam dicunt for
ma a contrario hoc est sicut ille peccati caput ita et iste iustitiae Sed non
sicut delictum ita et gratia ne in forma equalitas putaretur. Si enim
unius delicto multi mortui sunt multo magis gratia dei et donum
in gratia unius hominis ihesu xpi in plures habundauit Plus preua
luit iusticia in uiuificando quam peccatum in occidendo quia adam
tantum se et suos posteros interfecit xpc autem et qui erant tunc in cor
pore et posteros liberauit Hii autem qui contra traducem peccati sunt
ita illam inpugnare nituntur Si ade inquiunt peccatum etiam non pec
cantibus nocuit ergo et xpi iusticia etiam non credentibus prodest quia
similiter ymmo et magis decet per unum saluari qua per unum ante
perierant Deinde aiunt si baptismum mundat antiquum illud delic
tum : qui de duobus baptizatis nati fuerint debent hoc carere peccato
Non enim potuerunt ad filios trasmittere quod ipsi minime habuerunt
Illud quoque accidit quasi anima non est ex traduce sed sola caro ipsa
tantum habet traducem peccati et ipsa sola poenam meretur iniustum
esse dicentes ut hodie nata anima non ex massa idest tam antiquum .
peccatum portet alienum dicunt nulla ratione concedi ut deus qui
propria peccata remittit aliena imputat et non sicut per unum delic
tum ita et donum sed amplius Nam iuditium quidem ex uno in con -
dempnationem ex uno iusto peccante processit iuditium mortis. Gra =
tia autem ex multis delictis in iustificatione quia non inuenit adam
multum iusticiam quam suo exemplo destrueret · xpc autem gratia
sua multorum peccata dissoluit et adam solam formam fecit delic
ti xpc uero gratis peccata remisit et iusticiae dedit exemplum ·
Si enim omnibus delicto regnat mors ut ad adam usque ad moysen multo
magis abundantiam gratiae et donum iusticiae accipientes in uita
regnabimus per unum iesum xpm Quam multa peccata dimisit
et abundantiam donationis spiritus sancti quia multa sunt dona . Ip =
sa enim iusticia donatur per baptismum non ex merito possidetur
Igitur sicut per unius delictum in omnes homines in condempnatio -

Oxford, Balliol College, 157 (saec. xv med), fol. 15r.
(considerably reduced in size) = 'Hier.' in ep. Rom. v. 14–18

a portion of an alien commentary[1] has been introduced to replace the loss of the latter part of the commentary on First Corinthians and the earlier part, with the prologue, of that on Second Corinthians. Not till the Benedictine edition of the works of Ambrose was published, was this interpolation ejected to make way for the original work. The Benedictine editors recognized that the interpolation came from Pseudo-Jerome, but what they were not in a position to show was this, that the interpolation there comes from a MS. of the Reichenau form, not a single one of the special interpolations belonging to the Pseudo-Jerome himself at this point, being found in Ambrosiaster MSS. An early copy of pure Pelagius, perhaps anonymous, was employed not later than about the middle of the sixth century, and perhaps a good deal earlier, to fill up a gap in an Italian MS of Ambrosiaster.

But there are other arguments even more striking, which compel the same conclusion as to the Reichenau form. In 1913 I discovered two fifteenth-century MSS. which represent the same, or almost the same, form—one at Balliol College[2] and the other at Merton College,[3] Oxford. The latter is undoubtedly a copy of the former, and so can be at once dismissed from our discussion. The Balliol MS., presented by Bishop William Gray of Ely to the college, is a large folio of splendid vellum with broad margins, written in a beautiful Italian hand of the middle of the fifteenth century. The content of that part of the MS. with which we are concerned is practically identical with that of the Reichenau MS. But there are two differences. In the first place, the work is definitely attributed to Jerome, though of Pseudo-Jerome interpolation there is hardly, if at all, a trace, and First and Second Corinthians, which in the Reichenau MS. lack prologues, in this MS. are provided with them, viz. *Corinthii sunt Achaii*, etc. and *Quoniam in prima*, etc. A palaeographical study of the MS. proves that it was copied from an original in insular, probably Irish, script, of good date, perhaps not later than the ninth century. As the text it provides is closely related to that from which the gap in the Ambrosiaster commentary, already mentioned, was supplied, it is permissible to suggest that the original of the insular MS. was an Italian copy.

An exhaustive comparison of the Reichenau text with the Cassiodorus commentary reveals the fact that there is not a single trace of Pseudo-Jerome interpolation in it, except for one or two passages. These passages are present in the Balliol MS., are probably genuine

[1] From 1 Cor. xv. 44 to 2 Cor i. 5 [2] See above, p 3, n. 1.

[3] Cod 26 (B. 3, 4), fol. 74 r. I have to thank Dr. E. A Loew for some notes on this MS.

Pelagius, and are only accidentally absent from the Reichenau MS. They are far too few to justify the view that their addition represents a different recension of the commentary. Further, not one of them belongs to the class introduced by *Item*.

At the beginning of 1910 Dom Morin published from two MSS., one in the British Museum, and the other at Munich, extracts which are really from the Pelagius commentary, but are attributed in both of these totally independent MSS. to 'John the Deacon'.[1] The identity of this John the Deacon is uncertain, but it is hardly likely that he is different from the compiler of the *Expositum* on the Heptateuch and the *Breuiatio in Psalmos*, which belong to the second half of the sixth century. His compilation on the Epistles of St. Paul, *Breuiarium de Sancto Paulo*, still existed in the Middle Ages in the library of the Benedictine monastery of Blaubeuren in South Germany, as Dr. Paul Lehmann of Munich has discovered from its catalogue, which he printed and showed to Dom Morin.[2] What is important for our immediate purpose is that none of the Pseudo-Jerome interpolations appears in the extracts attributed to John the Deacon. I believe I am right in saying that in the ninth-century compilations of Claudius of Turin, Zmaragdus and Sedulius Scottus, all of whom use Pelagius and Cassiodorus, there is no trace of the Pseudo-Jerome *interpolations*

It being then established that the original form of Pelagius' commentary was such as the Reichenau and Balliol MSS. offer, we have now to try to give some account of the treatment to which it was subjected after its publication. As a modest and unassuming work, it was issued anonymously. Zimmer proved that in Irish circles it was known under its author's name.[3] Elsewhere it was anonymous or wrongly attributed. The most widely circulated attribution is that to Jerome, and it would be interesting to discover the date and place at which, and the person by whom, this attribution was first made. The quest is beset with difficulty. On the one hand there is the statement of Cassiodorus that he possessed a copy of the epistles of St. Paul, said by some to contain the very brief notes of St. Jerome.[4] There is also the evidence of the Balliol MS. in favour of an attribution of the whole untouched commentary to that Father. It seems

[1] *Revue bénédictine*, xxvii (1910), pp. 113–17. I have found three other passages in the British Museum MS. The two MSS. are British Museum, Harl. 659 (saec. xiii), Munich, Clm 14500 (saec. ix–x)

[2] Private communication from Dom Morin of June 11, 1914.

[3] Cf. my previous lecture, pp. 415 (= 7) f.

[4] *Institutio*, c. 8.

difficult to believe that such a bare-faced attribution could pass muster. Of the many false attributions of antiquity, none surely is more ridiculous. Were it not for the statement of Cassiodorus, the presence of the name Jerome in the Balliol MS. would be regarded as due to the knowledge of a scribe that the commentary he was copying was practically identical with that which he had seen attributed to Jerome in interpolated copies. As it is, a consideration of all the evidence leads to the conclusion that already in the first half of the sixth century the uncurtailed and uninterpolated commentary of Pelagius bore in some copies the name of Jerome.

The after history of this form is somewhat extraordinary. In every copy except that at Balliol, interpolations have been constantly made, and there has been excision of the incriminating passage in the notes on Romans v. 15. The editor who effected the latter purpose was either anxious to conceal the fraud of which he was guilty, or perhaps he was conscious that the heretical passage could not have been written by Jerome, and in consequence ejected it. After all, a very simple reason for the attribution of the commentary to Jerome may have been the discovery of a copy of the Vulgate, into which the notes were written. But fraud is really suggested by the fact that the interpolator was himself a Pelagian. This fact admits of no manner of doubt. Also, that Pelagian was not Pelagius himself. A close study of his phraseology reveals this, as well as the fact that he appears to have used a different text of *Acts* from Pelagius himself.[1] And yet of course we must remember that interpolations are not confined to the Pseudo-Jerome MSS. They abound also in the two anonymous MSS., Paris 653 and St. Gall 73. Did the anonymous MSS. borrow them from Pseudo-Jerome, or Pseudo-Jerome from the anonymous MSS.? Who can say?

The whole question of the Pseudo-Jerome is beset by the further difficulty that the MSS. divide themselves into two families, which are characterized by serious differences from one another. On the one side, represented by the printed text, are the MSS. Paris 9525, of the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century, formerly of the Abbey, Echternach, Munich 13038, of the beginning of the ninth century, formerly of St. Emmeram of Ratisbon,[2] and Salisbury Cathedral 5,[3] of the first half of the twelfth century. On the other side are

[1] Acts xiii. 2 in Pelag *in Rom.* i. 1 *elegi,* Ps-Hier. *in Gal.* i. 1 *adsumpsi* (= vg).

[2] A copy of this I found in 1913 in Munich, Universitatsbibliothek, Cod MS., fol. 12, a paper MS of 1490 and 1491.

[3] I have to thank the Dean and Chapter for their kindness in sending the MS. twice to Aberdeen, the librarian, Rev. Canon Wordsworth, for important

the following MSS.: Paris 1853, of the latter part of the eighth century, possibly written at Murbach; Épinal 6, of the early part of the ninth century, formerly of Moyenmoutier in the Vosges; the ninth-century corrector of the Munich MS. already mentioned; Troyes 486, of the second half of the twelfth century, formerly of Clairvaux; Florence, Laurentian Library, Plut. XV Dext. cod. 1, written towards the close of the twelfth century, and formerly at Santa Croce in the same city; Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 4, 31, written by one W. More in the fifteenth century.[1] The Florence MS. is a copy of a copy of the Troyes MS, and the Cambridge MS., which is related to these two, is of such a character that it may be safely neglected.

The first family is distinguished by the following characteristics. The text opens with the forged letter or prologue to Heliodorus, attributed to Jerome, who had a correspondent of that name.[2] This is clearly a mediaeval production, and somewhat illiterate; there can be little doubt that it is of Celtic origin. After it, the commentary at once begins without further preface. It proceeds without prefaces either to 1 or 2 Corinthians, and ends the latter with the stichometry *Scripta de Macedonia: uersus DXCI.* Galatians is introduced by the prologue *Galatae sunt Greci*, that is, the Marcionite argument.[3] Ephesians begins with the genuine Pelagian prologue, as do Philippians—though here the Munich MS. is somewhat curtailed—1 Thessalonians (in this, the Pelagian order), 2 Thessalonians, Colossians, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon (in this last case slightly curtailed). There is in this family of MSS. no commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. The text of the archetype of the family leans in general to that of the Reichenau MS. Interpolations, introduced by *Item*, are not infrequent, especially in the earlier epistles. One form of interpolation, characteristic of this class, betrays it at once, that is, the periodic insertion of a chapter-heading belonging to the sets found in Vulgate MSS., for example, at 2 Cor. v. 15–16. At Rom. v. 14–15, apart from one or two notes introduced by the usual *Item*, there is a short note added on v. 14, while for the long incriminating note on v. 15 there is substituted a short non-committal note.

The Echternach MS. is in Anglo-Saxon script, and has marginal notes, also in an Anglo-Saxon hand, but of the first half of the thirteenth

information, and the Rev J F. Shepherd of Aberdeen for helping me with the collation.

[1] Dean Robinson made use of this MS. in the paper above referred to.

[2] Epistles 14 and 60 are addressed to him.

[3] The length of the Pelagian argument was probably the reason why it was rejected here.

century.[1] It was doubtless copied from an earlier MS. in a similar script. The Salisbury MS., though in a Norman hand, was also, as internal evidence shows, copied from an insular MS. hardly likely to be later in date than the ninth century. That these two MSS. are closely related is proved by their possession of the same interesting subscription, which I discovered and published in 1911 from the Echternach MS.[2] The subscription is to the effect that the archetype of our two MSS. was written by a certain Merian of Powys (Wales) in the year after the death of the two (Welsh) kings Solomon and Elisha. He apologizes for the incorrectness of his copy, as he is '*paruo fruitus ingenio*'. It is unfortunate that the authorities on Welsh history cannot tell what date is here referred to.[3] There can be little doubt that it was between A.D. 600 and 800. The Munich MS. does not contain the Merian subscription. It is hard to say whether the scribe of the Munich MS. found it in his *exemplar* and omitted it as devoid of interest, or not. The Salisbury MS. is on the whole the better of the two, and its character shows that the modest Merian was not such an incompetent scribe as the state of the printed Pseudo-Jerome text, especially in 2 Corinthians, would lead us to believe. It is safer, perhaps, to assume that the Munich MS. is not descended from Merian's copy, but from an ancestor of it.

The Munich MS. has this remarkable feature, that while the text as written by the original hand is of the same family as the Echternach and Salisbury MSS., the contemporary reviser, who appears from his handwriting to have been an older man, perhaps the *corrector* of the scriptorium, corrected it carefully throughout according to the text of the other family. He even added at the beginning, on two separate quaternions, much prefatory matter, which is a feature of the second class. The first hand copied the text probably from a MS. in Anglo-Saxon minuscule.

The palaeographical study of these MSS. leads to the conclusion that they go back to a MS. in insular script, whether that MS. be Merian's or not. Behind this archetype in insular script there lies probably an Italian half-uncial MS. of the sixth century.

As I have mentioned, it is to this class that our printed text of

[1] There are photographs of two pages in *New Palaeographical Society*, fasc. viii (1910), Plate 184. The letterpress could be much amplified. The offer of my own detailed notes was accepted, but through some accident they were not sent for.

[2] *Revue celtique*, xxxii (1911), pp. 152 f.

[3] Monsieur J. Loth (*loc. cit.*) suggests that the Elisha is identical with a king of Powys, who lived between 700 and 750.

Pseudo-Jerome belongs. The Pseudo-Jerome was first published[1] in the ninth and last volume of Erasmus's great edition of Jerome's works in 1516. The preface to that volume is signed by Bruno Amorbach. This fact does not prove that he wrote it, for Mr. P. S. Allen has found a MS. copy of that preface in the Basle University Library in the handwriting of Beatus Rhenanus; [2] and yet the style of it strongly suggests that it was written by Erasmus himself.[3] However that may be, the important matter for us to decide is—what was the MS. from which the *editio princeps* was taken? The preface to Erasmus's ninth volume says that this MS. was written in 'Gothic' characters, faded through age, and so difficult to read that they had to be spelt out letter by letter. Traube has shown that by 'Gothic' in such a connexion the humanists meant 'Middle Age, barbarous, and in general difficult to read'.[4]

A collation of the *editio princeps* with the later reprint of Migne revealed two things: first, that the *editio princeps* was much better than the text of Migne, a deterioration in accuracy having taken place in the course of three and a half centuries' reprinting. Being curious to find out at what point this deterioration had especially occurred, I searched, and found that Vallarsi was responsible. It is the custom to praise his edition of Jerome.[5] If he did much for the text of genuine Jerome, he appears to have somewhat compounded for his excellence in that respect by neglect of the works printed in the appendix as spurious. The second discovery made was that the *editio princeps* was closely related to the Echternach MS. already referred to.

The ultimate discovery that it was this very MS. of Echternach which was used by Erasmus could not have been made without the kind help of Mr. P. S. Allen and Dr. Bernoulli. By Mr. Allen I was directed to the Amorbach and other unprinted correspondence in the Basle University Library, and Dr. Bernoulli procured me a transcript[6] of one letter which I had found it almost impossible to read. From a laborious search it resulted that Gregorius Reisch, a noted Carthusian monk of Freiburg im Breisgau, had procured for the use of Erasmus the loan of two MSS. from a library near Trèves, the name

[1] At Basle: the error in the previous lecture, p. 414 (= 6), was due to use of an undated reprint, and was pointed out to me by Dom Wilmart.

[2] *Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi*, ii (Oxon., 1910), p. 211.

[3] See *op. cit.*, pp. 88 (last lines), 210 ff., 216, ll 170 ff, etc.

[4] *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, i (Munchen, 1909), p 25.

[5] See, however, the qualification, in the case of Jerome *in Matt.*, stated by Dr. C. H. Turner, in *Early Worcester MSS.* (Oxford, 1916), p. xv.

[6] By Dr. Carl Roth. The letter is 151 in cod. G. ii 29; letter 152 is even more important.

of which he did not feel at liberty to state, probably because the loan was secretly granted One of these MSS. was the celebrated Hieronymian Martyrology of Echternach, now Paris 10837; the other was our Pseudo-Jerome, also of Echternach, now Paris 9525. The latter bears to this day on a fly-leaf in a German hand of the early sixteenth century some words, one of which was clearly shown to me by M. Léon Dorez to be 'friburg'. Some Latin verses, written in a fourteenth-century hand, which he also kindly copied for me, contain a reference to a church at Trèves. It must be remembered that Trèves is only a few miles from Echternach.

The hard words I used of Amorbach in my previous lecture must in consequence of these discoveries be retracted.[1] His work was careful work, and he cannot be held responsible either for the gross errors of the Echternach MS. or the careless reprinting of his successors. The words of the preface as to the illegibility of the MS. are, however, somewhat rhetorical. Even after four more centuries of life, it can still be read by a practised eye without much trouble. To Merian, then, or some other insular scribe is due the fact that the editor of to-day is in a position to make so great an advance on his predecessors.

The characteristics of the second class of Pseudo-Jerome MSS. must now be mentioned. While the archetype of the first class seems to have been constructed by the substitution of a number of Vulgate readings in a copy like the Reichenau MS., the archetype of the second class seems rather to owe its origin to the equipment of a copy of the Vulgate with the notes of Pelagius. There is also, in the interpolated Pseudo-Jerome MSS. of this class, a relationship with a MS. of the Balliol type, corresponding to the relation which subsists between the first class and a MS. of the Reichenau type. This fact comes out clearly in the arrangement of the biblical text and the omission of parts of it in Philippians, Colossians, and 1 and 2 Thessalonians, which this class shares with the Balliol MS. The relationship does not, however, in the least extend to the character of the biblical texts themselves.

This recension has naturally the full equipment of prefatory matter customary in a biblical MS. It begins, in the case of the two oldest MSS. of the class, Paris 1853 and Épinal 6, which are closely related to one another, with the Murbach canons, which are absent from other members of this class. Whether these canons form an integral part of the recension or not, it is difficult, if not impossible, to say. Either they are local, and peculiar to the Murbach region, or they were omitted purposely from the archetype of the other branch of this

[1] p. 426 (= 18).

family, as being of suspicious character. On the whole I prefer the former alternative, especially as the ninth-century Murbach catalogue contains the unique entry *Canones Ieronimi et Pellagii.*[1] Instead of the canons of the older MSS, the others have the *Epistulae ad Romanos causa haec est* argument. Then come in all the MSS., in this order, the *Omnis textus uel numerus*, the *Primum intellegere nos oportet* (a variant beginning of the *Primum quaeritur quare*), the *Romani ex Iudaeis*, the usual list of capitula to the Epistle to the Romans, and the *Romani sunt in partes Italiae: hi fidem habentes.* Then the commentary begins with the remarkable superscription: IN NOMINE D̄I SVMMI INCIPIT EXPLANATIO S̄C̄I HIERONIMI IN QVATTVORDECIM EPISTOLIS (-AS) S̄C̄I APOSTOLI PAVLI.[2] After Romans, comes a long argument to 1 Corinthians, beginning *Corinthus metropolis ciuitas Achaiae est*, claimed by De Bruyne[3] for Pelagius, and used also in Claudius of Turin's commentary, then the list of capitula to 1 Corinthians, and then the Marcionite prologue *Corinthii sunt Achaici.* After that comes the commentary on 1 Corinthians. Then in succession we have the list of chapter-headings to 2 Corinthians, Pseudo-Marcionite prologue, commentary. This system is followed with each epistle to the end. In this family Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians are in this, the familiar, order. At the end of Philemon an extract from Jerome, *epist.* xxviii, § 4, is anonymously introduced. The Epistle to the Hebrews is present at the end, introduced like the others, the *In primis dicendum est* prologue being employed, and it is provided with a brief commentary. There are in this family[4] also traces of a stichometry not quite identical with any known to Berger, namely:

1 Cor. DCCCXI
2 Cor. DXCI
Eph. DXCIII
Phil. CCL
2 Thess. CVIII
1 Tim. CCXXX
2 Tim. CLXIIII
Tit. XLII.

[1] No. 39 in the catalogue (of date about 840) published by H. Bloch in *Strassburger Festschrift* u s w. (1901), p. 276.

[2] Cf. Metz. MS. 134 *In Christi nomine incipiunt glosae*, Paris MS. 12289 (formerly of Fleury), fol 82va *In nomine domini incipit tractatus in epistula ad Corinthios Claudii episcopi.* Further examples are given by E. v. Dobschutz, *Decretum Gelasianum* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 16. Cf. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. xv.

[3] *Revue bénédictine*, xxiv (1907), pp. 257 ff.

[4] In the later MSS. not so complete as is given above.

The presence of this stichometry is another sign that the archetype of this family was a Vulgate MS. into which the Pelagian notes, with much additional material, were copied, and, to dispel any lingering doubts on the subject, there is the bewildering confusion in order between text and commentary throughout, which proves that the Pelagian notes were often in the form of interlinear glosses in the archetype. The same false order obtains throughout the three oldest members of the family, but the corrector of the Troyes MS. has studied the matter carefully, and given indications as to the true order, generally obeyed in the Florence MS.

The situation in Rom. v differs in this class of MSS. from that which we found in the other class. Here also the incriminating passage is absent, but there is a further double loss, which serves as a means of classification of authorities. The first loss is that of the words *sicut Adam* (note on Rom. v. 14) down to and including the words *eum cupientibus* (note on Rom. v. 14, last part) the second is that of the words *dimittitur amplius* (note on Rom. v. 21) down to and including the words *iustitiae actionem* (end of the last note on the same verse). The first omission measures rather over nineteen lines in Migne, and the second rather over ten. In the Paris MS., the vellum of which is at this point quite normal, 13½ lines are left blank in the first case, and 11⅝ in the second From this we gather that the missing passages were no longer legible in the *exemplar* from which the Paris MS. was copied, and that the scribe left blanks of adequate length, in the hope that he might be able to supply the gaps from another MS. of this work. In this hope he was disappointed. The Épinal MS. wants the same passages, but leaves no gaps, and the only sign there that anything is wrong is in a much later note at the foot of the page, in the second case only, in which the missing words of Scripture are given, but without any comment. The other three MSS. of this family are also without the missing portions, but they have adopted the drastic, and at the same time much more interesting, course of inserting at both places the corresponding portions of the Cassiodorus commentary, not however without marginal notes to the effect that the passages thus inserted were wanting in the *exemplar*. These marginal notes are characteristically absent from the late and degenerate Cambridge MS., which I have refrained from collating except in select passages. Whether it was the learned scribe of the Troyes (Clairvaux) MS. who first made these insertions or not, must remain uncertain.

There are some facts which help us to divine the palaeographical character of the ancestry of this class. The Paris MS. was written by

some twenty scribes, and is of bewilderingly bad orthography, besides being a perfect mine for the student of contractions.[1] Various phenomena in the MS. put it beyond the possibility of doubt that it was copied from an insular *exemplar*,[2] though a totally different one from any behind the other class of Pseudo-Jerome MSS. Of the two closely related MSS., the Paris and the Épinal, neither is a copy of the other. Nor would it seem that they are both direct copies of one lost original. The Épinal MS. is the more accurate of the two. There is some reason to suppose that behind the insular ancestry there lies a Spanish MS. There are Spanish symptoms in the Paris MS., one at least in the Épinal MS., and it is interesting to note, first, that the best biblical MS. known to De Bruyne containing the long prologue to First Corinthians, is of Spanish provenance, and, second, that Claudius of Turin, a Spaniard by birth, uses it for his preface to that epistle.[3] The Troyes MS., though much later than the Paris and Épinal *codices*, is better than either. It represents a purer strain altogether, and has also been most carefully corrected. The result is that its descendant, the Florence MS., is the most learned of all the Pseudo-Jerome MSS. As the Cistercian abbey of Clairvaux had relations with all the world, particularly with the Rhine country and with Spain, the fact may be regarded as another reason for connecting this family of MSS. with Spain. And if with Spain, then probably with Africa, from which Spain appears at one time to have got much of its Christian literature.

As the chief characteristic of the Pseudo-Jerome MSS. is additional (not contradictory) explanations, introduced by *Item*, a critical study of these, in a purer text than is at present available in print, is the necessary preliminary to an investigation into their origin. The Pseudo-Jerome of the second family is substantially longer than that of the first family, and contains from Galatians onwards a number of *Item* and other passages, some of them of considerable length, which are entirely absent from the first family. Some of these have never been printed, but the majority will be found in Zimmer's *Pelagius in Irland*. As yet I have not been able to give these the attention they deserve. I will merely mention at this stage that their author appears

[1] I handed over my complete list to Prof. W. M. Lindsay for his *Notae Latinae* (Cambr. 1915).

[2] In this matter I can fortify my own judgement by that of Dr. P. Lehmann.

[3] If any one thinks that here or elsewhere I am overrating Spanish influence, let him read what Dr. C. H. Turner has recently written in *Early Worcester MSS.* (Oxford, 1916), pp. xi ff The connexion between Ireland and Spain in matters liturgical was illustrated by E. Bishop, *Journ. Theol. Stud.* viii (1906-7), pp. 278 ff.

to have had some slight knowledge of Greek; for he once or twice quotes the original. The interpolator may also have written the commentary on Hebrews.

The St. Gall MS. 73 is an anonymous MS., but it is closely related to the Pseudo-Jerome MSS, particularly to those of the second class. This close relationship was first remarked by Hellmann in his *Sedulius Scottus*.[1] The collation of Zimmer is quite valueless for critical purposes. What he gives is on the whole to be relied upon, but there are literally thousands of omissions in his collation, and it has been necessary to make a fresh collation of the entire MS. Its text on the whole surpasses the Pseudo-Jerome MSS. in purity, though it is interpolated from known sources in some of the later epistles, as Zimmer observed. It has the epistles in the familiar order, like the second class of Pseudo-Jerome MSS., and it has a little commentary on Hebrews. It was copied from a neatly written MS. in Irish script, and this Irish MS., not unnaturally, seems to have been copied from a Spanish original. Zimmer was mistaken in supposing that the entry in the old St. Gall catalogue, '*Expositio Pelagii super omnes epistolas Pauli in uolumine I*', is an addition to the original catalogue That is not so: it is an integral part of the original catalogue. There is, therefore, no reason why we should not assign the MS. to the first half of the ninth century, as the study of its handwriting would suggest. The MS. has the Pelagian *Primum quaeritur*, somewhat mutilated, and the Pelagian prologues to First Timothy and Titus. It has the Marcionite prologues to First Corinthians, Galatians, First Thessalonians and Philemon, and the Pseudo-Marcionite prologues to Second Thessalonians and Second Timothy. Of the remaining epistles, Second Corinthians has the Pseudo-Marcion *plus* the Balliol prologue with some differences, Ephesians has the Marcionite *plus* a portion of Jerome, Philippians has the Marcionite *plus* the Pelagian prologue, Colossians has no preface. The MS. has a partial stichometry, in a somewhat corrupt state, thus:

2 Cor. { DCCCLXX. / LI.

Phil. { CCXV. / CCL.

2 Thess. CXCIII.

1 Tim. CCXXX.

2 Tim. CLXII.

Tit. XCVII.

[1] p 153.

This stichometry is at once seen to be of a composite character, two totals being given for Second Corinthians and Philippians, or rather, the stichometry of certain epistles has been assigned to others. If the first view be right, each of these alternatives must have been taken from a different authority. To sum up, the St. Gall MS. represents a sort of stage between pure Pelagius and Pseudo-Jerome of the second class, being closely related to the latter. One of the best indications of this relationship is the appearance towards the end of the notes on Philemon of the already mentioned extract from Jerome, *epist.* xxviii, § 4, here also anonymously, and the use of the same prologue to Hebrews, *In primis dicendum est.* It may be remarked that the Pseudo-Jerome text of the former is more accurate than that provided by the St. Gall MS.

Another anonymous MS. of great importance and interest was commented upon in the previous lecture, namely Paris 653,[1] written in North Italy, perhaps at Verona,[2] before the end of the eighth century.[3] This MS. contains, I believe, the whole of the true text of Pelagius' commentary, but it contains a good deal more than that. It includes probably most of the interpolations found in the Pseudo-Jerome MSS., but not all. It has in addition many short comments which are not to be found there, and in particular it has preserved in the body of the commentary six pieces of considerable length not otherwise known.[4] Three of these pieces are from the lost work of Pelagius, *De Libero Arbitrio*, as Professor Loofs pointed out to me, and show Pelagius in controversy with Jerome, the Pelagian extracts being assigned to their author by name. The remaining two pieces, if not actually by Fulgentius of Ruspe, as I at first argued, would appear to belong to his country and time, Africa early in the sixth century. There can be little doubt that the compilation represented in this MS. was made either in Africa or Spain, probably in the sixth century. The readings in the prefatory matter suggest a Spanish connexion, and there are Spanish symptoms in the palaeographical

[1] pp 429 (= 21) f., 435 (= 27) f.

[2] May this be the MS that John of Verona saw in the thirteenth century? Cf. Vallarsi's preface to Ps-Hier., reprinted in Migne xxx, and Zimmer, *Pelagius in Irland*, p. 158.

[3] See Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 471; E. A. Loew, *Studia Palaeographica* (Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Bayer. Akad. der Wiss, Philos.-philol. u. hist Kl, Jahrg. 1910, 12. Abh.), p 43, with a plate

[4] Two of these are published in the appendix to the previous lecture, pp. 437 (= 29) ff., the third Pelagian passage in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* xii (1910–11), pp. 32 ff.; two anonymous passages are printed in *Journ Theol. Stud.* xiv (1912–13), pp. 481 ff., and xvii (1915–16), pp. 129 ff. respectively; one is unpublished.

sense also in the MS., derived from its *exemplar*. The MS. serves as a useful means of controlling the text of the Reichenau and Balliol MSS.; for its text is in a state of great purity, having escaped the deterioration which one has unfortunately learnt to associate with 'insular' influence. Our ancestors studied texts more ardently than others, but could not keep their pens off them.

The arrangement of the prefatory matter throughout, and of the epistles themselves, will give some idea as to the compiler's procedure. The MS. contains first the Pelagian *Primum quaeritur*, followed by the Marcionite *Romani sunt in parte Italiae . hi praeuenti*, etc., then by the Pelagian *Romani ex Iudaeis*, which is followed by the *Romani sunt in parte Italiae hi fidem*, etc , a tractate beginning *Verbum caro*, and another prologue to Romans, manufactured out of the *Primum quaeritur* and the *Romani ex Iudaeis* combined, with the expression sometimes recast.[1] Then comes the commentary on Romans, followed by the Marcionite prologue to First Corinthians, and then by the words *Corinthus metropolis est Achaiae ; et idcirco quod Corinthus scribit, Achiuis omnibus scribit*, under the heading *Expositio Argumenti*. After the commentary on First Corinthians comes the Pseudo-Marcionite argument to Second Corinthians, followed by the prologue, printed in the Benedictine edition of Ambrosiaster, which Dom de Bruyne claims for Pelagius.[2] This prologue occurs in the mutilated MSS. of Ambrosiaster at that point, and also in the Balliol MS. of Pelagius. The commentary on Second Corinthians, which comes next, is followed by the Marcionite argument to Galatians and the Pelagian prologue to the same epistle. After the commentary on Galatians comes the Marcionite prologue to Ephesians, then the Pelagian prologue. The commentary on Ephesians is followed by the Marcionite argument to Philippians, followed in its turn by the Pelagian prologue, as introductions to the commentary on Philippians. The commentary on First Thessalonians is introduced by the Marcionite prologue, followed by the Pelagian prologue. Similarly that on Second Thessalonians is introduced by the Pseudo-Marcionite prologue followed by the Pelagian argument. Then Colossians is introduced by the Marcionite and Pelagian prologues, while First and Second Timothy and Titus are introduced by the Pelagian prologues only. In all cases where double prologues are provided, the first is headed by the word *argumentum*, while the second is called *expositio argumenti*. The introduction to the

[1] The two last-mentioned documents are printed in the appendix to the previous lecture, pp 435 (= 27) ff ; in the second last line on p. 27 *homo* has been accidentally omitted after *appellatione*, and on p 30, l 32 read *ais*.

[2] *Revue bénédictine*, xxiv (1907), p. 262

Philemon commentary is lost. Hebrews begins without any preface, and consists, so far as it survives, mainly of text. The text agrees almost to a letter with that of the *editio minor* of the Vulgate by Professor White, but it suddenly bursts into the good Old-Latin word *indictoaudientia* at chap. ii. 2. I have the complete text of that part, copied by my former pupil, Dr. R. L. G. Ritchie, of the University of Edinburgh, and afterwards revised with the original by myself.

I feel that I ought to be able to answer what is precisely the relation between this remarkable MS. and the Pseudo-Jerome, also what is the precise relation between the two families of Pseudo-Jerome MSS., but I refrain from attempting to do so till the necessary preparation for a judgement has been completed. I will merely mention at this stage one very significant fact, pointed out to me by Mr. A. J. Smith, that the same passage is interpolated twice in the printed text at points not far distant from one another, namely *in Rom.* xi. 17 and 24, the words *Item. Et hoc* down to *insertus es*. The St. Gall MS. and all the MSS. of Pseudo-Jerome give the passage in both places. It is absent from both places in the Reichenau, Balliol, and Paris 653 MSS. Now these places are not contiguous in a vertical sense—otherwise it might be a mere case of the dittography of an interlinear gloss—but they may very well have been contiguous in a lateral intercolumnar sense. This one instance would seem to suggest that St. Gall 73 and all the Pseudo-Jerome MSS. go back to a biblical ancestor in double columns, in which this passage was between the columns, and was thus copied twice. It properly belongs to the first place only.

All that is left of a South-German Latin MS. of the first quarter of the ninth century was discovered at Freiburg im Breisgau in the Stadtarchiv there a year or two ago by Dr. Flamm, and Prof. Heer of Freiburg University kindly sent me photographs of the two conjugate leaves. They contain 1 Cor. ix. 15-20, x. 24-31. It is unfortunately impossible to classify the MS., or to say whether when complete it was a pure Pelagius, or a Pseudo-Jerome, or something different from either. Its text is good, but it does not appear to be closely related to any other document of which I have knowledge.[1]

Three further traces of Pelagius' commentary under his own name have been discovered. Professor Hellmann kindly called my attention to the fact that there was a copy of Pelagius' commentary in the library at Murbach in the middle of the ninth century.[2] It is tempting to

[1] I published the fragments in *Journ Theol. Stud.* xiii (1911-12), pp 515 ff.

[2] The item is given in the Murbach catalogue previously mentioned, p. 24, n. 1.

Grenoble (formerly Grande Chartreuse) 270 (saec. xii ex.), lower third of second column of fol. numbered 12 r (actually 13 r) = Anon. in ep. Rom. viii. 23.

identify the Paris 1853 or Épinal[1] Pseudo-Jerome with that MS. In learned circles, especially those with Irish connexions, the real character of the MS. would be known, even under the name Jerome. Dom Morin also discovered a Bodleian MS. of the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century,[2] where an extract from our commentary on Gal. v. 14 is headed PELAG. To the same scholar is due also the discovery of MS. 6433 (saec. viii–ix) at Munich, in which there are extracts entitled 'Pelagius'.[3]

In the previous lecture it was proved that the commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, which has been in print since 1537 under the name of Primasius, is none other than the revision of the Pelagius commentary made by Cassiodorus and his pupils[4] at Vivarium in Southern Italy about the middle of the sixth century. Their copy of Pelagius was anonymous: their revised Pelagius remained the same. It has been arranged that an edition of this commentary shall appear in the Vienna *Corpus*, with the Pelagian portions clearly indicated. As a preliminary to that edition I have collated the sole MS. known to me, Grenoble (formerly Grande-Chartreuse) 270, of the latter part of the twelfth century,[5] and also, with the aid of three collaborators,[6] the *editio princeps* of 1537.[7] I have also taken much trouble to trace the non-Pelagian passages to their sources. As a matter of fact, there is very little in the commentary that comes direct from Cassiodorus and his pupils. What is not taken from Pelagius generally comes from Catholic sources.

The *editio princeps* is based on a lost MS. of the abbey of St. Thierry at St. Chef in Dauphiné. The Grande-Chartreuse MS. is not identical with this, as I had at first supposed, but the two MSS are related as copies of a lost original, and it is probable that the St. Chef MS. was

[1] If we identify the Épinal MS. as the Murbach MS., we might identify the Paris 1853 MS. as the Lorsch MS. referred to by Zimmer, *op cit.* p 157. I do not mean to suggest that Paris 1853 was written at Lorsch, especially after Prof Lindsay's statement that its palaeographical characteristics do not suggest Lorsch, but merely that it may have been in the Lorsch library: Lorsch and Murbach were in close relations, cf. Hauck, *Kirchengesch Deutschlands,* ii 593 f., and E. v. Dobschutz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum* (Leipzig, 1912), pp 142 ff.

[2] Cod Laud Misc. 350: *Revue bénédictine,* xxviii (1911), p 3.

[3] *Revue bénédictine,* xxviii (1911), pp. 420 f.; cf. also p. 9, above.

[4] pp. 428 (= 20) f.

[5] Thanks are due to Monsieur H. Omont, Inspecteur général des Bibliothèques, for permission to reproduce a photograph of part of a page

[6] Dr. H. A. Gibbons for Rom. i–ii, Prof. W. B Anderson for Rom iii–viii, and my youngest brother, J. B. Souter, for Rom. ix to the end of the Epistles

[7] I have to thank the Dean of Wells for the loan of his (the Hort) copy of this excessively rare book. It is much more accurate than the Migne reprint of De la Bigne.

of about the same date as the other.[1] As both contained a commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, without any sort of warning that it is by a different hand from the rest of the commentaries, and as Professor Riggenbach has proved that this commentary on Hebrews is the work of Haymo, a monk of Auxerre,[2] who flourished in the middle of the ninth century, it is obvious that the common original of our two MSS cannot be older than that date. Cassiodorus's pupils compiled no commentary on Hebrews, and, just as Alcuin's commentary on that epistle was added to complete the Ambrosiaster, so the anonymous production of Haymo—all the oldest MSS. of Haymo's numerous commentaries are, I think, anonymous—was added to complete this set of commentaries. The Cassiodorian part of the combined commentary may well have been copied in the latter half of the ninth century from the Cassiodorian autograph itself. There is some little reason to suppose that a portion of the Cassiodorian library found its way to Lyons, and I conjecture that it was there that the papyrus *codex* was taken. Some equally venerable volumes are associated with Lyons to this day.[3]

Some words will be expected on the manner of production and the character of the Cassiodorus commentary, but first I might bring forward some further proofs that Cassiodorus and his pupils were the real compilers of this commentary. The vocabulary of the original portions is Cassiodorian: *praedicabilis, praesumptio, incunctanter, criminalis, iudicialiter, personaliter,* all occur in the Romans part, which is by Cassiodorus himself, and is naturally more original than the rest. One of his pupils was fond of coining compounds with *per*, *percaueo, perunio.* The pupil who revised Ephesians was conspicuously anti-Pelagian in opinion, and somewhat independent in his use of sources. It is hazardous to attempt to count the number of pupils that took part in the compilation, but it would seem, to judge by certain differences of treatment, that three at least contributed.

A study of the biblical text and of the sources employed in the commentary confirm the Cassiodorian origin. The prologue to Romans is absent from the MS., but may be a part of the commentary in spite of that fact. It is a combination of the two Pelagian prologues *Primum quaeritur* and *Romani ex Iudaeis gentibusque.* The prologue to 1 Corinthians is the Marcionite *plus* the

[1] Both contained the abbreviation *sub* = subauditur.

[2] *Historische Studien zum Hebraerbrief*, i. Teil. *Die altesten lateinischen Kommentaren zum Hebräerbrief* (= Forschungen z Gesch d. ntlichen Kanons u.s.w. hrsg. v. T. Zahn, viii Teil), (Leipzig, 1907), pp 41–201.

[3] The MS of Irenaeus at Grande-Chartreuse was from Lyons (C. H. Turner in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* ii (1900–1), p. 148). See also a suggestion by the present writer in vol. xvi (1914–15), pp 156 f.

shorter one we have already found in Paris MS. 653, but with slightly different wording. 2 Corinthians is headed by the Pseudo-Marcionite prologue, Galatians has the Marcionite prologue *plus* an adaptation of the Pelagian prologue, Ephesians has the Marcionite *plus* the Pelagian prologue *plus* stichometry ccxlvi (or ccxliii),[1] Philippians has an independent extract from Jerome *plus* the Marcionite *plus* the Pelagian prologue, 1 Thessalonians has the Marcionite prologue, while 2 Thessalonians is without prefatory matter altogether. Colossians begins with the Marcionite *plus* the Pelagian prologue. 1 Timothy has the Pseudo-Marcionite prologue *plus* stichometry ccviiii[2] *plus* the Pelagian prologue; 2 Timothy has the Pseudo-Marcionite *plus* the Pelagian prologue; Titus begins with the Pseudo-Marcionite prologue, which is also, with slight modification, the Pelagian; and Philemon begins with the Marcionite prologue, which was considerably expanded by Pelagius.

The biblical text I have not yet had time to study, but I have had the advantage of the use of a number of notes which Dom John Chapman had made for himself.[3] In order to estimate how Cassiodorus and his pupils handled the text they had before them with the Pelagian commentary, it would be necessary to know exactly what kind of text there was in their Pelagian *codex*. Was it like that in the Balliol MS. and the Roman fragments, or that in the Reichenau MS., or that in Paris MS. 653, or was it a Vulgate text in the sense that the text provided by the St. Gall MS. and the Pseudo-Jerome MSS. is a Vulgate text? Again, can we be sure that a comparison of the Grande-Chartreuse and St. Chef MSS. will give us the text as it left the hands of Cassiodorus and his pupils? Was there no contamination with Vulgate MSS. in the course of transmission?

If we assume that the text has been transmitted in a pure state, we can at any rate make some statements about its surviving character, without prejudging the question how far the Pelagian text was altered to produce the present result. It is natural to compare the Pauline text in this commentary with that provided by the *codex Amiatinus*, the great Northumbrian MS. of the Latin Vulgate, whose connexion with Cassiodorus is admitted. In the first chapter of Romans the two diverge greatly, but in the second chapter the agreement is almost absolute, and this inconstancy of relation is conspicuous throughout. At some stages there is remarkable agreement, at others there is

[1] Probably ccexliii is the right reading, as Berger (*Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 367) gives this number from Cod. Vat. Regin. 9 (saec. vii; Wordsworth and White's R.).

[2] Paris B N. 9 (saec. xii) has ccviii (Berger, *op. cit* p. 368).

[3] Cf. his suggestive article in *Revue bénédictine*, xxviii (1911), pp. 285 ff.

distinct disagreement. It would appear, therefore, that no clearly defined textual policy was pursued in this task of revision. On examining the Cassiodorian text at Phil. ii. 12-30 I found that the Pelagian text provided by the Reichenau MS. was much more Vulgate than the text given by Cassiodorus's pupil. It must be remembered that Cassiodorus possessed a great library, and that he himself uses an Old-Latin text in his *Complexiones*.

It is only here and there in the course of the commentary that the authority used is mentioned by name, but many passages silently quoted have been identified. More than any one else Augustine is used, at least eleven of his works being quoted. Jerome also has been employed; at least three of his works are cited But what is more interesting is that minor authors like Eucherius (*Instructiones*),[1] Tyconius (*Rules*),[2] Claudianus Mamertus (*De Statu Animae*) have been requisitioned. The *quidam sanctus uir* quoted on Rom. iii 4 is identified by Dom Morin as probably Faustus Reiensis, not, as Garnier[3] argued, Pelagius himself. As these quotations from various authors are carefully made, and must have been taken from copies not later than the middle of the sixth century in date, it is obvious that their readings have an importance both for the classification of the surviving manuscripts and for the textual criticism of these authors. It will not be difficult either to prove, by comparison with the statements of the *Institutio* and with passages in other works of Cassiodorus, that he possessed the quoted works in his library.

Though the commentary of Cassiodorus and his pupils appears to survive in only one manuscript, it was not such an excessive rarity in the ninth century. No less than four compilers of that century made use of it Claudius of Turin (about 815-20), who quoted it as 'anonymous' on the Epistle to Titus, and uses it elsewhere abundantly as well;[4] Zmaragdus of St. Mihiel (between 805 and 821), who in his

[1] See the six passages in *Journ Theol. Stud* xiv (1912-3), pp. 69 ff.

[2] *Journ. Theol Stud* xi (1909-10), pp 562 f.

[3] Cf. Migne, *P L.* xlviii. 588 A

[4] Claudius appears to have compiled commentaries on all the Pauline epistles except 1, 2 Thess and 1, 2 Tim, which are Ambrosiaster, apparently untouched Most are still unpublished, though early and good MSS exist in plenty. I get my dates from *Mon. Germ Hist.*, Epist. tom. iv (= Karolini Aevi ii) (Berol. 1895). R. Simon had read his commentaries in the same MSS. as I have consulted, and in part copied; cf. his *Hist. crit des principaux commentateurs du N.T.* (Amsterdam, 1693), pp 353 ff Traces of Cassiod will be found in Rom. v, xii, Eph prol., Tit prol., Philem. prol The comm. on Titus appears to be identical with that of Hatto of Vercelli, who probably borrowed it from Claudius, as he did Hebrews (cf Riggenbach, *op. cit.* pp. 25 ff.). There are some seventeen passages of Cassiod. in this comm. on Tit., marked AN (= ANonymus?) in Paris MS. B.N. 10878 (saec. ix).

Expositio Libri Comitis sometimes uses Cassiodorus' commentary,[1] in addition to his frequent use of Pelagius, but never by the name Cassiodorus, always as P̄,[2] Haymo of Auxerre, whose frequent use of Cassiodorus doubtless encouraged the combination of Haymo on Hebrews with Cassiodorus on the other epistles, but whom I have detected using Zmaragdus,[3] a fact which complicates investigation; and Sedulius Scottus of Liége, etc. (848 onwards), who, like Zmaragdus, quotes both Pelagius and Cassiodorus, the former as P̄, the latter consistently under the name ISID, i. e. Isidore. It is right to state that certain other passages attributed to ISID are not to be found in the Cassiodorus commentary, while passages titled CAS appear to be from other works of Cassiodorus.

The value of the Cassiodorian commentary is, as Zimmer recognized, very great as a means of correcting the corruptions of Pseudo-Jerome. For the genuine parts of the Pelagian commentary it appears to be more closely related to the original uninterpolated Pseudo-Jerome type of text than it is to the Reichenau type. This, added to other evidence we have already had, makes it probable that the original Pseudo-Jerome recension appeared in Italy. Cassiodorus himself reproduced his original with some freedom, but his pupils are on the whole extremely faithful to the original Pelagian text, so far as the commentary is concerned. The peculiar character of the Cassiodorian scriptorium makes one view with much more suspicion the form which the Biblical *lemmata* have taken in the Cassiodorian anti-pelagianized Pelagius. The use of two portions of Cassiodorus to fill up gaps in one family of Pseudo-Jerome MSS. has been already alluded to.[4]

The mysterious commentator Luculentius has made some use of the Pelagius commentary.[5]

Zmaragdus of St. Mihiel and Sedulius Scottus, as I have said, used the original Pelagius as well as Cassiodorus the former also quotes Pseudo-Jerome as H̄.[6] Zmaragdus repeatedly quotes from the Pelagian commentary under the symbol P̄, and so does Sedulius. Both quote accurately, especially the latter, who is of the greater value in this connexion, the MS. he used having been more like the Reichenau MS. than any other authority we have got. The printed editions of both compilations being unsatisfactory for my purpose, I have found it advisable to collate in the MSS. the marginal symbols indicating the authors from whom passages are borrowed. These are given very

[1] Cf Cassiod. 601 A = Zmaragd. 449 D (Hellmann, *op. cit.* p 157).
[2] See *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, ix (1907–8), pp. 584 ff.
[3] In 2 Cor. vi 5. [4] p. 25
[5] See Migne, *P. L.* lxxii 803 ff. The borrowings are *in Rom.* xii. 6, 8, and possibly elsewhere also. [6] On Romans and 2 Cor.

imperfectly and inexactly in the editions of Zmaragdus, and are hardly ever given in the editions of Sedulius. The substance of the text is much better represented in the former case than in the latter. I have made collations of the Pelagian extracts in a sufficient number of Zmaragdus MSS. and in the two best MSS. of Sedulius.[1] This is not the place to enumerate the authors employed by Sedulius, but I hope elsewhere to edit the marginal symbols and give a tentative list of his authorities. Zmaragdus tells us in his preface what authorities *he* employed. In estimating the relative value of these two compilers as a means of controlling the evidence of our leading authorities, it is important to remember that the comments of Zmaragdus extend only to certain portions of the Epistles, those in fact which appear in the lectionary for which his exposition is made, while those of Sedulius cover all the Epistles; also, that in the latter case Pelagius is the leading authority employed, a position which he can hardly be said to occupy in the case of Zmaragdus.

Farther down than these compilers I am unable to go. It will have been observed that some of the MSS of the leading authorities are older than they, and in any case some limit must be set to these researches. They have brought the necessary material for editions both of Pelagius and of Cassiodorus. The edition of the former in *Texts and Studies* will comprise two volumes, the first of which will provide an introduction discussing at length such topics as have been alluded to in this lecture. It will also present a critical edition of the interpolations foisted on the original Pelagian commentary, with cross-references to the second volume, which will contain a critical edition of the Pelagian text with apparatus and indexes. The apparatus will be made as simple as possible, and thousands of variants in my possession, which are only a means of indicating the proper classification of MSS., or of interest to the student of palaeography, mediaeval Latin orthography or grammar, will not appear there, but will be classified in the introduction. The character of the proposed edition of Cassiodorus has been already indicated. It is hoped that both will serve as a sufficiently reliable basis for further investigation.

[1] Bamberg B v. 24 (saec. xi) and Zurich, Kantonsbibliothek, Rheinau lxxii (saec. x), are in Hellmann's judgement (*op. cit.* p. 193) the best

FIRST ANNUAL MASTER-MIND LECTURE

HENRIETTE HERTZ TRUST

CERVANTES AND SHAKESPEARE

By JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read May 16, 1916.

Though Cervantes and Shakespeare were contemporaries, and though, for many reasons, their names are now constantly linked together, it cannot be supposed that either of these illustrious men of genius had any personal knowledge of the other. They dwelt in lands far apart, and were separated by more than sundering seas. by differences of language, race, and sentiment. We must curb our appetite for marvels, and be content if we can establish between Cervantes and Shakespeare some intellectual kinship. It is no part of my task to prove that they read one another's masterpieces. That piece of research is reserved for learned men such as those who flourished at Argamasilla—Monicongo, Cachidiablo, and their compeers:

Forse altri canterà con miglior plettro.

During the early seventeenth century intercourse between Spain and England was beset with difficulties, and the literary debt of England to Spain had not yet reached formidable proportions. The balance of such literary indebtedness as had been incurred was distinctly against us. It is tolerably certain that Cervantes went to his grave in the Calle de Cantarranas without ever having heard Shakespeare's name. So far as my information goes, no play of Shakespeare's was rendered into Spanish till 1772, when *Hamleto, rey de Dinamarca* was produced. an indifferent version by the celebrated *sainetero* Ramón de la Cruz, who, knowing nothing of English, used Jean-François Ducis's French arrangement as his basis.

Though Cervantes never heard of Shakespeare, it is not impossible that Shakespeare had heard of Cervantes. There are in Shakespeare a few touches which, with a little goodwill, may be taken as implying some acquaintance, however slight, with Spanish. It is conceivable that Shakespeare contrived to plod through some of the Spanish books which were reprinted in the Netherlands and brought thence

to England; some such supposition is almost unavoidable if we choose to accept Dorer's well-known theory that *The Tempest* derives from Antonio de Eslava's *Noches de Invierno.* Were this so—the theory is not received with universal favour—we should have to assume either that Shakespeare knew enough Spanish to pick out the plot of a story from a Spanish work, or that there existed in Shakespeare's time some French or English version, no longer known, of Eslava's dreary book. Whatever may be the fact with respect to Eslava, there is no doubt that Cervantes was within Shakespeare's reach. Thomas Shelton's translation of the First Part of *Don Quixote* was published in 1612. Did Shakespeare read it? It seems rather more than likely that he did. The best authorities are of opinion that Shakespeare, though he wrote less copiously for the stage after 1611 than heretofore, kept up his connexion with the theatre by furnishing outlines of plays which were filled in by collaborators like Fletcher. As instances of such collaboration *The Famous History of the Life of King Henry the Eighth* and—less confidently—*The Two Noble Kinsmen* are cited. To these may be added a third play entitled *The History of Cardenio*, probably identical with *Cardenno*, performed before the Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine shortly before May 20, 1613, and *Cardenna*, presented 'before the Duke of Savoye's Embassadour on the viij daye of June, 1613'. In the official account of sums paid by Lord Stanhope of Harrington, the 'Treasurer of his Majesties Chamber', *Cardenno* (or *Cardenna*) is mentioned with other plays—among them *Much Ado about Nothing*, *The Tempest*, *The Winter's Tale*, *The First Part of King Henry the Fourth*, *Othello*, and *Julius Caesar.* Then follows a silence of some forty years, and no more is heard of the mysterious *Cardenno* (or *Cardenna*) till September 9, 1653, under which date the books of the Stationers' Company record the payment of twenty shillings and sixpence by Mr. Moseley for entering his copies of forty-one plays. amongst these plays is mentioned '*The History of Cardenio*, by Mr. Fletcher and Shakespeare'. It is strange, and not a little unfortunate, that the play was withheld so long. Cervantes, Shakespeare, and Mr. Fletcher were dead. It is no less unlucky, though perhaps it may be significant, that the publisher Humphrey Moseley, after paying his fee, did not issue *The History of Cardenio.* There is no ground for suspecting publishers of being more recklessly lavish with their money than other men. It is possible that Moseley, after printing *The Merry Devill of Edmonton* and attributing it to Shakespeare, grew more cautious in accepting loose current ascriptions. However this may be, there is nothing unreasonable in supposing

that Shakespeare was in some degree responsible for the *Cardenno* (or *Cardenna*) performed at Court by John Heminges and others in 1613; and any play entitled *The History of Cardenio* must almost certainly have been concerned with the episode of 'El Roto de la Mala Figura' —the distraught gentleman in the tattered doublet, the finding of whose valise with the gold crowns inside made the crags of the Sierra Morena seem a paradise to Sancho Panza, who thanked Heaven 'for sending us one adventure which is good for something'. Plainly, Shakespeare might have read the tale of Cardenio's adventures in Shelton's translation of the First Part of *Don Quixote*. Further we cannot go, for the very stuff of conjecture fails us. All trace of *The History of Cardenio* has vanished, unless we are credulous enough to think that this elusive play is represented by the uncanonical *Double Falsehood, or The Distrest Lovers* a view which is faithfully dealt with in Sir Sidney Lee's informing pages.

But, had *The History of Cardenio* been preserved, and were it demonstrated that Shakespeare borrowed material from Cervantes as freely as from Bandello, this would not carry us far. It is more to our immediate purpose to trace, if possible, the movement of the minds of Cervantes and Shakespeare on independent parallel lines Each was a man of consummate genius; each, withal his vigorous originality, was influenced by his age; each had in him a vein of wholesome sympathy which did not disdain the splendid commonplaces of life. We should therefore expect to find in both authors some coincidences of thought and some occasional resemblances of expression. These expectations are fulfilled · such similarities have often been pointed out, and I will be content with giving an example. Everybody who has followed Sancho Panza on his journey in quest of Dulcinea will remember the soliloquy of the squire when he has dismounted from his ass, and is safely out of sight and hearing of his enamoured master ·

'Let us know now, brother Sancho, where you are going. Are you going to look for some ass that has gone astray? By no means. Then what are you going to look for? I am going to look for a princess, no less; and in her for the sun of beauty and the whole firmament combined. And where do you expect to find this, Sancho? Where? In the great city of El Toboso. Well, and on behalf of whom are you going to look for her? On behalf of the famous knight Don Quixote of La Mancha, who redresses wrongs, gives food to those athirst, and drink to the hungry. That is all very fine, but do you know her house, Sancho? My master says it must be some royal palace or some mighty castle. And have you ever chanced to see her? Neither I nor my master have ever set eyes on her. And

if the townsfolk of El Toboso, learning that you were here, bent on carrying off their princesses and molesting their ladies, fell to cudgelling your ribs till there was not a sound bone in you—does that strike you as just and proper? Indeed, they would be thoroughly justified, if they did not see that I am obeying orders, and that

> You are a messenger, my friend,
> No blame attaches to you—none.

But put no trust in that, Sancho, for the Manchegans are as hot-headed as they are honest, and take impudence from nobody. By heaven, if they get wind of you, it will be a poor look-out for you, I promise you. Get thee behind me, rogue! Let the thunderbolt fall! Why should I go about looking for trouble to please anybody?—especially when my search for Dulcinea in El Toboso will be like looking for Maria in Ravenna or the bachelor in Salamanca The devil, the devil, and no one else, dragged me into this affair.'

Now those interrogative reflections, made by Sancho Panza while seated under a tree outside El Toboso, lead to a conclusion which recalls that arrived at by Sir John Falstaff when he finds himself alone by the King's camp near Shrewsbury:

'Well, 'tis no matter; honour pricks me on. Yea, but how if honour prick me off when I come on? How then? Can honour set to a leg? No. Or an arm? No. Or take away the grief of a wound? No. Honour hath no skill in surgery, then? No. What is honour? A word. What is that word, honour? Air. A trim reckoning! Who hath it? He that died o' Wednesday. Doth he feel it? No. Doth he hear it? No. It is insensible, then Yea, to the dead. But will it not live with the living? No. Why? Detraction will not suffer it. Therefore I'll none of it. honour is a mere scutcheon; and so ends my catechism.'

This is not uninteresting, since we see the minds of Cervantes and Shakespeare conceiving somewhat similar characters, endowing their personages with a somewhat similar physique, and picturing them as thinking much the same thoughts. Such a parallel is more illuminating than the familiar coincidence of expression frequently quoted. Hamlet warns the First Player not to overdo 'the purpose of playing, whose end, both at the first and now, was and is, to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature'; and, on the evening after the encounter with Death and the other actors in Angulo el Malo's company, Don Quixote points out to his theatre-going squire that the drama 'holds up to us at every step a mirror in which we see, vividly displayed, what goes on in human life'. It would be easy to multiply instances of this kind: chance resemblances arising out of analogous situations, and hence easily explained. Mere coincidences of expression prove

nothing. No wise admirer of Cervantes will claim that he has Shakespeare's endowment of divine utterance. Shakespeare is undoubtedly the supremer artist of the two; he has a wealth of verbal music which nature had denied to Cervantes. Cervantes's expression lacks the ecstasy of beauty; but it is always adequate to its purpose, it has the charm of natural simplicity, and it has in a very high degree the quality of dramatic appropriateness. It is in virtue of his realism and humour that Cervantes excels. This sounds a bold thing to say in view of the character of Falstaff; yet the position may be maintained. Falstaff is essentially English, Sancho Panza enjoys a wider fame, a larger franchise, and is a citizen of the world. Shakespeare has the greater mastery of his material; he handles it with the easy freedom of conscious and assured dominion Speaking generally, Shakespeare is represented by work of the highest finish. Not so Cervantes we are free to count his false starts, and to criticize his hesitations.

The methods of Cervantes and Shakespeare often differed, but their interest in the manifestations of human nature makes them akin. Each was absorbed in observing cases of mental disturbance. This is noticeable in the tragic dementia of *King Lear* as in the disconcerting hallucinations of Tomás Rodaja in *El Licenciado Vidriera*, after he had eaten the fatal Toledan quince. A still more striking parallel may be found in *Hamlet* and in *Don Quixote*, as Turgenev pointed out. The precise date of composition of *Don Quixote* is unknown; there is reason to think that it was not begun till after 1591, and that it was finished during the course of 1602–3. at any rate, it is certain that it was going through the press in the autumn and winter of 1604. There is apparently a similar difficulty with respect to *Hamlet*· it must suffice to say that the full text of *Hamlet* became available in the Second Quarto of 1604. Hence there is no great rashness in supposing that Cervantes and Shakespeare were at work on very similar problems at about the same time. I begin by assuming that neither Hamlet nor Don Quixote is normal, as regards mental balance. you will grant me so much, remembering that the barber in *Don Quixote* had his doubts as to the sanity of Sancho Panza himself. For my part, I will not detain you with a tedious examination of possible sources: the relation between Shakespeare and Saxo Grammaticus, the possible indebtedness of Cervantes to *El Caballero Cifar*, and so forth. These are the remainder-biscuits of erudition—not appetizing, even if wholesome. It may be readily admitted that neither Cervantes nor Shakespeare hesitated to take what suited him, wherever he came upon it. Whatever either of

them borrowed he made his own, and enriched it out of recognition. Whatever hints may have been taken, whatever may have been recast or rewritten, for posterity *Hamlet* is all Shakespeare's, and *Don Quixote* is all Cervantes's.

The characters of the two great protagonists are consistent, as nature is consistent; but there is undoubted evolution in both of them. In the case of Don Quixote, the development is plain to the least observant: no great perspicacity is needed to perceive a difference between the simple country gentleman who, crazed by his incessant reading of dull books, believed himself to be the nephew of the Marquess of Mantua, and the discerning critic who discussed the niceties of literature during his stay at Don Diego de Miranda's. There is a difference, but the basis of the character is unchanged. Don Lorenzo's verdict is essentially just. 'A glorious madman, and I should be a dull oaf to doubt it!' Don Quixote is always before us, consistent in essentials from the moment when we first see him in the 'village of La Mancha, the name of which I have no desire to call to mind', as his creator dryly remarked. There is in him more than a touch of self-righteousness at moments. But he thinks well of others; this confirmed optimist could never bring himself to say: 'We are arrant knaves all.' He is an ascetic, burning to immolate himself for an ideal. Hamlet is more self-centred, and even allowing for the fact that he has thought it

> meet
> To put an antic disposition on,

his reading of himself may not be wrong when he declares to Ophelia: 'I am very proud, revengeful, ambitious.' He is indifferent to the sufferings of others, is absorbed in his own woes, a vacillating egotist content to unpack his heart

> with words
> And fall a-cursing, like a very drab,
> A scullion.

Hamlet, the victim of introspection, is fleet in the sphere of ideas, benumbed when confronted with realities. Don Quixote, aflame with the passion of self-sacrifice, is prompt in decision, swift in action. Hamlet believes in the ghost because he has seen it: the force of evidence overwhelms him. Don Quixote sees life through an embellishing prism, and interprets facts so that they fit in with his theory of existence; if he submitted to the testimony of his senses, he would have to think that an angry official of the Holy Brotherhood had broken his head; but this base materialism is alien to his

nature, and he resignedly refers, in the best of good faith, to 'the wound that phantom gave me'. He has no more doubt on the point than he has as to the fact that the puppets in the show are really Moors, or paladins at Charlemagne's court. Don Quixote has not Hamlet's psychological intensity nor intellectual subtlety; but he delights in dialectic and is the happier spirit of the two, as he is the finer gentleman. He has the support of an elaborate creed; his ribs may ache with the trouncings which he receives, but his faith moults no feather, and he is constantly buoyed up with thoughts of the restoration of that perfect Golden Age which he commemorates in a resonant rhetorical passage that left the listening goatherds agape with amazement, as well it might. This is the very opposite of Hamlet's outlook:

> How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable
> Seem to me all the uses of this world!
> Fie on 't! O fie! 'tis an unweeded garden
> That grows to seed; things rank and gross in nature
> Possess it merely.

Don Quixote was not unaware of the seamier aspect of the world. He knows that Sancho Panza, for example, is a lying coward, but he tries to put the disturbing thought away from him, and prefers to evoke the vision of his squire administering provinces with sententious wisdom. His glance beautifies all that it rests upon, and he idealizes Sancho Panza as easily as his glorifying vision transfigures the barber's brass basin into Mambrino's helmet, all of the purest gold. And his ennobling faculty affects others. Our first introduction to Sancho Panza—whose character is an afterthought, the most brilliant that ever occurred to any author—reveals him as a crafty, covetous boor. His covetousness, though diminished, never dies; but in all other respects he improves conspicuously. If the Ingenious Gentleman believes in the shadows of dreamland, Sancho Panza's faith is centred on things tangible. What can be more concrete than the island which he feels himself born to govern? It has been argued that his credulity in this matter of the island is incompatible with his fundamental shrewdness. On the contrary: it is essentially true to nature. Few of us are profoundly convinced of our own unworthiness: we are prone to believe that, whatever our good fortune may be, it will not be beyond our deserts. If Don Quixote be destined to become Emperor of Trebizond, there would be nothing strange in the appointment of his faithful squire to a governorship: it would be no disproportionate reward: but, to repeat an old proverb quoted by the Captive in the story of his adventures, *más vale migaja de rey que*

merced de señor—'better a king's crumb than a lord's bounty'. Apart from innate likelihood and the immanent justice of things, Sancho Panza has his master's word for it, and, as we know from his sulky reply to the fencing licentiate's cousin, his faith in Don Quixote is complete. Moreover, it is vindicated by the result: he does finally obtain his island through his association with the knight. And it is important to observe that Sancho Panza's credulity is mainly confined to himself and his personal affairs. He believes—what proves to be the fact—that he would make an excellent governor, just as he believes that his daughter—'as fresh as an April morning and as strong as a porter'—would make a figure at court as a countess. But he cannot be persuaded that sheep are knights, or that windmills are giants on those points he is clear that his chief is mad. On all everyday matters, Sancho Panza's judgement is wellnigh infallible, and he backs his opinions with an array of garrulous aphoristic wisdom which would commend him to Polonius. For the rest, he grows more and more attached to his master, whom he describes in confidence to Tomé Cecial, that squire of agitating appearance who accompanied the Knight of the Grove: 'He has no thought of doing harm to any one, only good to all, nor has he a touch of suspicion in him; a child might make him think that it was night at noonday; and for this simplicity I love him as I love my heart-strings, and cannot bring myself to leave him, however foolish his acts.'

This is a sound judgement. In nearly all Don Quixote's extravagances there is an element of virtue; he is magnanimous and actively benevolent without any hope of reward, at worst, his deeds are done for the greater glory of the non-existent Dulcinea whom he worships with the chastest 'ecstasy of love', conscious that he can never be worthy of her. It is doubtful if Hamlet ever loved anybody but himself. In what seems like a lucid interval, he asserts that he never loved Ophelia: 'You should not have believed me: for virtue cannot so inoculate our old stock but we shall relish of it. I loved you not.' Hamlet is less rigidly consistent than Don Quixote. Save in the episode of the Cave of Montesinos, where Cervantes himself seems in doubt as to how far his hero was the sport of his delusions, Don Quixote's character is all of one piece. The Spanish writer has not Shakespeare's depth of searching reflection and splendour of contrapuntal diction. But neither has the Englishman Cervantes's wealth of varied first-hand experience, his magnanimous charity and inimitable serenity. The English play is richer in psychological subtlety, the Spanish story in texture and in the breadth of its effects.

When Cervantes published the First Part of *Don Quixote* he was

in his fifty-eighth year—a greater age than was to be attained by Shakespeare, who, in 1605, had turned forty, had a great series of masterpieces behind him, and was writing *Macbeth*, if not already sketching out the characters of *King Lear*. Cervantes had no such record. Had he died at the same age as Shakespeare, he would have passed away in 1599, an obscure mediocrity, long since forgotten by the world. Shakespeare had industry and the useful practical qualities of life as well as the sublimest genius; he pressed forward steadily to his goal—independence and retirement. Cervantes was less well equipped for success in life: though clearly replenished with practical wisdom, he showed but little of it in the conduct of his affairs. One of the most mysterious passages in his career is his obvious reluctance to follow up the resounding triumph which he had won so slowly, after being the blank of so many slings of fortune. On the last page of the First Part he suggested the desirability of a sequel, but left it rather doubtful whether he would himself write it. He did not in fact produce his Second Part till ten years later. Why did he tarry? Had he, for the time being, at any rate, said all that he had to say? Did he share the opinion of his own Bachelor Sansón Carrasco that 'Second Parts are never good'? Was he disinclined to imperil his hard-won reputation, and run the risk of a final failure? One or other of these reasons may have caused him to hang back. He may equally have been influenced by private considerations. His domestic life was not stimulating. He is relatively poor in the presentation of his female characters. Teresa and the Duchess are among the exceptions, but Teresa is a woman of the people, and of the Duchess we have not so much a portrait as a sketch. Cervantes has no characters that can vie with Juliet and Rosalind, with Viola and Portia, with Beatrice and Imogen. The women of his own circle do not appear to have been gracious or entertaining. Moreover, he had other trials which overtook him soon after the publication of the First Part of *Don Quixote*. In the summer of 1605 he was arrested by a blundering official on suspicion of being in some way concerned in the death of a worthless man who had been mortally wounded close by the poor house in the Calle del Rastro where Cervantes lodged at Valladolid. That a mistake had been made was speedily recognized, and Cervantes was promptly set free. There is, I think, nothing fanciful in holding that he was never quite the same gay spirit afterwards. His discouragement was evidently extreme, at any rate, for the time. He produced next to nothing for eight years, and seems to have contemplated abandoning literature altogether. Fortunately he failed to obtain in Italy a post on which his heart was set. This drove him

back once more to his pen, and in 1613 he at last issued his twelve *Novelas Exemplares.* The propriety of the adjective is a matter of opinion: as to the value of the stories all good judges are unanimous, and in the first of these it is possible to detect close analogies between the characters of Preciosa and Shakespeare's Marina, which ultimately derive from a common source. It was not till nearly two years later that the Second Part of *Don Quixote* appeared, and it might not have appeared then, had not Cervantes been goaded into activity by the publication of a spurious sequel with a truculent preface in which he was grossly insulted.

It is impossible not to sympathize with his anger, as it is impossible to deny that he had, to some extent, brought his misfortune on himself. He had, it must be admitted, immense resources of procrastination, and he drew on them extravagantly. He had nothing of Shakespeare's businesslike instinct and punctual industry. Between 1605 and 1615,—while Cervantes produced nothing of great value, with the splendid exception of the *Novelas Exemplares*,—Shakespeare was steadily consolidating his fame by the composition of such works as *King Lear*, *Timon of Athens*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Coriolanus*, *The Winter's Tale*, *The Tempest*, and (perhaps) *Pericles*, *Prince of Tyre.* I shall not be suspected of disloyalty to Cervantes, I hope, if I suggest that his occasional poems, even his *Novelas Exemplares*, his unlucky *Viage del Parnaso*, his unequal volume of plays and interludes, and his posthumous *Persiles* are less impressive. The superiority in quality and weight is manifestly on Shakespeare's side. The balance was not to be redressed, but all that could be done was done when at last the Second Part of *Don Quixote* was given to the public. It is disturbing to think it is a mere chance that this Second Part ever appeared at all. I am not unaware that Cervantes had specifically promised it in the prologue to the *Novelas Exemplares*; that suffices to put out of court the intruder who came forward with the spurious sequel He was absolutely bound to accept Cervantes's announcement; posterity is not so bound. We know now that Cervantes's declarations on such points are not final. He was prodigal of pledges: in this same prologue to the *Novelas Exemplares* he likewise promises a work entitled *Las Semanas del Jardin*, of which not a line ever appeared. If we were ungallantly disposed, we might throw the responsibility for this void on his wife, who may have been negligent in collecting his manuscripts. But the case does not stand alone. For thirty years or more Cervantes continued to promise a sequel to *La Galatea* this sequel was never published, and it is conceivable that it may hardly have been begun. However, by good

fortune, the Second Part of *Don Quixote* did appear, as I have said, in 1615. By that date Shakespeare had retired to Stratford-on-Avon, a prosperous gentleman playing his part in local business. No such good fortune awaited Cervantes. His life was a continuous struggle against adverse circumstance. It continued to be so till the end, and he died in something like penury. He had intimations of his vogue from abroad, and was none the less pleased that his fame in other countries did not depend solely on *Don Quixote*. That he was proud of his success at home is evident from his delighted reference to his book in the Second Part: 'Children thumb it, young folk read it, grown-up people understand it, the aged praise it.'

We are all of us prone to believe what we wish to believe, and in this respect, as in so many others, Cervantes was delightfully human his moods of self-complacency, however, alternate with moments of baffling irony and self-mockery. No doubt he exaggerates wilfully when he describes himself as 'merely the stepfather to *Don Quixote*'. Yet, as in most of his seemingly careless phrases, there is here a kernel of truth. Cervantes was apparently a little perplexed at his own triumph, and more than a little chagrined at the tacit but universal assumption that he was a man of one book. This was not his own view of the matter. In his heart of hearts, he would rather have won recognition as a dramatist than as a writer of romance, and he persuaded himself that he had, in fact, done wonders in the theatre with the plays which he wrote soon after his return from Algiers. The facts are against him. owing to lapse of time, his impressions had grown dim. But, with respect to the wonderful success of *Don Quixote*, Cervantes was not mistaken; he did not know the bibliography of his own works as well as we do, and when he ventures on details about editions, he makes unimportant slips which the very dullest of us can correct. But, as to the general accuracy of his statement, abundant corroborative testimony is forthcoming from contemporaries. That he was renowned in Spain is clear, that contemporaries should appreciate his full significance was not to be expected. The Frenchmen attached to Brûlart de Sillery's special mission were informed by one who knew Cervantes personally that he was 'old, a soldier, a gentleman, and poor'. It would have startled contemporaries to know that, when he went to his tomb fourteen months later, Spain had lost in him the greatest man of genius she has produced. We are here to-day to express our ardent admiration of the mighty creator and inventor that we recognize him to be. But let us not pride ourselves unduly on our acumen. We have the advantage of living three centuries later, and of seeing

men and things in their historical perspective. We are free from contemporary influences, safe from the dangers of cabals and cliques, sheltered from the gusts of taste, the petty prejudices which affect all men more or less Time does its work, and settles many questions. We do not now read *Don Quixote* in the spirit in which it was written three hundred years ago. It comes down to us with an incomparable prestige, enriched by the sparkling commentary of a thousand perspicacious and ingenious critics.

Don Quixote is now invested with a glory of which Cervantes never dreamed. At the time of its publication, and long afterwards, it was regarded simply as an amusing book. The author himself records that the average Spaniard clamoured for 'more Quixotades · let Don Quixote charge and let Sancho babble, and, no matter what it be about, we shall be content with that' But from the outset there were always a few who read the book with other eyes and greater understanding. There were some, it appears, who 'would have been pleased had the author omitted some of the trouncings inflicted on Señor Don Quixote in various encounters'. It was not till the romantic movement began to develop that the deeper wisdom of Cervantes's great book was tardily disengaged from the more visible humours of the story. this is well brought out by a French writer, M. J.-J. A. Bertrand, in *Cervantes et le romantisme allemand*, an interesting monograph which, by the irony of chance, was published during the summer of 1914. Schlegel and the rest are entitled to due credit for their clear-sightedness. The trick of symbolic interpretation has now been learned by many, and some of these practitioners have obtained bizarre results. It is tolerably plain that the author of *Don Quixote* made sly allusions at times to persons and things that he disliked. But when we are invited to believe that his book is a caricature of some of the most glorious figures in his country's history, a satire on the army in which he served, and a covert attack on the church of which he was a devout member, our confidence in our guides diminishes.

Cervantes took on none of the airs and graces implicitly imputed to him by sciolists. He was not a philosopher nor a social reformer; he was simply a man of letters whose main objects were to interest his readers, and to gain his bread. He does indeed allege that he wrote *Don Quixote* to destroy the books of chivalry, and no doubt he began his work with that intention; but it does not follow that he condemned all the romances of chivalry, and in fact he singles out some of them for praise—and not always praise with a tart flavour of mockery. Moreover, his original intention was

not continuously borne in mind. As he warms to his work, his parody of the books of chivalry is less malicious, more infrequent, and the parody is often lost sight of altogether, when the parodist has time to become more interested in his own creations, more concerned with the development of his own story. This is what Cervantes really was a born teller of stories. He shows it elsewhere than in *Don Quixote.* We have Sir Walter Scott's word for it that the *Novelas Exemplares* 'had first inspired him with the ambition of excelling in fiction, and that, until disabled by illness, he had been a constant reader of them'. It is true that some, at least, of the *Novelas Exemplares* are little masterpieces. It is perhaps a mere chance that some of the tales included in the *Novelas Exemplares* were not inserted in *Don Quixote* . one of the best of these short stories—*Rinconete y Cortadillo*—was, it seems, already written when the First Part of *Don Quixote* appeared in 1605, for the tale is specifically mentioned by its title in the forty-seventh chapter · 'The landlord approached the priest and gave him some papers, saying that he had come across them in the lining of the valise in which the *Novela del Curioso Impertinente* had been found, and that he might take them away with him, as their owner had never returned; for, as he himself could not read, he did not want them. The priest thanked him, and then, opening them, saw at the beginning the inscription *Novela de Rinconete y Cortadillo*; whence he perceived that it was a story of some kind, and he inferred that, as the tale of the *Curioso Impertinente* had been good, this would be so too; for both might well be by the same author.' Whether the story of *Rinconete y Cortadillo* was already actually on paper, or whether only its outline was sketched in Cervantes's mind, cannot be known positively What is beyond all doubt is that Cervantes was strongly attracted by the short story, of which two specimens are embodied in *Don Quixote* itself. One of these, *El Curioso Impertinente*,—though suggested by a passage in Ariosto, and often utilized by later writers—has not had the good fortune to please modern critics; and, as may be gathered from the Bachelor Sansón Carrasco, its insertion was thought a mistake by many of those who first read it: 'not that it is poor or badly told, but that it is out of place, and has nothing to do with the history of his worship Señor Don Quixote.' That there is force in this objection is tacitly admitted by Cervantes, for he does not repeat the experiment in the Second Part, though in the forty-fourth chapter of this sequel he makes a perfunctory attempt to defend his procedure, and with amiable, bantering self-assurance takes it on himself to praise 'the elegance and art' of the interpolated stories. This is amusing

by-play, an effort to carry off a mistake of judgement and keep up appearances.

It does not seem to have occurred to many readers that *Don Quixote* itself might well have taken the form of a *conte*. That this was Cervantes's primitive design is, however, extremely probable; there are indications that he meant to end his narrative with the fourth chapter. Though the opening of the book is admirably written, the author is not yet fully acquainted with his characters; he has not even conceived the figure of Sancho Panza, and, when he first describes the personal appearance of the squire, makes a blunder which shows that he has never observed him properly. Cervantes moves at first with halting step; slowly the possibilities of his material disclose themselves, the possibilities become certainties, the author follows the example of his hero on the road to the Campo de Montiel, giving Pegasus his head, and, imperceptibly, what was to have been a brief travesty of a dull literary craze broadens out into a vivacious, exuberant transcription of the entire social comedy. *Don Quixote* is a triumph of humour, observation, and invention. But it is more: it is of the nature of an authoritative historical document. The student who wishes to reconstruct the social history of Spain during the late sixteenth century must turn to *Don Quixote* in order to visualize the individual as well as the type. In that great panorama of the Later Renascence in Spain, there defile before our delighted eyes men and women of all conditions · varieties of country gentlemen, lettered like the mad knight himself, affable like Don Diego de Miranda, wealthy and hospitable like Don Antonio Moreno, grandees like the jesting Duke and his sprightly Duchess (to whose attraction Lamb was curiously insensible); merry graduates like that incorrigible wag Sansón Carrasco or Alonso Lopez, whose leg was broken through Don Quixote's endeavours to right wrongs and redress injuries; *nouveaux riches* like the befooled Camacho, whose prodigal entertainment so naturally commended him to Sancho Panza; well-to-do libertines like Fernando, whose escapades fail to make him 'sympathetic'; sober lawyers like Juan Pérez de Viedma, on his way to take up a colonial judgeship in Mexico; budding poets like Don Lorenzo, delighted to read their verses to courteous and patient guests; captives escaped from Algiers, and bubbling over with reminiscences romantic but true; different types of the clergy, including the haughty chaplain who left the Duke's table in a rage, the didactic canon who advocated the unities and recommended a high-handed censorship of plays, the village priest who did such mischief in Don Quixote's library and wore so strange

a disguise before he changed clothes with the barber. To these must be added merciless employers like Juan Haldudo the Rich of Quintanar, who flayed Andrés alive and gave the newly dubbed knight his first opportunity of intervening to protect the weak, an intervention so disastrous to the protected, peppery Biscayans murdering the King's Spanish, and treating the hero as though he were Malchus, the high-priest's servant; doctors like Pedro Recio de Aguero, with ascetical views on diet; landlords who, though exigent as to payment, were ever ready to cap verses with an embarrassing guest; muleteers who were prompt, on the slightest provocation, to take the law into their own hands; goatherds of all moods and tempers, courteous and quarrelsome; predatory *Moriscos* who rob travellers with a charming politeness; surly convicts who behave with frank ingratitude to their liberator. It would be easy to continue the enumeration, but enough has been said to give an idea of the scope of *Don Quixote*. Arithmeticians profess to have counted six hundred and sixty-nine personages in *Don Quixote*. When Sancho Panza overheard his master, a bachelor, giving unsolicited advice to the newly-married Basilio as to the apt choice of a wife, the edified squire is reported as saying to himself: 'I used to think in my heart that he only knew about matters that concerned knight-errantries; but there is never a dish that he does not lard and dip his spoon into.' The presentation of the six hundred and sixty-nine personages, often carefully characterized and always representative of the class to which each of them belongs, justifies the application of Sancho Panza's remark to Cervantes himself. 'Here is God's plenty', as Dryden said of the pilgrims in *The Canterbury Tales*. Were it permissible to leave out of account the English kings and nobles who had a real existence in the flesh before they were brought to life again in the historical plays, it might perhaps prove that Shakespeare was not a more fertile creator.

It is arguable that Cervantes's immense renown as a novelist has caused readers to be less than just to his other works. He apparently thought so himself, and it is true that *Don Quixote* has eclipsed everything else that he wrote. But is not the popular verdict right? Undoubtedly. Cervantes himself would have been willing, as it seems, to stake his reputation on his plays. He would have lost. With not more than two exceptions, his ambitious plays are failures: at the best, they are clever rhetorical exercises. A stronger case might be made for the interludes, some of which are really brilliant, often sparkling with risky humour. It is significant, however, that the best of these interludes are written in prose. Cervantes

is not a great dramatist, nor is he a great poet. In the latter respect, the truth was slowly borne in upon him; writing in old age, he pathetically deplores the fact that his constant ambition to excel in poetry had been thwarted by the parsimony of nature.

> I, who do toil and strain my being whole
> To show, what Heaven's grace will not allow,
> The semblance of a poet's gracious soul, . . .

This is an ingenuous confession of truth. Cervantes was endowed with a powerful imagination; he had a facile command of verse, and was not deficient in the art of graceful versifying. But beyond that he does not go. He is without the endowment of magical expression, without the charm of verbal melody, and is uncertain in technique, just as he is too exuberant to adapt himself to the framework of the drama. Curiously enough, he belonged to the strict old school of dramatists, and, though he might have been expected to welcome the greater amplitude and freedom of the *comedia nueva* introduced by Lope de Vega, he was, for one reason or another, frankly hostile to the innovation (perhaps still more hostile to the innovator). True, he ended by arguing in its favour, but his repentance came too late. It was once sought to explain away the obvious shortcomings of the more formal dramatic compositions of Cervantes by alleging that they were intentional burlesques of the plays then being written by Lope de Vega and the new school of dramatists. This theory, which would have stirred Cervantes to indignation, has been scoffed out of existence by posterity; the admission involved in it is fatal. The plain truth is that Cervantes was too prolix for the theatre; he has so much to say that he cannot be pent up within the narrow limits of the stage convention. He infringes all rules with a careless gaiety; if he cannot condense his poetic material into fourteen lines, he will write sixteen, but will insist on calling his composition a sonnet. And as in small matters, so in great. In *La Galatea* the construction is weak; there is no unity of narrative in the succession of unrelated episodes. It is even so in the posthumous *Persiles y Sigismunda*, where unusual pains have been taken by the author. Now, 'this effect defective comes by cause'. Concentration is not Cervantes's strong point. By a splendid accident, in *Don Quixote* the form is perfectly suited to his discursive genius. Samuel Johnson once asked: 'Was there ever yet anything written by mere man that was wished longer by its readers excepting *Don Quixote, Robinson Crusoe*, and *The Pilgrim's Progress*?' For our own enjoyment, we would not have *Don Quixote* a page shorter

than it is; but one can imagine that a meticulous artist would excise some passages, and it is difficult to meet the contention that there is no good reason why the narrative should ever stop. It is clear that Cervantes himself was in some embarrassment to find a suitable conclusion; for a moment or two he toyed with the idea of converting Don Quixote and Sancho Panza into a pair of shepherds. 'I will buy some ewes and everything else needful for the pastoral calling; and—I under the name of Quixotiz, and thou as the shepherd Panzino—we will roam the woods and groves and meadows, singing songs here, lamenting in elegies there, drinking of the crystal waters of the springs or limpid brooks or brimming rivers.' Fortunately the mood passed when Cervantes had conveyed his hero safely back to his native village. There was nothing for it but that Don Quixote should die · Cervantes, flashing out against the interloper who had come between him and the public, proclaims · 'For me alone was Don Quixote born, and I for him, it was his to act, mine to write. we two together make but one' And then, the story being ended, and artistic reasons for restraint no longer existing, he denounces the impostor 'who has dared, or may dare, to write with his coarse, ill-trimmed ostrich quill the achievements of my brave knight'. This passage decided the fate of another famous character · for, according to Samuel Johnson, it 'made Addison declare, with undue vehemence of expression, that he would kill Sir Roger'.

All this serves to illustrate the capricious fluttering flight of Cervantes's fancy. elsewhere an apparent lack of control works to his disadvantage; in *Don Quixote*, the haphazard discursiveness becomes a source of strength, for all the author's material can be thrown into the crucible. Not a scrap is wasted: the veriest dross is transmuted into gold. Though Cervantes was neither a great dramatist nor a great poet, his masterpiece is pregnant with dramatic suggestion as it is penetrated with poetic imagination. He understands with perfect comprehension the prosaic outlook of Sancho Panza; he is fully in sympathy with his crazy, idealistic hero. From all we know of him, it is reasonable to suppose that he would have approved of Lammenais's saying 'there is something lacking in the noblest life that does not end in prison, or on the battle-field, or the scaffold.' We cannot feel confident that Shakespeare would have been as forward as was Cervantes to lead perilous enterprises, planned by men grown desperate. As Mr. Bradley has said, Shakespeare might well have created a Don Quixote no less humorous than Cervantes's. we cannot feel confident that he would have created a figure so impressive, so tenderly pathetic, so beloved. It cost Cervantes no great effort to

identify himself with Don Quixote; unconsciously, no doubt, some of his own chivalrous nature is portrayed in his hero's character. He was no longer young when he first sketched *Don Quixote*, and his impetuous temper had been subdued to a wise patience. And the process of dulcification continued. If we compare the Second Part of *Don Quixote* with the First Part, published ten years previously, we shall note the madcap frolic mellowing into the gentlest and most impersonal humour. Cervantes is autobiographic, and intervenes for an instant now and then in the text; but he never intrudes himself unduly, and rarely stands between the reader and the development of the story. This does happen in the Second Part, towards the end, and we all know the reason why—the provocation given to the author by the impostor with the 'ill-trimmed ostrich quill.'

Cervantes's eye is constantly on his sitters; he is the first novelist who dares to make his personages speak as they would speak in real life; the few passages in which he departs for a moment from this standard are deliberate bravura exercises. He was not wholly untouched by the literary fashions of his day. Can any writer be so? Was Shakespeare? Prospero's allusion to 'the fringed curtains of' Miranda's eye is perhaps as modish as any phrase in Marcela's alembicated speech—a speech in which, as Sr. Rodríguez Marín acutely notes, an absent-minded compositor has printed several hendecasyllabics as though they were prose. From tricks and mannerisms Cervantes is not exempt. His taste was not impeccable; absolute beauty of phrase is not his preoccupation; he aims at being natural and at conveying an exact impression of manifold life. That object he achieves with a success unrivalled out of Shakespeare. He does not approach Shakespeare in the magic power of evocation, in picturesque description, in the use of lovely epithet; he is less disconcertingly neutral, inscrutable, and aloof. On the other hand, he is not inferior to Shakespeare in the mastery of dialogue, and in method is more constantly realistic; he submits voluntarily to a difficult test by keeping his chief characters in their harsh native surroundings; he does not transport them to the beautifying atmosphere of Arden or Illyria or Messina; he exhibits them in the arid sunlight of Spain,—'tawny Spain',—challenges comparison with nature, and survives the trial. His effects are broad, he does not focus all his powers on the teasing analysis of a single passion; he does not expand an anecdote. He strove to convey all humanity into literature, and his end has been attained: his characters, as George Meredith said, have in them more 'blood-life' than can be found out of Shakespeare.

He set about his task late in his own career, after many checks and some disasters. Fortunately, it was not too late. The presentation is complete, the execution ripe, but not too ripe: *Don Quixote*, as Tennyson said, is 'mature'. Inevitably there have been a few captious censors in Spain and elsewhere. Cervantes's fraternal affability to all ranks of society jars on the nerves of those who contrive to regard the majority of their fellow-creatures as 'the swinish multitude'. Half a century ago the plebeian Cervantes was set in his place by a writer of eccentric talent and fantastic patrician pretensions. This writer, while admitting Cervantes's genius and the charm of some of the episodes, described *Don Quixote* as a monotonous book, reeking with garlic and proverbs. What to this difficult reader seemed monotony has seemed to others inexhaustible variety: but it would be waste of time to argue a point which has been finally ruled. It is more plausible to contend that fewer of Cervantes's creations have impressed the world than Shakespeare's. This is perhaps true, but it cannot be taken as indisputable. It would be an illusion to suppose that all Shakespeare's plays have entered into the current of European literature. The ten plays which deal with English historical themes from the patriotic English point of view may be dropped at once; they could hardly be expected to thrill Continental audiences. Even the comedies, in which gaiety and poetry are so deftly blended, have not succeeded in supplanting Molière's creations: Arnolphe, Alceste, Georges Dandin, Harpagon, Mascarille, Scapin, Elvire, Célimène, still keep the stage. Hamlet fills houses everywhere, but his true home is in the north. As we draw nearer to the sun, we find Shakespeare chiefly represented by his romantic plays and tragedies: by *Romeo and Juliet*, by *Othello*, and by *Macbeth*. These points are merely noted as relevant to any discussion on the 'universal vogue' of Shakespeare. Unquestionably his dominion is vast: so is that of Cervantes. By common consent, Cervantes is the father of the modern novel. Signs of his influence are to be observed where least expected—even in Marivaux. But it is needless to go outside England. Our own great novelists—men of genius like Fielding and Sterne—were proud to boast themselves Cervantes's disciples, and the histories of literature mention many other followers. Many as they are, I will plead for the addition of one name which is apt to be forgotten: that of Henry Brooke, the overshadowed author of *The Fool of Quality*, an unsatisfactory novel but a remarkable piece of literature, which has gained little by Wesley's appreciation and has lost something by Charles Kingsley's extravagant praise.

Blanco White, who was in the uncomfortable position of ceasing to be a Spaniard without becoming quite at home in England, held that it was impossible for any Englishman to appreciate *Don Quixote* fully. These sweeping statements are more easily made than proved; against Blanco White's view may be set that of a Spanish Cervantist, that *Don Quixote* is best read in English—a dark saying which I do not presume to understand. But these whimsies need not detain us. If eighteenth-century Englishmen did not reach Blanco White's exacting standard, they did their best to naturalize *Don Quixote*. Nor were they content with formal translations, four or five of which were issued in England between 1706 and 1796. Other means were tried. There is a song which, in one form or another, is known to all of us; it will suffice to quote the first stanza.—

> The dusky night rides down the sky
> And ushers in the morn
> The hounds all join in glorious cry,
> The huntsman winds his horn:
> And a hunting we will go.

The refrain has an English ring about it. There is another song, no less familiar, the opening stanza of which is.—

> When mighty roast beef was the Englishman's food,
> It ennobled our hearts, and enriched our blood,
> Our soldiers were brave, and our courtiers were good
> Oh! the roast beef of old England,
> And old England's roast beef!

This has a decided English flavour, and it may take some a little aback to find Sancho Panza joining in the chorus. Both songs occur in Fielding's *Don Quixote in England*, a piece begun at Leyden in 1728 for the writer's private amusement, 'as it would, indeed, have been little less than Quixotism to hope any fruits from attempting characters wherein the inimitable Cervantes so far excelled. The impossibility of going beyond, and the extreme difficulty of keeping pace with him, were sufficient to infuse despair into a very adventurous author.'

England, which produced the first translation of Cervantes's famous book, has never faltered in her loyalty to him, and his influence on English literature is deep and wide. No one needs to be told the source of the two characters that Thackeray calls 'Don Pickwick and Sancho Weller'; nobody doubts the relationship of Colonel Thomas Newcome to Don Quixote. As to Cervantes's surpassing merits there are no two opinions in England. They are insisted upon by men who

have few views in common. The indefatigable novel-reader Macaulay, the saturnine Carlyle, and the fiery, fitful Ruskin are all enthusiastic for Cervantes. Tennyson's name has been already mentioned, and from my own knowledge I can say that Swinburne was one of Cervantes's most fervent devotees. In England the tradition of admiration for Cervantes is continuous and unabated. As has often been said, it is not more certain that Shakespeare is the first of dramatic poets than that Cervantes is the first of novelists. Both are supreme inventors; by the creative force of imagination they have called into being a host of characters which convey all the illusion of reality, though dwelling in a world impalpable, these characters have an existence much less shadowy than that of many historical figures. In the exquisite medium of verse, Shakespeare's supremacy is incontestable. But, to be just, we should compare like with like, and if we make the easy experiment of setting a prose passage from—say—*As You Like It* beside a corresponding passage from *Don Quixote*, the supremacy becomes doubtful. It would be insincere to pretend that there are no flaws in Cervantes and Shakespeare, in *Don Quixote*, with which I am more directly concerned, there are many. At some of these blemishes I have glanced. it would be ungracious and ungrateful to do more, for, whatever its shortcomings, the book remains one of the greatest in all literature. In addition to the imaginative wealth, the puissant portraiture, the wistful wisdom, and the pathetic humour which have won it immarcessible renown, it has on every page the irresistible charm of Cervantes's sunny personality.

ANNUAL SHAKESPEARE LECTURE, 1916

SHAKESPEARE AFTER THREE HUNDRED YEARS

By J. W. MACKAIL

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Five years ago, His Excellency the French Ambassador to the United States delivered the first of the Shakespeare lectures on this foundation. His address remains in the memory of all who heard or read it. But we may more particularly and with special warmth of gratitude recall how he began with a reference to the new understanding that had grown up between our two nations; how felicitously he quoted Ronsard's lines written in the year of Shakespeare's birth; and his expression of the hope that the golden age of firm amity to which the national French poet had looked forward might, in our time, come to be. The friendship has been knit close now; but for the golden age, alas! Yet if some word may be conveyed to our ally now in reply to that word of friendship, it would be that England has resolved to make good all that France can hope and expect from her. The message you would wish to give from the English nation is that of the words put by Shakespeare, just three hundred years before M. Jusserand's address, in the mouth of Posthumus when he says in Rome of his British countrymen:

> Their discipline,
> Now mingled with their courages, will make known
> To their approvers, they are people such
> That mend upon the world.

In humility, but with quiet confidence, we would repeat these words now.

This is the tercentenary, not of any work or word of Shakespeare's, but of his death. I come (it might almost be said) to bury Shakespeare, not to praise him. It would be using the occasion amiss to

make it one of mere customary and recapitulated eulogy. For the time is one which calls on us to revise all our values. It calls on us to discard our formulae and break our idols.

Disrobe the images
If you do find them decked with ceremonies.

With what we have loved, as well as with what we have indolently accepted, this revaluation has to be made. Analysis and embroidery have for ages worked in or round Shakespeare. Now that both processes may seem, for the time being, to have reached exhaustion, it is worth while to try to stand back from them; to ask ourselves what Shakespeare really was, and what after three centuries he really is. For doing so, the time is doubly apt. Industry and research have accumulated, one may say with some confidence, all the facts that are of any importance, besides many more that are of none; and have not only accumulated, but weighed and assorted them. Sir Sidney Lee's *Life* in its latest form, a monumental tribute to the anniversary which we are celebrating, sums up and sets forth the ascertained and ascertainable information. To the appreciation, the vital interpretation of Shakespeare, no like limit can be put; for the secret of art is never to be won from her. Yet even in this we may make a pause, and ask how, in effect, the matter stands.

'Let not my love be called idolatry', Shakespeare wrote in the *Sonnets*, 'or my beloved as an idol shew.' It is a counsel to be borne in mind. 'Idolatry of Shakespeare', said Gibbon, with that stately detachment which is often mistaken for sarcasm, 'is inculcated from our infancy as the first duty of an Englishman.' His canonization had already begun when Jonson broke out with his petulant but not unreasonable protest, 'I loved the man, and do honour his memory on this side idolatry as much as any.' It became a fixed doctrine within a century. Dryden had already given his magnificent praise; Pope, with a fine and discriminating touch, noted that 'men of judgment think they do any man more service in praising him justly than lavishly'. 'Poets', he adds—and the words are an anticipatory comment on much later Shakespearian criticism—'are always afraid of envy; but sure they have as much reason to be afraid of admiration.' Yet Pope himself says of him, in words no less true than noble, that 'he is not so much an imitator as an instrument of nature, and 'tis not so just to say he speaks from her, as that she spoke through him'.

Upon the enthusiasm of the eighteenth century, formulated as it advanced into that fixed idolatry recorded by Gibbon, came the

analysis of more fully equipped critics, and then the new idolatry of the romantic revival. That revival, like all revolutions, had been long prepared for, and, like all successful revolutions, resulted in something different from what its authors meant. Its results upon Shakespeare, when it wrought out its effect, were twofold. On the one hand it quickened interest, and opened out regions in him which till then had been left unexplored. On the other hand it erected him into something supernaturally inspired and mysteriously impeccable. Behind Coleridge and Hazlitt came up the army of expounders, prophets of their enthroned divinity. It was not sufficient that they should show Shakespeare to be, what he was, an adept in stagecraft, a master of language, the wielder of a versification unmatched for bright speed and supple strength. It was not sufficient that they should reaffirm him to be an instrument of nature. He must needs be also a profound thinker, a great teacher, an author in whose works may be found the key to all problems, and the quintessence of human wisdom. Nothing less than universal knowledge, nothing short of a doctrine and a message on all the matters which concern life, was claimed for one who was assumed and believed to be, in Coleridge's phrase, 'myriad-minded' and supernaturally gifted: 'the guide and the pioneer' (Coleridge's words again) 'of true philosophy'. In him, as in a Bible, all schools found what they sought.

This excess provoked its own reaction. Shakespeare the idol had swollen to such prodigious proportions that he began to topple over. Devotion led to research; research raised doubts and started theories; the process of destructive criticism began. Under a misapplication of scientific method, the Shakespearian environment threatened to swamp Shakespeare. The invention of new criteria for determining authorship in writings of mixed composition led to the early vagaries of the New Shakspere Society, in which most of the plays were taken away from him and parcelled out among a dozen of his contemporaries. The width of knowledge assigned to him by his idolaters misled a school, which still subsists, instead of questioning the premises, to draw from them a yet more preposterous conclusion.

Modern idolatry keeps breaking out in fresh forms, even more vagrant and fantastical. The illusion of reality in Shakespeare's characters is so powerful that they are thought of as existing outside and apart from the plays themselves; as though Shakespeare had suppressed or falsified material facts about them, as though the action in the plays had been misconceived by him, or were a fragment only of some larger whole which our superior insight enables us to reconstitute. Like the conjectural emendations of a text based

on the inquiry not what the author wrote but what he ought to have written, these conjectural extensions and reconstitutions offer a large playground. There is no danger in them so long as it is realized that they leave Shakespeare himself untouched. Fletcher wrote *The Tamer Tamed* as a continuation, or a rejoinder, to *The Taming of the Shrew*. A modern author has written a play introducing a younger Lear and his wife ('which her name is Mrs. Harris') with Goneril as a girl. These are legitimate exercises of fancy. And there is no reason why any one should not take the subject of one of Shakespeare's plays and make a better play of it—if he can. But to read a philosophy into Shakespeare, or to invent some 'obsession' in him and hunt for traces of it throughout his work, is not only idle but hurtful; because this stands between us and Shakespeare and vitiates our view of him. To the older heresy which claimed for its idol omniscience and infallibility, to those for whom

> He is their God: he leads them like a thing
> Made by some other deity than nature,
> That shapes men better,

it might gently be answered:

> A rarer spirit never
> Did steer humanity; but you Gods will give us
> Some faults to make us men.

To the newer theorists it may rather be said more sharply:

> With what's unreal thou coactive art
> And fellow'st nothing.

To recall criticism from such extravagances, it is only necessary to notice facts. The 'spaciousness' of the Elizabethan age is largely an illusion. It was a period of material expansion and of intellectual activity; but it was also one of contraction, of low morality and debased art. Humanism had not struck deep in England. The reformation carried out by the Tudor monarchy, in the phrase of an eminent historian, laid its foundations in the murder of the English Erasmus, and set up its gates in the blood of the English Petrarch. In the year when Shakespeare came to London, what was left of the English Renaissance died with Sidney. The provincial middle class to which Shakespeare belonged inherited, as they transmitted, the insular virtue of easy-going good temper, and the insular failings of grossness, slovenliness, and indolence. The first of the Shakespeares mentioned in records was hanged. The first mention of Shakespeare's own father is of his being fined for keeping a dunghill in front of his house, and the last, that he died intestate in a muddle of

petty embarrassments. The child of a shiftless family in a decaying little country town might seem born to float with the stream.

In effect, he did so; and in that lies the paradox, and in some sense the secret, of his unique greatness. From first to last he moves through life

> With such a careless force and forceless care
> As if that luck, in very spite of cunning,
> Bade him win all.

The stream on which he floated he took always at the flood. He strove with none, not because none was worth his strife, but because temper did not force him, or occasion induce him, to strive. He fitted into his environment (to use a Homeric simile) like an onion into its coat, at every point in close touch and engagement, with no gap and with no friction. By native instinct he takes the line of least resistance, adapting himself to fashion and circumstance with complete flexibility. When still a boy, he accepts unresistingly the marriage arranged for him by Anne Hathaway's relations. Three years later he slips away, leaving his 'clog'—it is the word used by Autolycus of Perdita—behind. He launches on London life, and takes to it like a duck to water. The 'moral incoherence' which has been noted in the Elizabethan drama was common to stage and audience. But among actors and playwrights it was accompanied by an actual immorality which excused if it did not justify the strictures of the Puritans, and the repeated but ineffective attempts of the Privy Council to close the theatres altogether. The miserable end of Greene, the more tragic and not less squalid death of Marlowe a few months later, were prologues to the Shakespearian age, and give a lurid register of the soil and atmosphere in which the Shakespearian drama came to being:

> Things outward
> Do draw the inward quality after them
> To suffer all alike.

In that turbid sea of life Shakespeare finds himself. He assimilates everything he sees and hears and touches, always ready tó do anything, and doing everything well. Poetry was in fashion, and patronage was valuable; so he writes *Venus and Adonis*, and dedicates it to the greatest of his great acquaintances, a dissolute young lord of nineteen; the theatres being closed for the plague, he follows up that first adventure with *Lucrece,* but never afterwards publishes a line. Two months after his only son's death—an unusual time for such a thing—he applies for a coat of arms, and next spring

buys New Place. Then the current takes a new turn, and he with it; he goes back to his professional work, not now as an assistant, but as a manager, for ten years more. By then he had come to the time of life when people begin to prefer comfort to pleasure, and to know what they do not want. But there was more in it than that. Puritanism was becoming the rising force in England. John Hall, Susanna's husband, was a strong Puritan; and not only did she adopt her husband's way of thinking, but Shakespeare himself acquiesced in it. At his entertainments of Puritan preachers in New Place one seems to hear him saying, 'I'll ne'er be drunk whilst I live again, but in honest, civil, godly company: if I be drunk, I'll be drunk with those that have the fear of God.' A conformist by instinct, he conformed to the ways of Stratford as he had done to the ways of London. Yet local chatter was not silenced. It breaks out in the loose gossip that 'he died a Papist', and survives in the curiously sub-acid flavour of the lines written long after on Susanna's tombstone beside her father's:

> Witty above her sexe, but that's not all,
> Wise to salvation was good Mistris Hall;
> Something of Shakespeare was in that, but this
> Wholy of him with whom she's now in blisse.

Shakespeare himself, the suggestion is, was not of the company.

The epithets 'sweet', 'pleasant', 'gentle', habitually applied to him by his contemporaries, imply this flexibility of soft manners and far from rigid morals, as do the few anecdotes of him which have any claim to authenticity. They show him at all events as one who was acquiescent and not assertive, who avoided controversy, who chose the easiest way. And this brings us up to a point which has been so far neglected or missed that it may seem, if baldly stated, not only paradoxical but shocking A forgotten artist of the last century, stumbling in his simplicity upon what had eluded wiser heads, and what would be angrily or contemptuously thrust aside by Shakespeare's idolaters, put it with startling clearness in four words: 'Shakespeare was like putty.' 'Shakespeare was like putty to everybody and everything: the willing slave, pulled out, patted down, squeezed anyhow, clay to every potter. But he knew by the plastic hand what the nature of the moulder was.'

That is true; and it is essential to true appreciation. At the touch of this thin shaft of light, the facts rearrange themselves, the puzzle straightens itself out. One begins to see how it might be that in his life he was generally classed as only one among others, and that his

death—a thing that has often moved wonder—passed wholly unnoticed, and did not call forth, in that copiously elegiac age, a single line of elegy. He did not impress his contemporaries greatly. Very likely we also might find him quite unimpressive, simply because he would not be occupied in impressing us. He would be doing something quite different: taking our impression. Shakespeare had *le don terrible de la familiarité*; 'every lane's end, every shop, church, session, hanging, yields a careful man work.' 'He hath known you but three days', says Valentine to Viola of the Duke, 'and already you are no stranger': with Shakespeare, it would have taken three minutes. Not a word, not a humour, not a quality, but he immediately took its impress. On that amazing sensitive-plate were recorded every lineament of body and mind, 'all forms, all pressures past, that youth and observation copied there.' In that even more amazing developing-room the records were put together, and were reeled out so as to give the vibrating effect of life, yet of a life swifter, tenser, more vivid than that of our own actual experience. At will he could set that film-world of impressions into motion, could make its figures speak, act, think or feel, exult or suffer, as though they were really alive.

Sine ira et studio, the lofty ideal of the historian, was for such a faculty almost a matter of course. Nothing in Shakespeare is more remarkable than his conspicuous fairness to all his characters. He has no favourites; he has, one may even say, no antipathies. That fairness, that clarity of representation, is the index partly of an indulgent temper, but more largely of a sensitiveness which is in touch with the whole of life, not intermittently but continuously, a dramatic or (to use the Greek term) imitative power which never sleeps. His attitude towards his own creations—Shylock for instance, or Falstaff—has been warmly debated; really, he has no attitude towards them; he gives us them for what they are: with their virtues and vices, their strength and weakness, neither isolated nor commented upon, but recorded. With these, as with others, we must end by taking them as they are given. 'Generally, in all shapes that man goes up and down in, from fourscore to thirteen, this spirit walks in.' From fourscore to thirteen; from Lear to Juliet! We are hardly justified in saying that Shakespeare hates even his villains, or loves even his heroines. Lady Macbeth, even if not what she has been lately called by a diligent Shakespearian student, 'a sunny, bright, dainty little woman', is, as Mr. Bradley has pointed out, 'up to her light, a perfect wife'. The Queen in *Cymbeline* is, with the same reservation, a perfect mother. King John can retain to the end

the absolute loyalty of Faulconbridge. Edmund was beloved. The one figure in Shakespeare for whom Shakespeare shows something like antipathy is Iago; and Iago is not quite a real person. 'I am not what I am' are his own enigmatic but significant words.

Iago's sentence is the direct negative of what Shakespeare says of himself in a sonnet which is admittedly autobiographical: 'I am that I am.' 'There is no man hath a virtue that he hath not a glimpse of, nor any man an attaint but he carries some stain of it.' To represent him otherwise is a pious fiction; it must go its way with those forms of idolatry which make him out an accomplished scholar, a trained lawyer, an expounder in dramatic allegories of the Platonic philosophy, or a profound political thinker. In all these matters he gives out the impressions made on him by the life about him. His painter in *Timon* is brilliantly true to life, but about painting he obviously knew little and cared less. Of music, from 'Sneak's noise' to ditties

> Sung by a fair queen in a summer's bower,
> With ravishing division, to her lute,

he writes delightfully, but never like a musician. His age, like our own, was greatly concerned with the theory and practice of education; his own chief contribution to the subject is perhaps in the short dialogue—

> Canst not read?
> No.
> There will little learning die then, that day thou art hanged.

Legal phraseology, as was the habit of his age, he uses copiously, even to excess; but his law, as distinct from this, is either taken straight from the story or chronicle he was dramatizing, or is frank stage-law, poetical justice unknown to any court or code. Equally baseless is the assumption of his anti-democratic temper. In the follies of his mobs, as in the sarcasms of his aristocrats, he reflects the spirit of his audience whether at Whitehall or at the Bankside. It is only a further exemplification of this, that in his later work the tone changes, and he sounds, in *Lear* and elsewhere, the note of passionate pity for the poor. That note is his swift response to the ground-swell of the new democracy. The Tudor dynasty had become extinct, and with it the iron Tudor system of repression and reaction had come to an end; the revolutionary movements of the Stuart period were beginning to stir. In these later plays, as in the earlier, Shakespeare is still giving out what he received; he makes vocal,

personifies, vitalizes the impressions of his actual environment. Like the poet in *Timon*—a sketch as vivid as its companion portrait of the painter—one seems to hear him say of his own work:

> A thing slipped idly from me.
> Our poesy is as a gum, which oozes
> From whence 'tis nourished. The fire i' the flint
> Shews not till it be struck: our gentle flame
> Provokes itself, and, like the current, flies
> Each bound it chafes.

Research has done away with the old thoughtless idea that the body of work passing under Shakespeare's name is all his. Common sense rejects the more extravagant fancy that it embodies a *Summa Anthropologiae*, a system of human nature and a directory for human life. Yet that work in its massed total has another if a subtler kind of unity. It is not, any more than with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the unity of a *tunica inconsutilis*. The amount of non-Shakespearian work in what is called Shakespeare is considerable; this is so alike in the earlier period when he was adapting and piecing out older men's work, in the later period when younger men were doing the same with his, and even between the two, where the stage-text that has survived has been altered for performance by members of the company or by irresponsible actors. Kemp the comedian is said to have been turned out of the company of the Globe because he gagged to an extent beyond what the playwrights and his fellow actors could stand; and this was just after he had made a great success in the 'creation', to use the modern slang, of Dogberry. How much of our Dogberry is Shakespeare, how much Kemp? *Macbeth* has notoriously reached us in a mutilated form, with interpolations as well as cuts; and whether the gag in the famous scene of the knocking at the gate is Shakespeare's own, or not, or partly both, is a question which will always be argued and always be interesting. The unity of Shakespeare (again, like the unity of Homer) is that of the Shakespearian touch, the Shakespearian inspiration, which spreads through and vivifies all the work he laid his finger upon. By merely passing his hand over a play, he made it different; he Shakespearianized it. Hence what, to borrow a phrase from another art, may be called the flooding of his colour in composite work. Between what is pure Shakespeare and what is wholly non-Shakespearian the difference is as obvious as it is immense. But who will undertake to say, in parts of *2 Henry VI*, whether we are faced with Marlowe filled in by Shakespeare, or Shakespeare writing like Marlowe, as he still did in *King John*? in parts of *Henry VIII*, with Fletcher writing (as near

as he could) like Shakespeare, or Shakespeare writing (as he easily could if he chose) like Fletcher? A few touches of the master hand have worked wonders in the coarse and repulsive tragedy of *Titus Andronicus*. The scenes which he contributed to Wilkins's *Pericles* send out as it were streamers and flashes that light up the whole play and make us glad to read over and over again what, without this irradiation, we should hardly have the patience to read twice. No other dramatist of the age had that flooding and irradiating power. When they collaborated, they either mixed mechanically, or combined, at best, into something which does not bear the impress of a single welding and controlling genius. In the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, the sharp lines of cleavage—so distinct that one can even see where Fletcher wrote in half a dozen lines in a Shakespearian scene—show that it was not a joint work, one which Shakespeare partly wrote and wholly influenced, but a case of Fletcher stringing together, and writing up into a play of his own sort, detached scenes which Shakespeare had written, and had very probably left in the Globe library among other unregarded trifles.

Appreciation must be based on comprehension. We can best honour, as we can only appreciate Shakespeare, by reading him. This is not a portentous platitude; for it is what few people do. We all read in him, which is a different thing; we most of us read into him, which is a different thing again, and a more dangerous one. The Poet Laureate, in the preface to his *Spirit of Man*, gives the pointed and wise caution that these are waters to bathe rather than to fish in. No one has begun to understand Shakespeare who has not read his plays as a whole, as a single body of work. Needless difficulties have been put in the way of doing this by the artificial and often preposterous order in which, ever since their first collection, they have been arranged. He loses by this much as the Old and New Testament do; at least it would be so if people ever read either the Bible or Shakespeare from end to end. But people would be more likely to do that, as they could do it with fresh understanding, if both volumes were not set out with an almost heroic disregard of order and chronology.

The precise date and order of the plays are not indeed fully ascertainable. Groups overlap; the precise place of a play within a group is often uncertain; and with some at least, which were repeatedly recast and revised, it may be arguable whether to place them, in the form they have reached us, at an earlier or later point in

the list. But with this reservation, and subject to a margin of error which is not great, it is possible to read the plays through in the order of their composition; and to do so opens Shakespeare out like a new world. He becomes solid and continuous: the planes come out, the lines of growth tell, the methods manifest themselves. It is of no little moment to see his work thus unroll itself. Without the intelligence that pours in from this large continuous reading of Shakespeare 'one may' in his own words 'reach deep enough and yet find little'. To bathe in Shakespeare is different from floundering and wallowing in him. It is

> a course more promising
> Than a wild dedication of yourselves
> To unpath'd waters, undream'd shores:

nor, voyaged over with such a clue, do shores and waters lose anything of their marvel and richness.

The four earliest plays are trial-pieces; careful experiments in four different dramatic forms, on three at least of which he spent much work in revision and remodelling. He begins with the mixed drama of criticism and satire—what would now be called a revue—in *Love's Labour's Lost,* then takes up romantic comedy in the *Two Gentlemen,* romantic tragedy in *Romeo and Juliet,* and traditional Plautine comedy in the *Comedy of Errors.* After thus feeling his way and proving his competence, he works mainly on English history-plays for the new Rose Theatre for about three years. First he adapts and revises plays already produced, retouching Kyd, remodelling Peele and Greene, collaborating with Marlowe; then entirely rewrites an older *King John,* and carries forward the series unassisted in *Richard II* and *Richard III.* Next, letting loose as it were the accumulated pressure of romantic imagination, he flowers out into *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* the loveliest and most exquisitely finished of all poetic romances. After some light work in comedy, a marked break follows, the only one in the twenty years of his dramatic activity. Then he resumes history in the double play of *Henry IV* with new richness and amplitude. The Globe Theatre is built, and he becomes a full partner in the ownership and management. For its opening season he writes the great spectacular history of *Henry V,* and follows it up with the three central comedies, all produced, with incredible speed, in little more than a year. He was then thirty-five, just at the *mezzo del camin di nostra vita*; it is the *annus mirabilis* of his life, and of the English drama.

Then he makes a swift transition.

> He was dispos'd to mirth, but on the sudden
> A Roman thought hath struck him,

and with *Julius Caesar* he opens the period of the great tragedies. They were written for what had become a more educated, more intelligent, probably more exacting audience; and more particularly, for production before a Court which, in a time empty, historians tell us, of political events, was giving not only patronage but serious attention to the drama. 'These three years', he makes Hamlet say in 1602, 'I have taken note of it, the age is grown so picked that the toe of the peasant comes near the heel of the courtier': and the courtier too (as in *Hamlet*) was imposing his own choice of treatment on the playwright. Shakespeare moved on the crest of the wave. *Hamlet* is not only a tremendous reaction from *Twelfth Night*, it is the recognition of a new age with new requirements. *Troilus and Cressida*, following on it, is the by-product or backwash of that gigantic achievement, as a few years earlier the *Merry Wives* had been of *Henry IV*, as a few years later *Timon* is of *Lear*. The new reign carried forward a movement already begun. The 'princely' drama of Beaumont shows the culmination of the influence to which Shakespeare had already fully responded when *Othello*, *Macbeth*, and *Lear* were produced before the Court at Whitehall. In the super-drama—a name applicable here if anywhere—of *Antony and Cleopatra*, tragedy is expanding into something beyond itself. We are on the brink of a new dramatic revolution. Within the same year *Philaster* took the world captive by a fresh and enchanting dramatic manner. After it, Shakespeare writes no more tragedies.

The vogue of Beaumont's great colleague had then begun. To Fletcher's agile flexible workmanship Shakespeare shows none of the jealousy of an older artist, none of that suspicion of new methods which is so common among writers of established position. He responded to this influence as to others. In the opening scene of *Coriolanus* there are traces of Fletcher's manner, if not of his actual hand. When Shakespeare retired Fletcher formally succeeded him as head dramatist of the company. The brief age of high concentration was over. In twenty years the English drama passed from the fiery dawn of Marlowe to the moonlit dusk of Massinger. The interval was its day, the day of Shakespeare. Before it faded away into the comedy of manners and the tragedy of sentiment, it had put out new growths: for Court representations, the masque; for popular audiences, loosely woven melodramatic romance. This

change of current also Shakespeare followed before he quitted the theatre. He put a few pages of his own finest work into an artless and ill-written chronicle-romance by a hack-writer. He produced, in *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*, two beautiful romances of his own, adapting for the latter the sketch of a tragedy perhaps already written. In *The Tempest* he recognized and, as it were, sanctioned the masque before he finally gave the reins of dramatic control into the hands of the after-born.

His own last appearance on the stage is believed to have been in this piece. In the epilogue to it, which, though spoken by Prospero, is not part of the play and is not necessarily dramatic, we seem for once to hear Shakespeare's own voice, the voice of one making his final acquiescence:

> Now my charms are all o'erthrown
> And what strength I have 's my own,
> Which is most faint. Now I want
> Spirits to enforce, art to enchant.

'We are Time's subjects, and time bids begone.' The lines may be set beside and balanced against what is the earliest extant piece of Shakespeare's writing, the opening words of *Love's Labour 's Lost*:

> Let fame, that all hunt after in their lives,
> Live registered upon our brazen tombs
> And then grace us in the disgrace of death.

It is tempting to read into these lines a preluding trumpet-flourish of his own young ambition; but though tempting, unjustified. They are Shakespeare catching and repeating (yet repeating, as always, with a difference) the accent of Marlowe. But the fame that was in his own mind was likely, at the time, less that to be gained by 'still climbing after knowledge infinite' than the more obvious glory of Tamburlaine's copper-laced coat and crimson velvet breeches—one of the earliest sights to dazzle his eyes when he came to London. The Sonnets show him wincing under the soilure of an actor's profession, yet realizing that all fame, great and small, is alike transitory, and

> lays great bases for eternity
> Which prove more short than waste or ruining.

From the early days when he was

> Like one that stands upon a promontory
> And spies a far-off shore where he would tread

until the end, we seem to hear him saying

> On:
> Things that are past are done with me:

and if he dallied with the fancy that

> Time, with his fairer hand
> Offering the fortunes of his former days,
> The former man may make him,

he was surely too cognizant of life to dream of any Medea's magic that 'embalms and spices to the April-day again'.

From first to last Shakespeare is not an inventor or innovator. He follows all the inventions, takes them up and weighs them, puts into them, where he uses them, his own masterly technique, his own vitality. It is the same with his poems. *Venus and Adonis* is modelled on Lodge; *Lucrece*, even more closely, on Daniel. The composition of the Sonnets was in any case after the sonnet-sequence had become fashionable, and according to what seems the most reasonable view, was after that poetical method had passed its climax and begun to be old-fashioned. Perhaps his only innovation in poetical form—and it was one which he took up lightly, and which had no great result—was the unrhymed sonnet, of which two exquisite specimens may be found, by those who will look for them, in the *Two Gentlemen* and the first part of *Henry IV*. In the management of metre indeed—in his handling and development of the flexible dramatic blank verse—he explored as well as perfected. The secret of his later versification remains his, and all attempts to recreate it have been vain. Otherwise, it is almost as though he deliberately refused to make any new experiments of his own. What was about him, in art as in life, was good enough for him.

Sufflaminandus erat, 'the brake had to be put on him', is Jonson's remark on Shakespeare's amazing fluency.

> Faster than spring-time showers comes thought on thought,

and the expression never lags behind. Words were with him like persons and things; none escaped his notice, none did not impress him, none slipped his memory. His vocabulary still remains the largest of any English author; in light and in serious use, he pours it out with equally facile mastery. Listen to it in the mouth of Prince Hal, pretending to speak in his father's person:

> There is a devil haunts thee in the likeness of an old fat man, a tun of man is thy companion; why dost thou converse with that trunk of humours, that bolting-hutch of beastliness, that swollen

parcel of dropsies, that huge bombard of sack, that stuffed cloak-bag of guts, that roasted Manningtree ox with the pudding in his belly, that reverend vice, that grey iniquity, that father ruffian, that vanity in years?

and compare that torrent of dancing language with the gravely copious eloquence of a serious speech:

> Piety and fear,
> Religion to the gods, peace, justice, truth,
> Domestic awe, night-rest and neighbourhood,
> Instruction, manners, mysteries and trades,
> Degrees, observances, customs and laws:

or with another passage not more nobly expressed though more widely known:

> Degree, priority, and place,
> Insisture, course, proportion, season, form,
> Office and custom, in all line of order;
> The unity and married calm of states,
> Degrees in schools, and brotherhoods in cities,
> Peaceful commerce from dividable shores,
> The primogenitive and due of birth,
> Prerogative of age, crowns, sceptres, laurels.

That gigantic superflux of language never spreads out into the stagnation of verbosity; it is never 'chough's language, gabble enough and good enough'; for every word in the swarm is alive and stings. His words

> as pages followed him
> Even at the heels, in golden multitudes,

and they

> enter in our ears like great triumphers
> In their applauding gates.

The impressions of language, spoken or written, 'he took as we do air, fast as 'tis ministered'. Even in his involved elliptic later style he keeps that sheer mastery, never

> like one lost in a thorny wood
> That rents the thorns and is rent with the thorns,
> Seeking a way and straying from the way,
> Not knowing how to find the open air,
> But toiling desperately to find it out;

but rather, as has been picturesquely said of him, 'crashing through the forest of words like a thunderbolt, crushing them out of shape if they don't fit in, melting moods and tenses, and leaving people to gape at the transformation'.

And so, when he puts the brake on, he can concentrate this power, and charge half a dozen simple words with all the accumulated force that he holds in reserve. An accomplished critic has cited the description in Mr. Conrad's *Typhoon* of the continuous roar of the elements swallowing up all other sounds, and contrasts with that elaborate and impressive passage a line and a half of Shakespeare:

> The seaman's whistle
> Is as a whisper in the ears of death,
> Unheard.

'This is the lion's claw,' he adds; 'no other man could so strike with words.' In many such strokes—from the awful 'And Cassandra laughed' of Pandarus, to Albany's soundless 'Even so: cover their faces', or the whisper of Imogen 'I hope I dream', a few words of extreme simplicity carry in them an unequalled sense of vastness, an all but intolerable poignancy.

'His mind and hand went together,' Shakespeare's colleagues wrote of him. But no hand, not even his, could keep abreast of his swift envisagement of dramatic action, or of the crowd of words that rushed to express it. More and more, as he goes on, we see him, if not unable, at least too impatient to deploy his forces. Language poured in on him faster than he could put it down, and he came more and more to drive through it, one thought or image treading so hard on the heels of another that they became merged and fused. Just the same thing happened to his versification. The metrical pattern is always there, but as the loom flies it is crushed into vast deviations. Many passages in which we still feel the metrical structure can only be printed as prose, because the rhythms of speech have outrun the framework and got quite beyond the compass of the pattern. But in the most irregular the sense of pattern is not really lost, it only is submerged and re-emerges. Both as regards putting thoughts into words and as regards putting words into verse, he gives the impression of the whole content of a speech or a scene rising in his mind together, and of his getting down on paper as much of it as he can, in what order and form he can. His apprehension is simultaneous, not consecutive. And this applies to the action as well as to the language of the plays. Only one or two, and none of the later plays, give the impression of having been composed from a scenario. The action seems to rise before the dramatist as a single complex whole; in translating this into concrete actable form he is obliged to sort it out into sequence, but he does not aim at more than dramatic coherence, than the degree of con-

secutiveness that satisfies an audience. If analysed further the action in the plays presents gaps, inconsistencies, sometimes even impossibilities. That Shakespeare left it so was from no deep plan. Yet art here once more triumphantly justifies the artist: for it is just this massed, partially incoherent treatment which, as much as anything else, keeps his plays from suggesting mechanism and makes them so startling a likeness of life. The vague dissatisfaction left (as its best admirers have allowed) by *As You Like It* is due less to any particular flaw than to a subconscious impression of artificial flawlessness. The inconsistencies which no ingenuity can explain away in *Othello* or *Hamlet* give these plays no slight part of their arresting and compelling power; they give, in a way that no other dramatist (unless it be Sophocles) has ever equalled, the awful and enigmatic quality of life. They keep us from 'ensconcing ourselves into seeming knowledge, when we should submit ourselves to an unknown fear'.

Shakespeare is not a moral teacher. He lets morality take care of itself; what he sets before us is life. Cruelty, falsehood, inhumanity, treachery are represented by him, as are heroism, truth, self-sacrifice: but they are neither approved nor condemned, they are only displayed, as causes with their effects, or it may be with their strange apparent effectlessness. Lady Capulet's plan to have Romeo poisoned in Mantua, Cymbeline's order for the massacre in cold blood of all his Roman prisoners, are presented without comment, and produce no result. The lesson, if it can be called one, of Shakespeare (as of Sophocles) is that we should not draw lessons, but see and feel and understand. Their attitude towards the virtues is that they are virtues, that good is different from evil. If it is part of the scheme of things (as does not always appear) that there is a power which works for righteousness, that is only one fact of life like others. Shakespeare does not teach; he illuminates. In his clear daylight we see the world. The exaltation with which even his darkest tragedies leave us comes of our having, through him, seen it as it is, neither good nor bad in any strict meaning, but wonderful. Goneril and Cordelia, Iago and Othello, are alike parts of life: 'he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.' And it is not the lesson of Shakespeare, but the lesson of life, borne in upon us through that image of life which Shakespeare holds up before us, that good is not only different from evil, but better than evil.

Nor, any more than he is a teacher of morals, is Shakespeare a teacher of patriotism. The love and praise of England which he

makes his great Englishmen utter are theirs, not his; only he makes them express themselves as none but he could do. In clearing our minds of idolatry, we must take into account not such passages only, too familiar for citation, too august for praise:

> England, hedged in with the main,
> That water-walled bulwark, still secure
> And confident from foreign purposes:
>
> This England never did nor never shall
> Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror:
>
> This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
> England, bound in with the triumphant sea:

not only these, but the representations, equally sympathetic because equally dramatic, of the merely vulgar attitude of mind towards one's native country, and of the narrow insular prejudice against foreigners —the swagger about the boy (not yet born) 'that shall go to Constantinople and take the Turk by the beard', and the ignorant conceit which sets down all Frenchmen as braggarts, all Germans as sots, and all Italians as fiends. For the highest illumination and inspiration, at a time like the present, one would turn neither to one nor the other. These may be found rather in the expression of a temper at once simpler and larger. May I cite two instances?

One is the Gloucestershire recruit, with his sound heart and his inarticulate speech, the true ancestor of hundreds of thousands of his countrymen now who have never read Shakespeare, who have never thought much or deeply, whom eloquence, rhetoric, and poetry would leave quite unstirred, but who, like him, know their duty and do it:

> I care not; a man can die but once. We owe God a death: I'll ne'er bear a base mind; an't be my destiny, so; an't be not, so. No man is too good to serve his prince; and let it go which way it will, he that dies this year is quit for the next.

'Well said; thou'rt a good fellow,' answers the non-commissioned officer of the recruiting party.

The other is the speech of the Greek commander-in-chief, when a bitter and obstinate war was dragging heavily, when early hopes of success had been falsified, and the national councils were distracted, the allied arms thwarted, by wrangling and recriminations:

> Princes,
> What grief hath set the jaundice on your cheeks?
> The ample proposition that hope makes
> In all designs begun on earth below
> Fails in the promised largeness; checks and disasters
> Grow in the veins of actions highest reared.

> Nor, princes, is it matter new to us
> That we come short of our suppose so far
> That, after seven years' siege, yet Troy walls stand:
> Sith every action that hath gone before
> Whereof we have record, trial did draw
> Bias and thwart, not answering the aim
> And that unbodied figure of the thought
> That gave 't surmised shape. Why then, you princes,
> Do you with cheeks abashed behold our works,
> And call them shames, which are indeed nought else
> But the protractive trials of great Jove
> To find persistive constancy in men?

Once more, Shakespeare here does not teach; he illuminates. The lesson of life, the fact of life, which he lights up for us is that patriotism is not only different from, but better than, want of patriotism. He does not teach this as a lesson; he presents it as a fact.

And in the lessons, if we will call them so, or the facts of life, the ultimate and central fact is its power of self-renewal:

> If the ill spirit have so fair a house,
> Good things will strive to dwell with 't.

To the lips of each new generation comes the ecstatic cry:

> O wonder!
> How many goodly creatures are there here!
> How beauteous mankind is! O brave new world
> That has such people in 't!

and the older generation may realize this, and may answer, as Prospero does to Miranda, with no accent of sadness or of sarcasm, with no trace even of some superior indulgence, but with full thankfulness,

> 'Tis new to thee.

Perhaps, when all is said, attempts to rectify our judgement, to dismiss and cancel outworn idolatries, only leave us established in some fresh idolatry of our own. They leave us, at all events, with a feeling little short of adoration. 'I would abate him nothing, though I profess myself his adorer, not his friend.' Our predecessors of the last three hundred years often praised Shakespeare (as they blamed him) amiss:

> Cats, that can judge as fitly of his worth
> As I can of those mysteries which heaven
> Will not have earth to know.

The mistake to which we, like them, are subject is to praise him at all. No words said of him are more exactly true than those of

one who, in the last generation, was his most impassioned lover and most eloquent interpreter. After exhausting on Shakespeare all hyperboles of laudation, all glitter and pomp of rhetoric, Swinburne, as a poet and not as a panegyrist, wrote of him more simply what is the last and the unsurpassable word:

> His praise is this, he can be praised of none.
> Man, woman, child, praise God for him; but he
> Exults not to be worshipped, but to be.
> He is; and being, beholds his work well done.

'I cannot last ever,' says Falstaff, in one of his cross-flashes of wit and insight: 'it was alway yet the trick of our English nation, if they have a good thing, to make it too common.' But there are some good things that cannot be made too common, and that do last ever. One of these is Shakespeare.

FIRST ANNUAL LECTURE ON ART IN RELATION TO CIVILIZATION INCLUDING POETRY

HENRIETTE HERTZ TRUST

LE BLASON DE LA FRANCE, OU SES TRAITS ÉTERNELS DANS CETTE GUERRE ET DANS LES VIEILLES ÉPOPÉES

PAR M. MAURICE BARRÈS

MEMBRE DE L'ACADÉMIE FRANÇAISE

Read July 12, 1916

Dans sa *Litanie des Nations*, votre Swinburne prête à la France, parlant à la Liberté, ces paroles :

> Je suis celle qui fut ton enseigne et ton porte-drapeau,
> Ta voix et ton cri,
> Celle qui te lava de ton sang et te laissa plus belle ;
> Je suis celle-là, la même.
> Ne sont-ce pas là les mains qui t'ont relevée gisante et t'ont nourrie,
> Ces mains meurtries ?
> Ne suis-je pas la langue qui a parlé pour toi, l'œil qui t'a conduite ?
> Ne suis-je pas ton enfant ?

Cet éloge qui nous a été au cœur, il s'est trouvé depuis 1870 tant d'hommes et de tant de pays pour croire que nous en avions démérité! On doutait de nous — on disait : ' Ils ne sont plus les mêmes . . . La France est une nation du passé, une vieille nation . . .'

Comme on insistait sur ce mot, une *vieille nation* ! C'est vrai ; la France existait quand il n'y avait pas encore un sentiment allemand, un sentiment italien, anglais ; c'est vrai, nous sommes la nation qui, la première de toute l'Europe, a eu l'idée qu'elle formait une patrie; mais on ne s'explique pas que ces grands titres aient pu nous discréditer auprès des nations plus récentes.

Parmi ceux qui parlaient ainsi, beaucoup nous regardaient sans haine, parfois même avec sympathie.

La France, pensaient-ils, a accumulé un immense trésor de vertus, de hauts faits, de services rendus, de gloires incomparables ; mais aujourd'hui elle est au milieu de tout cela comme un vieillard au

soir de la plus belle vie, ou mieux encore comme certains aristocrates frivoles, qui d'une illustre ascendance n'ont gardé que leurs titres de noblesse, de charmantes manières, de superbes portraits, des tapisseries royales, des reliures écussonnées, un luxe grandiose et frivole.

C'est ainsi, nous le savons bien, on nous croyait frivoles, usés, trop riches, trop heureux, et faisant du plaisir le seul mobile de notre activité. Les Français livraient à l'instinct et à la passion la conduite de leur vie. Leur fin suprême était le bonheur, et l'on venait à Paris pour participer à ce bonheur.

Injustes étrangers, quand le plaisir facile et cosmopolite de Paris vous enivrait, comment auriez-vous connu ce qui reposait au foyer français, qui a pour vertu de se tenir isolé de la rue passante, et ce qui fermentait dans des cœurs qui attendent toujours un cri de croisade et comme l'appel d'un monde surnaturel pour produire et pour connaître eux-mêmes leur héroïsme ?

I

Mois d'août 1914 ! L'appel aux armes retentit. Les cloches dans tous les villages s'ébranlent sur la vieille église, dont le fondement repose au milieu des morts. Elles sont redevenues soudain les voix de la terre de France. Elles convoquent les hommes, elles plaignent les femmes ; leur clameur est si forte qu'il semble qu'elle pourrait briser la pierre des tombeaux, et tout de suite, elle fait sortir du cœur français tout ce qu'il renferme.

Les enfants, les femmes, les vieillards se dressent autour du soldat, l'accompagnent jusqu'au train . . . C'est le départ, non pas tel que Rude l'a sculpté dans le coup de vent de la Marseillaise, mais un départ plus tragique encore, les dents serrées ! 'Puisqu'ils le veulent, il faut en finir.'

C'est le départ. Nous ne pouvons pas être à la fois dans toutes les gares de Paris et de toutes nos villes, sur tous les quais d'embarquement, ni sur tous ces bateaux qui ramènent de l'étranger les Français. Voulez-vous que nous allions au cœur même de la France militaire, dans cette école de Saint-Cyr où se forment les jeunes officiers ?

Chaque année, à Saint-Cyr, a lieu en grande pompe la fête du Triomphe. On nomme ainsi une cérémonie traditionnelle où la promotion sortant, c'est-à-dire des jeunes gens qui viennent de passer deux ans à l'école, baptisent la promotion qui les suit et donnent un nom à leurs cadets.

En juillet 1914, cette cérémonie coïncida avec les événements qui, en se précipitant, déterminèrent la guerre, et le 31 du mois, le général commandant l'école fit savoir aux *Montmirail* (c'était le nom des

aînés) qu'ils eussent à baptiser leurs cadets, le soir même, militairement et sans les réjouissances traditionnelles.

Tous comprirent avec enthousiasme qu'ils auraient peut-être dans la nuit à gagner leurs régiments respectifs.

Écoutez un jeune poète de la promotion de *Montmirail,* Jean Allard-Méeus, raconter à sa mère cette soirée déjà devenue légendaire chez nous : 'Après le dîner, écrit-il, prise d'armes devant le capitaine et le lieutenant de garde, seuls officiers autorisés à assister à cette cérémonie intime. Belle soirée, dans l'air des parfums oppressés. L'ordre le plus parfait et le silence le plus grand. Les officiers de *Montmirail* avec le sabre, les "hommes" avec le fusil. Les deux promotions se massent sur le grand terrain, sous le commandement du major de la promotion. Discours patriotique fort bien; puis au milieu de l'émotion grandissante j'ai dit ma pièce de vers que tu connais déjà : " Demain ".

> Soldats de notre illustre race,
> Dormez, vos souvenirs sont beaux !
> Le temps n'efface pas la trace
> Des noms fameux sur les tombeaux.
> Dormez ; par delà la frontière
> Vous dormirez bientôt chez nous . . .

'Jamais, ma petite maman, je ne dirai plus ces vers, car jamais je ne serai plus à la veille d'un jour de départ pour là-bas, au milieu de mille jeunes gens tremblant de fièvre, d'orgueil et de haine. J'ai sans doute trouvé dans mon émoi personnel l'accent qu'il fallait avoir, car j'ai fini mes vers au milieu d'un frisson général. Ah ! pourquoi le clairon ne les a-t-il pas soulignés de *l'Alerte* ? Nous en aurions tous porté les échos sur le Rhin . . .'

C'est dans cette atmosphère d'enthousiasme que les jeunes officiers reçurent le titre de Promotion de la *Croix du Drapeau* et c'est à ce moment que l'un des *Montmirail,* Gaston Voizard, s'écria : 'Jurons que pour aller au feu nous serons en grande tenue, gants blancs et casoar au chapeau.

— Nous le jurons, répondirent les cinq cents *Montmirail.*

— Nous le jurons, crièrent à leur tour les cinq cents *Croix du Drapeau.*'

Terrible scène, trop française, toute pleine de l'innocence et de la bonne volonté admirable de ces jeunes gens, et toute pleine aussi de conséquences désastreuses.

Ils ont tenu leur vœu téméraire. Il n'est pas permis que je vous dise la proportion des morts. Les enfants charmants que je viens de vous citer ne sont plus. De quelle manière sont-ils tombés ?

Tous n'eurent pas leur témoin, mais tous moururent à peu près de la même façon que le lieutenant de Fayolle.

Le 22 août, Alain de Fayolle, de la promotion *Croix du Drapeau* est à Charleroy à la tête d'une section. Ses hommes hésitent. Le jeune sous-lieutenant a mis ses gants blancs. Mais il s'aperçoit qu'il a oublié son casoar. Il tire de sa sacoche le plumet blanc et rouge et le pique à son shako.

'Vous allez vous faire tuer, mon lieutenant, dit un caporal.

— En avant, crie le jeune homme.'

Les hommes le suivent électrisés; quelques instants plus tard une balle le frappe en plein front, juste au-dessous du plumet.

Le même jour, 22 août 1914, Jean Allard-Méeus, le poète des *Montmirail*, tombe frappé de deux balles.

Gaston Voizard, celui qui eut l'idée du serment, leur survécut de quelques mois seulement. Il semble s'en excuser dans la lettre charmante et déchirante que voici :

'25 décembre 1914.

'Il est minuit, Mademoiselle et amie, et pour vous écrire j'enlève un instant mes gants blancs (oh, n'admirez pas, le geste n'a rien d'héroïque : mes derniers gants de couleur sont aux mains d'un pauvre pioupiou qui a froid). Je cherche en vain les mots qu'il faudrait pour vous dire la joie et l'émotion que m'a causées votre lettre arrivée le soir d'un bombardement terrible du pauvre village que nous occupons. Cette lettre lue le soir (j'en demande pardon à votre modestie) aux officiers de mon bataillon réconforta les plus abattus après cette rude journée et prouva à tous que le cœur des jeunes filles de France est tout simplement admirable de générosité.

'Donc il est minuit. L'honneur et le bonheur que j'ai de commander ma compagnie depuis huit jours (mon capitaine ayant été blessé) me valent le plaisir de vous écrire à cette heure de la tranchée où par des prodiges d'astuce j'ai réussi à allumer une bougie sans que soit éveillée l'attention de ces messieurs d'en face. Ils sont d'ailleurs à une centaine de mètres.

'Mes hommes, en sourdine, entonnent le traditionnel : "Il est né le divin Enfant."

'Le ciel luit d'étoiles ... On voudrait rire de tout cela ... et on est tout près d'en pleurer !

'Pour moi, je pense aux Noels d'antan passés en famille ; je pense à l'effort gigantesque à fournir encore, au peu de chance que j'ai d'en sortir vivant ; je pense enfin que je vis peut-être en cette minute mon dernier Noël . . .

'Du regret, direz-vous ? Non, pas même de la tristesse ! Seule-

ment un peu de mélancolie de n'être pas au milieu de tous ceux que j'aime !

'Toute la tristesse de mes pensées est pour les meilleurs amis tombés au champ d'honneur, et qu'une amitié fidèle avait presque fait mes frères : Allard, Fayolle, autant d'amis chers que je ne reverrai plus !

'Ah, quand le soir du 31 juillet, en ma qualité de père système de ma promotion, j'eus prononcé au milieu d'un silence religieux le fameux serment de nous distinguer en ne mourant que gantés de blanc, ce bon Fayolle qui était bien l'ami le plus enthousiaste que j'ai jamais connu me disait en souriant : "Quel effet nous allons produire devant les Boches ; ils seront tellement stupéfaits qu'ils ne tireront pas."

'Hélas, pauvre Fayolle ! Il a payé cher à sa patrie la dette de son titre de Saint-Cyrien ! Et tous ils tombent autour de moi, semblant se demander quand viendra le tour de leur major, pour que *Montmirail* entrant chez Dieu soit béni au complet !

'Mais trêve de lamentations inutiles, n'est-ce pas ? Ne pensons qu'à notre France nécessaire, impérissable, éternelle ! Et par cette belle nuit de Noel, croyons plus que jamais à la Victoire !

'Il faut encore, Mademoiselle et amie, me pardonner cet affreux gribouillage. Voulez-vous aussi me laisser espérer une réponse prochaine et permettre au jeune officier français de baiser très respectueusement la main de la jeune fille de France à l'âme grande et au cœur généreux.'

Le 8 avril 1915 il tombait à son tour.

Ah ! que le panache à toutes les époques à coûté cher à la France ! On doit s'incliner, devant l'austère sévérité des grands chefs qui désapprouvèrent la générosité de ces enfants trop prodigues du trésor de leur vie. La guerre réserve à des conducteurs d'hommes assez d'occasions utiles de se dévouer pour qu'ils ne se complaisent pas à provoquer d'avance le Destin. Mais comprenons bien que ces conducteurs d'hommes sont des enfants. La circonstance soudaine les oblige. Il leur faut conquérir leur autorité. Par la science ? Par l'expérience ? Ils n'ont à leur service que de s'imposer par la bravoure, en osant quelque chose d'exceptionnel.

C'est bien la pensée qu'exprime fortement l'un d'eux, Georges Bosredon, Saint-Cyrien de 20 ans, quand il écrit à sa sœur :

'N'en dis rien à papa et à maman, mais partant officier, j'ai bien peu de chances d'en revenir. Je le sais et j'ai dès maintenant fait de grand cœur le sacrifice de ma vie. Nous allons arriver jeunes, sans grande valeur, pour commander des hommes entraînés et de

vieux soldats déjà. Pour les faire marcher il faudra payer de notre personne, et nous payerons.'

Généreux jeune homme qui ne dit rien des fautes commises avant qu'il fût en âge, et qui, nouveau-venu, trouve tout naturel de payer de sa vie la victoire.

Et dans toutes nos grandes écoles, dans tous nos collèges, les jeunes gens sont les frères de ces jeunes chefs militaires. Pour eux, une seule chose compte : le besoin que la France ne soit plus une vaincue. Ils sont les jeunes, les purs, les régénérateurs, les hosties de la patrie. Ils accepteront tout pour être dignes de leurs aïeux, pour remplir leur destin et racheter la France.

Les professeurs dans les collèges ne s'y trompaient pas. Depuis quelques années ils voyaient apparaître ' une génération au clair regard, à la démarche assurée, au cœur sans crainte '. La destinée préparait à la France des sauveurs. ' D'où sort la France du 2 août ? s'écrie un maître du lycée Janson de Sailly.[1] De quarante années courbées sous la menace de l'Allemagne. C'est une douleur, une longue humiliation qui explosent enfin en espérance.'

Voilà nos jeunes gens. Mais la guerre a réuni à l'armée toute la nation mâle de 18 à 48 ans.

Évidemment un quadragénaire ne part pas avec cette ivresse de bonheur que nous venons de voir chez nos Saint-Cyriens. Il n'éprouve plus ' ce coupable amour du danger ' que Tolstoi causant avec Déroulède sur le tard de sa vie, s'accusait d'avoir, lui aussi, connu dans sa jeunesse. C'est le refroidissement du sang : c'est aussi l'ouverture d'un nouvel horizon. En fondant un foyer le jeune homme d'hier a assumé des devoirs de protection envers sa famille. Comment aurait-il la magnifique impétuosité du Saint-Cyrien qui dit : ' Jeune officier pendant la guerre, c'est vraiment la carrière où l'on recueille de suite les fruits de son honneur, de son énergie, de son dévouement.' [2]

Le père de famille a derrière lui déjà les fruits de sa vie ; il les abandonne et à défaut de cette beauté d'allégresse, ce qu'il nous fait voir, c'est la beauté d'un sacrifice perpétuellement médité. Il existe chez le jeune homme le sentiment de son sacrifice, mais il écarte en hâte cette inquiétude, ne se l'avoue pas et même seul à seul la repousse avec colère. Au contraire le soldat plus âgé l'accueille et s'en fait un mérite soit auprès de Dieu, soit auprès de la patrie.

Gemens Spero, avait pris pour devise dans les boues de sa tranchée d'Artois le soldat François Laurentie, père de six enfants. Il gémissait, réconforté par l'espérance que ses enfants n'auraient pas à gémir.

[1] M. S. Rocheblave. [2] Jean Allard-Méeus. — Lettre à sa mère

Toutes les lettres testamentaires qui sortent des tranchées apportent la même note. Le territorial se bat pour que ses enfants n'aient pas à se battre. Il fait la guerre pour détruire la guerre.

Il se bat aussi pour sa terre. Quelle fut l'émotion des hommes du 20ᵉ corps quand ils répandirent leur sang devant Nancy, devant Verdun ; des hommes de Pégny, ces faubouriens de Belleville et de Bercy, quand ils virent au bout de leur retraite, en septembre 1914, l'immense Paris dans sa brume qu'ils allaient défendre. L'un d'eux, Victor Boudon, un blessé de la bataille de l'Ourcq, écrit à cette date : 'On aperçoit dans le lointain les lueurs blanches des projecteurs des forts parisiens, et par instant à travers les feuillages, les lumières de la Capitale. Nos cœurs battent violemment, à la fois d'émotion, de joie et de crainte.'

Un soldat qui a bien su observer ces débuts de la campagne résume ainsi son témoignage : 'atmosphère générale d'offrande'

De ces vieux, de ces jeunes, qu'est-ce que la guerre fait ? Une fraternité.

Binet Valmer, engagé volontaire, m'envoie du front où il se bat un mot bien beau, le cri de tous : 'Nos hommes sont admirables et nous nous aimons tous.'

Les hommes sont admirables, c'est-à-dire prêts au sacrifice. Soldats qui s'offrent comme volontaires, soldats qui s'en vont de leur initiative propre relever entre les tranchées des camarades blessés, ensevelir des morts ! A quoi bon dénombrer de tels épisodes, en donner aucune preuve ? On sait que les Fils de France sont braves. Et par exemple on sait dans tout l'univers la bataille qui dure depuis cinq mois et que nous avons le droit d'appeler la Victoire de Verdun.

Mais quoi, dans les autres armées aussi on est brave !

Ce qui est particulier, ce qui a frappé votre grand Rudyard Kipling comme une spendeur qu'on ne voit nulle part ailleurs à ce degré, c'est l'attachement des soldats français pour leur chef, et des chefs pour les soldats, et de tous entre eux.

Parmi eux, nul mensonge possible. C'est une vie de vérité, et de la part de tous. Au début, il existait une nuance de sans-culottisme, une sorte de goguenardise où survivait à l'encontre des chefs, chez le soldat citoyen, un sentiment excessif de l'indépendance. Mais depuis sous les épreuves communes, ce sentiment dangereux s'est mûri et ennobli. Ces hommes continuent à se regarder les uns les autres avec une critique aussi sévère, mais en prenant pour mesure les services rendus au bien commun. Ils ne s'attachent plus qu'aux vraies supériorités, celle de l'esprit, celle du cœur.

En pleine tuerie, ces Français se rappellent constamment qu'ils sont des âmes. Les meilleurs élèvent leurs mains sanglantes vers le ciel, chacun vers son Dieu. Chacun d'eux est préoccupé de prouver la valeur de sa pensée par sa bravoure et par son sacrifice. Chacun agit comme s'il savait (et il le sait) que ses coreligionnaires de la France entière lui ont mis entre les mains leur honneur et les chances de leur idéal. Nos instituteurs rivalisent avec nos prêtres, également admirés les uns et les autres par l'élite de la nation et par leurs frères d'armes. Le père de Gironde écrit sur son mémorial intime : 'Me conduire d'une telle manière que nous ne puissions plus être exilés.' Et le journal d'Hervé publie chaque jour des lettres, toute une mystique où les socialistes s'écrient : 'Que nous reprochera-t-on désormais ? Est-elle assez justifiée notre foi internationaliste qui nous donne la volonté de sauver la France ? '

Ils ont tous une haute moralité commune : le besoin et l'orgueil de ne verser leur sang que pour une cause juste.

Pour nous hausser jusqu'au sommet où vivent les soldats de cette guerre, quel plus beau symbole de l'entr'aide spirituelle qu'ils se donnent que le dévouement du lieutenant-colonel Driant. Driant se porta au péril de sa vie auprès d'un de ses lieutenants blessés, et, sous le feu de l'ennemi. il reçoit sa confession et lui donne l'absolution.

Cette terre des tranchées est sainte ; elle est tout imprégnée de sang, elle est tout imprégnée d'âmes.

Cette fraternité, cette vie spirituelle prolongée durant deux ans de guerre arrivent à donner à certaines unités militaires une âme collective. Certaines de ces âmes paraissent si belles, dégagent un rayonnement si fort pareil à celui des saints, que d'autres groupes reçoivent un accroissement rien qu'à les admirer.

'C'était en Artois, au printemps de 1915, me dit un jeune soldat, Roland Engerand. Mon régiment arrivait d'un secteur tranquille de l'Aisne où nous avions fait peu de pertes. La veille nous venions encore de recevoir un renfort de la classe 15. On nous avait tout habillés de neuf. Nos uniformes d'azur n'avaient pas eu le temps d'être ternis par la boue, la poussière et la pluie ; nous débordions d'enthousiasme, nos colonnes au cadre complet, avec un officier ou aspirant à la tête de chaque section, allongeaient fièrement leurs 3,200 hommes sur la route. On nous avait dit que nous nous dirigions vers un coin sacré où tous les yeux étaient tournés. La trouée tant rêvée avait été quelques heures virtuellement faite grâce à l'héroïsme inouï des divisions de 'Fer' et 'd'Airain'. Nous allions relever ces troupes, et, en montant aux tranchées par le plus beau

crépuscule, nous nous demandions avec un peu d'inquiétude si nous serions à la hauteur de pareils héroïsmes, car une telle succession est lourde. Et soudain voilà que sur la route, dans le soleil couchant qui dorait toutes choses, un fort groupe nous apparut : des soldats venaient lentement, sans hâte, sans bruit et quand ils furent près de nous, nous comptâmes 250 hommes et devant eux un capitaine qui commandait le régiment, car c'était un régiment. Des hommes en haillons, portant encore de vieux uniformes bleu foncé, tout déchirés et salis de boue et de sang ; des fusils rouillés et encrassés, des souliers sans nom, des képis rouges, mal recouverts de lambeaux de manchons bleus ; et au milieu de tout cela des figures superbes, sales, hirsutes, aux pauvres traits tirés et durcis, avec des yeux dont le regard entrait en nous jusqu'à l'âme, car il reflétait tous les spectacles sublimes recueillis depuis quinze jours. Ces regards de fièvre et de victoire, quel rayonnement ! Ils passaient près de nous, ces hommes, en nous regardant avec curiosité, étonnés de notre luxe et de notre nombre, et tout en défilant ils nous disaient seulement : "Ne vous en faites pas, bon courage, on les a eus !" Tous répétaient : "On les a eus !" Des voix jeunes, des voix de parisiens, des voix à l'accent plus rude, des voix de l'Est, et cette voix enfin qui avec un accent d'Alsace nous jeta au dernier rang : "Les Bauches, on les a eus !" Ils n'avaient retenu que cela de toutes leurs souffrances. Leur capitaine les regardait silencieusement avec une prodigieuse expression d'amour.

'Et pendant que nous montions, tout remués, prendre leur place, ils disparurent de leur pas lassé et triomphal . . .

'J'ai compris ce jour-là ce que c'était que la beauté de la gloire.'

Que ce dernier mot d'un enfant est grandiose ! Ainsi s'allument à l'héroïsme les cœurs bien nés. Ainsi l'esprit de la frontière inséré dans les origines du 20e corps, et perpétué par lui, court à travers les âmes qu'il embrase.

Et quelquefois cette âme collective parle . . . Aujourd'hui, dans le monde entier, chacun connaît cet épisode que d'innombrables articles, des gravures, des poésies ont popularisé, vous vous rappelez ? Les Allemands ont envahi une tranchée et brisé toute résistance ; nos soldats gisent à terre, mais soudain de cet amas de blessés et de cadavres, quelqu'un se soulève et saisissant à portée de sa main un sac de grenades, s'écrie : 'Debout les morts !' Un élan balaye l'envahisseur. Le mot sublime avait fait une résurrection.

J'ai désiré connaître le héros de ce fait immortel, le lieutenant Péricard. Voici ce qu'il me raconta : 'C'était au Bois-Brûlé, au

commencement d'avril 1915. Nous nous battions depuis trois jours; nous n'étions plus dans la tranchée qu'une poignée d'hommes harassés, complètement isolés, avec une pluie de grenades sur nos têtes. Si les Boches connaissaient notre petit nombre! Leur artillerie fait rage. Un lieutenant (son nom m'échappe), qui est venu me soutenir et qui fume sa cigarette en riant aux projectiles, reçoit une balle au-dessus de la tempe. Il s'appuie au parapet, les deux mains derrière le dos, la tête légèrement inclinée. Par la blessure le sang gicle avec force, en décrivant une parabole, comme le vin d'un tonneau par le trou de la vrille. La tête penche de plus en plus, puis le corps s'incline, puis, brusquement, la chute.

'La douleur de ses hommes, qui se jettent en pleurant sur son corps... Impossible de faire un pas sans marcher sur un cadavre. Je me rends compte soudain de la précarité de mon sort. Mon exaltation m'abandonne, j'ai peur. Je me jette derrière un amas de sacs. Le soldat Bonnot reste seul. Il n'en a cure et il continue de se battre comme un lion, seul contre combien ?

'Je me ressaisis, son exemple m'a fait honte. Quelques camarades nous rejoignent. Le jour s'achève. Nous ne pouvons pas demeurer ainsi. A droite, il n'y a toujours personne. J'aperçois la tranchée sur une longueur d'une trentaine de mètres, interrompue par un énorme pare-éclats. Si j'allais voir ce qui se passe par là ? J'hésite. Puis, un coup de volonté et je me décide.

'La tranchée est pleine de cadavres français. Du sang partout. Tout d'abord, je marche avec circonspection, peu rassuré. Moi seul avec tous ces morts... Puis, peu à peu, je m'enhardis. J'ose regarder ces corps, et il me semble qu'ils me regardent.

'De notre tranchée à nous, en arrière, des hommes me contemplent avec des yeux d'épouvante, dans lesquels je lis : "Il va se faire tuer!" C'est vrai qu'abrités dans leurs boyaux de repli, les Boches redoublent d'efforts. Leurs grenades dégringolent et l'avalanche se rapproche avec rapidité. Je me retourne vers les cadavres étendus. Je pense : "Alors, leur sacrifice va être inutile ? Ce sera en vain qu'ils seront tombés ? Et les Boches vont revenir ? Et ils nous voleront nos morts ? . . ." La colère me saisit. De mes gestes, de mes paroles exactes, je n'ai plus souvenance. Je sais seulement que j'ai crié à peu près ceci : "Oh là, debout! Qu'est-ce que vous foutez par terre ? Levez-vous et allons foutre ces cochons-là dehors !"

'Debout les morts! Coup de folie ? Non. *Car les morts me répondirent.* Ils me dirent : "Nous te suivons." Et se levant à mon appel, leurs âmes se mêlèrent à mon âme et en firent une masse

de feu, un large fleuve de métal en fusion. Rien ne pouvait plus m'étonner, m'arrêter. J'avais la foi qui soulève les montagnes. Ma voix éraillée et usée à crier des ordres pendant ces deux jours et cette nuit, m'était revenue, claire et forte.

'Ce qui s'est passé alors? Comme je ne veux vous raconter que ce dont je me souviens, en laissant à l'écart ce que l'on m'a rapporté par la suite, je dois sincèrement avouer que je ne le sais pas. Il y a un trou dans mes souvenirs; l'action a mangé la mémoire. J'ai simplement l'idée vague d'une offensive désordonnée, dans laquelle, toujours au premier rang, Bonnot se détache. Un des hommes de ma section, blessé au bras, continuait de lancer sur l'ennemi des grenades tachées de son sang. Pour moi, j'ai l'impression d'avoir eu un corps grandi et grossi démesurément, un corps de géant, avec une vigueur surabondante, illimitée, une aisance extraordinaire de pensée qui me permettait d'avoir l'œil de dix côtés à la fois, de crier un ordre à l'un, tout en donnant à un autre un ordre par geste, de tirer un coup de fusil et de me garer en même temps d'une grenade menaçante.

'Prodigieuse intensité de vie avec des circonstances extraordinaires. Par deux fois les grenades nous manquent, et par deux fois nous en découvrons à nos pieds des sacs pleins, mêlés aux sacs à terre. Toute la journée, nous étions passés dessus sans les voir. Mais c'étaient bien les morts qui les avaient mis là ? . . .

'Enfin les Boches se calmèrent ; nous pûmes consolider notre barrage de sacs en avant dans le boyau. Nous nous trouvâmes de nouveau les maîtres dans ce coin.

'Toute la soirée et pendant plusieurs des jours qui suivirent, je gardai l'émotion religieuse qui m'avait saisi au moment de l'évocation des morts. J'éprouvais quelque chose de comparable à ce qu'on ressent après une communion fervente Je comprenais que je venais de vivre des heures que je ne retrouverais plus jamais, durant lesquelles ma tête, ayant brisé d'un rude effort le plafond bas, s'était dressée en plein mystère parmi le monde invisible des héros et des dieux.

'A cette minute, certainement, j'ai été soulevé au-dessus de moi-même. Il faut bien que cela soit puisque j'ai reçu les félicitations de mes hommes. Pour qui a pratiqué les poilus, il n'est pas de Légion d'honneur qui vaille ces félicitations-là.

'Si je vous parais chercher, en vous faisant ce récit, une satisfaction de vanité, c'est que j'exprime bien mal mon sentiment, ma volonté. Je sais que je n'ai rien d'un héros. Chaque fois qu'il m'a fallu sauter le parapet, j'ai grelotté de peur, et la détresse qui m'a saisi

en pleine action et que je vous disais il y a un instant n'est pas un accident dans ma vie de soldat. Je ne mérite aucun compliment d'aucune sorte. Ce sont les vivants qui m'ont entraîné par leur exemple, et les morts qui m'ont conduit par la main. Le cri ne sortit pas de la bouche d'un homme, mais du cœur de tous ceux qui gisaient là, vivants et morts. Un homme seul ne pourrait trouver cet accent. Il y faut la collaboration de plusieurs âmes, soulevées par les circonstances, et dont quelques-unes déjà planaient dans l'éternité.

'Pourquoi ai-je été choisi plutôt que tel officier, plutôt que tel soldat, parmi ceux qui furent mêlés à l'affaire et dont l'héroïsme n'a pas, comme mon courage à moi, connu de défaillances ? Pourquoi plutôt que le colonel de Belnay qui parcourait les lignes sous la pluie de grenades, ou le lieutenant Erland, ou le sous-lieutenant Pellerin, ou l'aspirant Vignaud, ou le sergent Prot, ou le caporal Chuy, ou le caporal Thévin, ou le soldat Bonnot ? (*Il m'en citait indéfiniment.*) Pourquoi ? On peut recevoir le souffle d'en haut et n'être qu'un pauvre homme.

'Si jamais vous racontez cette histoire, je vous demande instamment de nommer tous ces chefs et ces soldats, car ce serait un mensonge que j'aie l'air de monopoliser la gloire de cette belle journée de notre régiment. Le cri n'est pas à moi seul, il est à nous tous. Plus vous fondrez mon rôle dans la masse, plus vous vous rapprocherez de la réalité. J'ai la conviction de n'avoir été qu'un instrument entre les mains d'une puissance supérieure.'

II

Voilà les faits. En voilà du moins un échantillon, un échantillon du vin qui depuis deux ans fermente sur nos collines, du froment de nos sillons et du sang de nos batailles.

Mais tout cela, est-ce donc rien d'inconnu et d'inattendu ? C'est du fruit français, pareil à ce que la vieille nation produisit tant de fois durant des siècles ; c'est le vin, le froment, le sang de toutes nos épopées.

Reconnaissons dans notre passé chacun des traits que nous venons de marquer. Les Chansons de Geste, les Croisades, tout le jeune âge de la France regorgent d'innombrables faits accomplis par nos chevaliers et par la *Sancta Plebs Dei* qui devancent, annoncent les exploits mis à l'ordre de nos armées en 1916.

Le vœu mortel de nos jeunes Saint-Cyriens... Mais c'est un épisode typique de nos Chansons de Geste. Il n'est pas de thème qu'elles développent avec plus de fraîcheur et de génie que l'allégresse

guerrière, la pureté, la bonne volonté des jeunes héros, les Aymerillot, les Roland, les Guy de Bourgogne, dans leur première adolescence. Quand les *Montmirail* et les *Croix du Drapeau* font le serment de recevoir le baptême du feu gantés de gants blancs et le casoar au képi. C'est un chapitre qui revit des 'Enfances Vivien'. Le jour que le jeune Vivien est armé chevalier, il jure devant son lignage assemblé de ne jamais reculer en bataille de la longueur de sa lance ; et c'est de ce serment qu'il mourra.

Gemens Spero . . . c'est la pensée qu'inspire au territorial le souvenir de ses six enfants ; il se complait douloureusement à les évoquer. Ainsi ce chevalier dont parle Jacques de Vitry qui, au moment du départ pour la Croisade, rassemble autour de lui ses enfants : 'Je les ai tous fait venir, explique-t-il, afin que ma douleur de partir soit plus vive et pour offrir à Dieu un sacrifice plus grand.'

L'esprit d'égalité et de fraternité dans nos tranchées, . . . Joinville raconte que saint Louis travaillait aux tranchées et portait lui-même la hotte :

Nuls n'est vilains s'il ne fait vilenie.

C'est un vers des Chansons de Geste, comme ce pourrait être un vers de Corneille, comme c'est la pensée de chaque Français et Française en 1916. Durant la bataille d'Antioche, l'évêque du Puy harangue les croisés : 'Nous tous qui sommes baptisés au nom du Christ, nous sommes les fils de Dieu, et des frères les uns pour les autres. Combattons donc d'un même cœur en frères.' Et le Sire de Bourlémont (Bourlémont, la seigneurie au-dessus de Domremy, le Sire de Bourlémont, celui dont le petit-fils allait connaître Jeanne d'Arc), dit à Joinville, qui partait pour la Croisade : 'Vous en alès outre mer, or vous, prenès garde au revenir, car nuls chevaliers, ne povres ne riches, ne puet revenir qu'il ne soit honnis, s'il laisse en la main des Sarrasins le *peuple menu Nostre Seignor*, en laquel compaignie il est alez.'

Driant, qui se traîne sous la mitraille pour porter l'absolution à un lieutenant qui se meurt . . . c'est Guillaume venant au secours de son neveu Vivien à la bataille des Aliscamps. Il arrive trop tard. Il combat longuement pour le rejoindre, ne parvient pas à le retrouver ni vif ni mort. Le soir approche. Il chevauche par le champ, très las. Sur son front que le cercle du heaume enserre, des gouttes de sang tombent comme de la couronne d'épines. Le sang de ses plaies se caille sous son haubert. Il cherche vainement Vivien. Enfin sur l'herbe à ses pieds, il reconnaît hérissé de flèches l'écu de l'enfant. Plus avant, non loin d'une source, sous la ramure d'un

grand olivier, Vivien gît inanimé, ses blanches mains croisées sur sa poitrine. Guillaume met pied à terre, l'embrasse tout sanglant, le pleure comme un mort : 'Neveu Vivien, jeunesse belle, c'est grand pitié de ta prouesse toute neuve . . .' Mais peu à peu entre ses bras l'enfant se ranime, ouvre les yeux ; il avait 'retenu sa vie' sachant que Guillaume viendrait. Guillaume, ayant loué Dieu, lui demande s'il veut lui dire ses péchés en 'vraie confession'. 'Je suis ton oncle, nul ici ne t'est plus proche que moi, hormis Dieu ; en son lieu et place je serai son chapelain ; à ce baptême je veux être ton parrain.' Vivien se confesse (son grand péché, c'est d'avoir fui, croit-il, contrairement à son vœu). Guillaume l'absout, puis prend une hostie dans son aumônière, le communie. Vivien meurt.

Guillaume charge son corps en travers de sa selle pour l'emporter dans sa ville. Mais il ne peut francher les lignes ennemies. Il rebrousse chemin, rapporte Vivien sous l'olivier. La nuit est tombée, il pourra échapper seul. Pourtant à la minute de laisser là le corps, un regret le prend. L'abandonner ainsi seul dans les ténèbres ? Les autres pères quand leurs enfants meurent ne les veillent-ils pas ? Alors il attache son cheval à l'olivier et commence la veillée.

Sous la ramure noire de l'olivier le corps de Vivien rayonne et répand dans l'air le parfum du baume et de la myrrhe. La nuit est douce et sereine. Debout auprès de son fils mort le comte pleure. Il ne peut s'en rassasier. Au matin il attendit que le soleil fut haut levé et brilla bien clair. Alors il renoue les lacs rompus de son heaume, embrassa Vivien, le regarde une dernière fois ; il se remit en selle, s'achemina à petits pas par la route que tenaient les Sarrasins, puis venu à la portée d'un arc, il cria son cri d'armes, et baissant sa lance de frêne il chargea.

'*Debout les morts*'. . . Ce cri mystérieux du bois d'Ailly, déjà nous l'avons entendu. Au siège d'Ascalon les Templiers voient plusieurs de leurs frères pendus par les Sarrasins sur la porte de la cité. Ils sont pris de découragement, ils veulent lever le siège. Mais le Maître du Temple leur dit : 'Voyez, ces morts nous appellent, car déjà ils ont pris la ville.'

On pourrait multiplier à l'infini ces rapprochements, ces images de la plus jeune France et de cette France d'aujourd'hui que l'on disait vieillie, et comme les peintres verriers de nos cathédrales ont souvent juxtaposé les figures de l'ancienne loi en regard de la nouvelle, ici Jonas et la baleine, là le Christ et le tombeau, ici Moïse et le Buisson ardent, là la Vierge et la brêche ; je pourrais disposer ces notes indéfiniment suivant le même procédé de symétrie pour mettre en relief la ressemblance des petits-fils et des aïeux, et plus profondé-

ment la concordance mystérieuse de toutes nos guerres et de la Grande Guerre

Le zouave de 1914 qui au milieu d'un groupe de prisonniers, derrière lesquels les Allemands s'abritent, crie aux Français : ‘ Mais tirez donc ! ’ et qui meurt sous leurs balles, nous le connaissions déjà. Il y a neuf siècles les Sarrasins firent monter aux créneaux d'Antioche un croisé prisonnier pour qu'il demandât à ses frères de renoncer à l'assaut. Mais il leur cria d'attaquer. Les Sarrasins lui tranchèrent la tête. Étienne de Bourbon ajoute que la tête lancée du haut des murs par une baliste et venue aux mains des chrétiens, riait de joie.

Entre les deux le chevalier d'Assas.

Le jeune soldat défiguré qui dit : ‘ Si mon père me voyait ! Bah ! Il ne m'a pas fait pour être beau, il m'a fait pour être brave ! ’ met visiblement à tenir ce propos la même fierté que Montluc à dénombrer ses ‘sept arquebousades’, dont la plus belle, à son gré, était celle de Rabastens qui lui avait troué la face.

Le capitaine de F. qui déclare : ‘ Un officier de mon grade qui fait tout son devoir dans les conditions où je me trouve, ne doit pas revenir vivant,’ témoigne d'un esprit de sacrifice qui outrepasse le mot d'ordre de Godefroy de Bouillon au moment du dernier assaut contre Jérusalem à la Porte de David : ‘Ne redoutez la mort, mais allez la querant.’

Le poète Charles Perrot a été tué devant Arras le 23 octobre. Un de ses camarades, le voyant malade, venait de lui dire : ‘ Je vais te remplacer, tu as toujours fait ton devoir, repose-toi.’ Et Charles Perrot avait répondu : ‘ On n'a jamais fini de faire son devoir ! ’ Ce poète s'accorde avec le chevalier Érard de Sivey qui combattait à Mansourah aux côtés de Joinville, et cinq chevaliers avec eux, dans une maison ruinée. Atrocement blessé au visage il hésitait à aller chercher du renfort, de peur qu'on fit un jour reproche à lui et à sa parenté : ‘Vous pouvez aller, lui répond Joinville, car déjà vous êtes un homme mort.’ Mais il ne se contente pas de l'avis de Joinville, il croit devoir demander conseil tour à tour à chacun des autres.

Au bois de la Gruerie, une compagnie du 151e régiment d'infanterie barre l'entrée d'un boyau. Trois hommes seulement peuvent y tenir de front. Quand un homme tombe, un autre prend sa place. Le combat dura deux heures ; trente hommes tombèrent. Incident banal, presque quotidien. Comment ne pas penser à cet épisode des Croisades que l'on appelait ‘ le pas Saladin ’ et que l'on peignait de toutes parts dans la Salle des Châteaux. C'était votre roi Richard,

Gauthier de Châtillon, Guillaume des Barres, neuf autres chevaliers qui défendaient un défilé devant Jaffa. Tout le moyen âge regarda ces douze hommes comme des miroirs de chevalerie et conserva pieusement leurs blasons. Mais nous ne saurons jamais les noms des grenadiers du bois de la Gruerie et de tant d'autres tranchées. Ils sont trop.

III

Voilà plus de mille ans que ce fleuve de prouesses coule à plein bord. Nous venons d'y puiser ; nous n'avons pu saisir dans le flot qui passe que ce que contenaient mes deux mains rapprochées. Qu'est-ce que tout cela ? Que prouvent ces aventures héroïques et charmantes, cette vie profonde, cette âme française débordée ?

Les Français se battent en état religieux. Les premiers, ils ont inventé l'idée de guerre sainte. Le soldat de l'an II, quand il croit apporter au monde la Liberté et l'Égalité, se dévoue du même élan et dans le même esprit que le croisé de Jérusalem. Quand le croisé crie : ‘ Dieu le veut ’, quand le Volontaire de Valmy crie : ‘ La République nous appelle ’, c'est le même cri d'armes. Il s'agit de réaliser plus de justice et de beauté sur la terre. A tous deux, une voix du ciel ou leur conscience dit :

Se vous mourez, esterez sainz martirs [1]

Ce n'est pas chez nous qu'on entreprend des guerres de proie. Des guerres pour la gloire et l'honneur, soit, parfois ! Mais pour soulever la nation unanime, il faut qu'elle se connaisse le champion de Dieu, le chevalier de la Justice. Il nous faut être persuadés que nous luttons contre les Barbares, Islam jadis, aujourd'hui Pangermanisme, ou contre les despotes, militarisme prussien et impérialisme allemand.

Les Français défendant la France ont cru presque toujours lutter et souffrir pour que l'humanité fût plus belle. Ils se battent pour leur terre pleine de tombeaux et pour le ciel où règne le Christ, où flottent du moins leurs idées. Ils meurent pour la France, autant que les fins françaises peuvent être identifiées aux fins de Dieu ou bien aux fins de l'humanité. Et c'est ainsi qu'ils font la guerre avec des sentiments de martyrs.

Voulez-vous entendre un grand texte, voulez-vous savoir comment on décidait nos aïeux, il y a neuf siècles, à partir pour la Croisade ? Vous apprendrez en même temps comment nos soldats aujourd'hui encore ont besoin qu'on les harangue. Écoutez, c'est

[1] La Chanson de Roland. L'Archevêque Turpin avant la bataille à l'armée agenouillée.

le pape Urbain II (un homme de France, né en Champagne) qui prêche au Concile de Clermont en Auvergne. Il dit :

'Nation des Français, nation élue de Dieu, comme le montrent tes œuvres, et chère à Dieu, et qui te distingues entre toutes les autres par ton dévoûment à la sainte foi et à l'Église, c'est vers toi que va notre parole et notre exhortation ... A qui peut revenir la tâche de venger les outrages des Infidèles, sinon à vous, Français, à qui Dieu donna, plus qu'à tout autre peuple, la noble gloire des armes, des cœurs grands, des corps agiles, et la force de ployer qui vous résiste ? Puissent émouvoir vos âmes et les exciter les actes de vos ancêtres, la prouesse et la grandeur du roi Charlemagne, de son fils Louis et de vos autres rois, lesquels ont détruit les royaumes des païens et reculé les frontières de la Sainte Église!... O chevaliers très preux, issus de lignages invincibles, souvenez-vous de la valeur de vos pères ! ...'

Voilà comment il fallait présenter les choses à nos nobles aïeux. Et c'est ainsi que leur parlaient Jeanne d'Arc, qui se nommait elle-même la 'Fille Dieu', et Bonaparte, et avec lui les généraux républicains et c'est encore l'esprit dont s'enflamment nos soldats quand ils surgissent des tranchées en chantant la Marseillaise, sous la bénédiction de leurs aumôniers.

Sans doute, la raison nous atteint et nous persuade. Nous entendons ceux qui nous disent que la France est un chef-d'œuvre réel et tangible dont il faut maintenir et perfectionner les formes ; qu'elle ne peut pas vivre sans Metz et Strasbourg ; qu'elle a besoin d'équilibrer son midi avec des populations du nord et de l'est ; qu'elle sera désarmée, ouverte tant qu'il lui manquera ses frontières naturelles ... Mais beaucoup demeureraient froids. Et pour se sacrifier les Fils de France veulent toujours n'être pas morts uniquement pour la France.

Il est arrivé que la France brisât la chaîne de ses traditions et perdît jusqu'à ses souvenirs, cependant elle demeurait fidèle à son âme. Dans chaque génération elle fait revivre des Roland, des Godefroy de Bouillon, des Bayard, des Turenne, des Marceau, ne sût-elle plus leurs noms, et toujours elle s'enivre avec des sentiments dont elle ne change que les formules.

Parfois le poème sommeille, jamais il ne fut plus fraternel, plus religieux qu'à cette heure. Comme de nombreux traits de l'Ancien Testament, obscurs et chétifs par eux-mêmes, ne prennent leur plein sens qu'à la lumière du Nouveau, de même les antiques prouesses des chevaliers et de nos aïeux respectés semblent n'être que la préfiguration des choses plus riches et plus saintes d'aujourd'hui.

On dirait que l'histoire de notre nation tendait tout entière à ce que nous voyons depuis deux années. Des millions de Français sont entrés dans cet état d'héroïsme et de martyre qui jadis aux époques les plus hautes de votre histoire fut le fait seulement d'une élite. Jeune ou vieux, pauvre ou riche, et quel que soit son credo, le soldat français de 1916 sait que la France est une nation qui intervient quand il y a trop d'injustice sur la terre, et dans sa tranchée boueuse, le fusil à la main, il sait qu'il continue les *Gesta Dei per Francos.*

Roland au soir de Roncevaux meurt en murmurant :

Terre de France, mult estes dulz pays.

C'est avec le même mot et le même amour que meurent les soldats d'aujourd'hui.

'Au revoir, écrit Jean Cherbomey à sa femme. Promets-moi de n'en pas vouloir à la France, si elle m'a voulu tout entier.' — 'Au revoir, c'est pour la France, dit en mourant le capitaine Hersart de la Villemarqué.' — 'Vive la France, je suis content, je meurs pour elle', dit le brigadier Voituret du 2e dragons, et il expire en essayant de chanter la Marseillaise. — Albert Malet, dont les manuels ont enseigné l'histoire à vos écoliers, s'est engagé pour la guerre ; une balle l'atteint à la poitrine, il s'écrie : 'Mes amis en avant, je suis heureux de mourir pour la France', et il s'affaisse sur les fils barbelés devant la tranchée ennemie.

'Vive la France, je meurs, mais je suis content !' crient tour à tour l'un après l'autre des milliers de mourants ! Et le soldat Raisac du 81e de ligne, blessé à mort le 23 septembre 1914, trouve avant d'expirer la force d'écrire au dos de la photographie de sa mère : 'Mourir est un honneur pour le soldat français.'

Ils ne veulent pas qu'on les pleure. Georges Morillet, normalien, sous-lieutenant au 27e d'infanterie, mort pour la France dans la forêt d'Apremont, le 11 décembre 1914, laissait une lettre à ses parents : 'Si vous ouvrez cette lettre, c'est que je ne serai plus et que je serai mort de la plus belle mort. Ne me pleurez pas trop : ma fin est enviable entre toutes... Parlez de moi par moments comme d'un de ceux qui ont donné leur sang pour que la France vive, et qui sont morts joyeusement... Depuis ma première enfance, j'ai toujours rêvé de mourir pour mon pays, face à l'ennemi... Laissez-moi dormir où le hasard des batailles m'aura mis, à côté de ceux qui comme moi seront morts pour la France : j'y dormirai bien... Mes chers parents, heureux ceux qui sont morts pour la

Patrie ! Qu'importe la vie des individus, si la France est sauvée ! Très bien-aimés, ne pleurez pas... Vive la France ! ' — Louis Belanger, âgé de 20 ans, tué à l'ennemi le 28 septembre 1915, avait écrit aux siens : ' J'espère que ma mort ne sera pas pour vous un sujet de tristesse, mais une sensation de fierté. Je désire que mon deuil ne soit pas porté, car il ne faut pas qu'aux jours de gloire, où la France sera restaurée, le noir vienne ternir le soleil dont toutes les âmes françaises sont illuminées.' Pour lui obéir les billets faisant part de sa mort n'ont point été encadrés de noir, mais bordés d'une bande d'argent. — Hubert Prouvé-Drouot, Saint-Cyrien de la promotion de *la Grande Revanche*, mort au champ d'honneur, donne pour dernière recommandation à sa mère en la quittant pour rejoindre son régiment : ' Quand les troupes rentreront victorieuses par l'Arc de Triomphe, si je ne suis plus là, mettez vos plus beaux vêtements et soyez-y.'

Les mères les entendent et participent de cet enthousiasme sacré. Devant le lit d'hôpital où gît le corps de son fils mort, un père pleure; la mère, une paysanne, lui prend la main ' Faut avoir du courage, mon homme. Tu vois bien que le petit en avait.' — Un soldat de Bagnères-de-Bigorre, jardinier à Lourdes, meurt à l'hôpital de l'Institut des suites d'une grave blessure. Sa femme, appelée par dépêche, arrive trop tard Devant le corps de son cher mort, elle dit simplement : ' Il est mort pour la Patrie, c'était sa mère ! Je ne suis que sa femme.' — Madame de Castelnau, la femme du chef illustre, est à la table de communion. Elle prie pour ses trois fils qui se battent. Mais voici que la main du prêtre qui lui présente l'hostie tremble Elle a compris et dit simplement : ' Lequel ? '

C'est que les mères françaises, soutenues par une force surnaturelle, croient que leurs fils en tombant pour la France trouvent plutôt que la mort leur épanouissement.

L'une d'elle qui ne veut pas que nous la nommions, emploie ce mot dans une lettre éblouissante de sainte beauté :

' Paris, 20 octobre 1915.

Commandant,

Je ne saurais assez vous remercier de la fidélité de votre douloureux souvenir. L'anniversaire du sacrifice de mon brave enfant est particulièrement cruel et doux : cruel parce qu'il me rappelle un jour où je songeais à lui sans me douter de l'épreuve que sa vaillance allait me coûter ; doux parce que je ne saurais évoquer la brusque fin de cette pure et courte vie sous un autre aspect que celui d'un suprême épanouissement.

Merci, mon Commandant, de tout ce que vous me dites de mon cher petit soldat ; puisse sa mort glorieuse contribuer à la victoire

de notre France, alors je m'agenouillerai et une fois de plus je dirai merci.

Mon cœur de mère reste brisé devant la mort de cet enfant de 20 ans qui était toute ma joie. Ah! comme à la fois on peut être fier et malheureux!

Voulez-vous, Commandant, être mon interprète auprès de tous ceux qui gardent le souvenir de celui qui est tombé pour la patrie, et leur dire que ma pensée va souvent vers cette terre de Lorraine si chère aux âmes françaises.'

Un suprême épanouissement, dit-elle! Il semble en effet que nous n'ayons connu que des chrysalides et que tout un peuple déploie ses ailes. La France éternelle se dégage. C'est pour elle que les Fils de France meurent d'une mort pieusement acceptée par les mères.

Une femme du peuple est avertie de la mort de son mari tombé au champ d'honneur, tandis qu'elle tient dans ses bras son enfant qu'elle allaite. Elle chancelle, se redresse et crie : ' Vive la France! ' en soulevant son fils vers le ciel . . . Fils des martyrs, fils de trente générations pareilles, tu vivras demain dans la France de la victoire.

THE INTERMIXTURE OF RACES IN ASIA MINOR: SOME OF ITS CAUSES AND EFFECTS

By Sir WILLIAM MITCHELL RAMSAY

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read October 25, 1916

THE subject is far too large for adequate, or even for brief, discussion in an hour's paper; and therefore I put what I have to say under several loose and scattered headings.

I. INTRODUCTORY

While the phenomena which form the subject of this paper stand in close relation to the facts and problems of the moment, yet it is not the writer's purpose to express opinions about such questions, but to attempt to describe historical and economic conditions; and if the facts as they present themselves suggest certain inferences, the drawing of the inferences is left to those who do me the honour to listen or hereafter to read. I write and speak as a student of history, who stands apart from practical administration, and avoids the appearance of intruding with advice on the attention of practical men.

In attempting to give some idea of the extreme diversity of races in Asia Minor, I shall not merely enumerate races and tribes, with a list of characteristics of each, but will rather attempt to trace the causes which have produced such complexity, and show the consequent difficulties which are interposed in any permanent settlement of the country, and finally will venture to suggest some considerations which may aid the investigation of an historical and economic problem. The causes are not much discussed in works on the history of Turkey, and the time and space at my disposal can most profitably be devoted to those aspects of the question which are least attended to in published books, but which have impressed themselves on me in the

experiences of nearly thirty-five years' travel, and forty years' study of the country

A preliminary word about geography. Asia Minor, which may roughly be called Anatolia,[1] though the terms are not exactly co-extensive, is a level and lofty limestone plateau, protruding from the main Asian Continent towards Europe and the west. The Central Plateau is like a billiard table, level and surrounded by a higher rim of mountains, outside of which is low coast-land on north and west and south; the coasts touch the Black Sea north, the Aegean Sea west, and the Levant on the south. Of these mountain rims the most characteristic and the largest is Mt. Taurus on the south—a great and famous name in history. But Taurus, like the rest of the mountain rim on all sides, is really a lofty, broad plateau, very much broken by the action of water, in which deep cañons are formed by rivers. The Taurus Plateau is generally from 6,000 to 9,000 feet above sea-level (except where it is least significant, on the north of Pamphylia), and varies from 40 to 80 miles or more in breadth.

The Plateau of Asia Minor has been the highway of nations from time immemorial, and armies innumerable have swept across it, westward or eastward, in the ceaseless warfare that has been waged between Asia and Europe. The tribes of Central Asia, pressing outward towards the west, except in the few cases where they go north of the Caspian Sea, are inevitably forced to travel along the great bridge of the Anatolian peninsula, constrained on the north by the barriers of the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus Mountains, and the Black Sea. South-eastern European tribes have time after time pressed across the Hellespont or the Bosphorus into Asia, and marched in the contrary direction along the same roadway of the Plateau. Hardly any of these great armies has failed to leave behind it some part of its numbers, and occasionally one finds a single isolated village in some secluded position which seems to contain a fragment of lost population. One example may be quoted here. Geuzlar ('the Arches') is near the Ottoman railway and the great central trade route of the country,[2] and yet owing to the way in which lines of communication are interrupted by the great cañon of the Meander, it lies at its world's end, half-way down the cañon, and you cannot take it on the way to anywhere else. To reach it the traveller must turn his back on the rest of the world, and to leave it he must go back

[1] Anatolia does not include the Karamanian coast (south of Taurus), whereas Asia Minor does.

[2] The central trade route has been often described; the most detailed account is in the writer's *Roads and Travel in N. T.*, in Hastings's *Dict. Bib.*, v, pp. 375–402.

the way he came. In this remote position it became the refuge of a remnant of some ancient population which has left no other trace known to me in Asia Minor. The people are small in stature. I saw no one who seemed over about 5 ft. 4 in., whereas in general the Turks of Asia Minor are a tall and big-built race. The people of Geuzlar were, and perhaps still are, if they have not been exterminated, of well-marked and peculiar yet not unpleasing features, reminding me on the one hand of certain Japanese and Mongolian types and on the other hand of some Irish or Basque families that claim to go back to a very ancient population. They were, however, most suspicious and inhospitable. They did not love strangers and had no guest-house, which is a remarkable fact in Asia Minor. But this character is naturally found among villagers who desire to avoid all intercourse with the Sunni by whom they are surrounded. I have often stayed for a night in such heretic villages, yet never, except in this single case, did I stay for a night without hearing a word either of welcome or farewell, or without conversation with any inhabitant.[1]

This is an example of the anthropological and ethnological problems which await investigation in the country. Nor are historical problems lacking. Many Turkish villages bear the names of men famous in Turkish history, e.g. Karaman, Behram, Hadji-Bektash, Sinan-Pasha, Karadja-Ahmed, Seidi-Ghazi, Ilias, and scores of others. It carries one back to the early years of the Seldjuk conquest to find that Tangriperm, an obscure Seldjuk chief who figures in the pages of Anna Comnena, has left his name to a village on the east side of Kara-Dagh, six or seven hours north of Karaman. Some of those villages were the strongholds and estates of the men whose name they bear, as at the present day many nomad villages or summer-quarters (Yaila) are called after the chief or the proprietor; but others have only a legendary claim to their names, e.g. Seidi Ghazi was an Arab general who fell in the rout at Akroênos (Afiom-Kara-Hissar) in 739, the first battle that cheered the reviving Byzantine power under the Iconoclast Emperors; his defeat and death made him, rather than any noted victor, the mythological impersonation of later Islam in its conquest of Asia Minor; through death and his grave in the country he established the right of Islam; in mythology he marries the Christian princess, who brings with her as dower the right of inheritance (passing according to the old religious custom in the female line); and his name is given to places which he never saw. But anthropology and mythology lie apart from the subject of this paper.

[1] *Impressions of Turkey*, pp 56–60.

II. Immigrant Races in Ancient Times

About the time of Christ, Strabo mentions the complexity of the population and the puzzling way in which races were interlaced in Asia Minor, and he quotes a proverb about the difficulty of fixing limits between Phrygians and Lydians. Similar remarks would be made by any observant traveller at the present day. Races are interwoven with one another, and no bounds can be fixed. In one small glen, containing only a few scattered villages, one will find three or four different races, usually all Moslem, never intermarrying with one another, and often distinguishable by dress and custom. In one village all the women are veiled: a mile away is another where the women converse freely and openly with men.

The intermixture of races in Asia Minor during ancient times commonly meant real mixing of blood and stock through intermarriage. That is certain for the Greek and Roman period, and may be assumed with confidence at a still earlier time when direct evidence is not available. There was no feeling of caste and practically no pride in the natural superiority of one race to another,[1] in such strength as to forbid intermarriage. The conquerors who time after time took possession of the country appear to have taken wives from the native population. Even among the numerous Jewish colonists the same seems to have been to some extent true, as we know from the case of Timothy, whose father was a Greek, though his mother and grandmother were fervent believers in and teachers of the Jewish Scriptures within the family circle. In the case of the Jews this intermarriage was not likely to carry any moral advantage or add to their power of maintaining themselves and their religion.

There appear, however, to have been in the fourth century after Christ certain declassed peoples in Cappadocia, who preserved old pagan custom, and are therefore described with contempt and abhorrence by Eusebius and Basil.[2]

There can be no doubt that an enormously greater population existed in the country in the Byzantine period than at the present day. In travelling over the more sparsely populated parts of the

[1] The nearest approach to race feeling and race abhorrence in Roman literature is the hatred expressed for the barbarians of the north, Germans, Teutons, Getae, &c. Africans are less repellent to Roman feeling than the white races of the north. In Greece, pride of Hellenic race never prevented intermarriage.

[2] On these see the writer's *Pauline and Other Studies in the History of Religion*, pp. 377–380.

great Central Plateau, where the rare villages and encampments are far distant from one another, one goes hour after hour through an almost uninhabited country; yet even here the traces of one old village after another are found at short distances. A dense population like this does not admit the intrusion of alien elements, and it was only when this population was weakened and diminished that the Asiatic nomads were able to find entrance.

The diminution in the population is one of the most startling features in the contrast between ancient civilization and modern conditions. It implies a vast amount of suffering and probably a considerable amount of actual massacre. Whether it was preferable to be killed or starved is a problem which can best be settled by individual experience. but the total amount of suffering for the country and its people is tremendous. Under the Turkish Conquest this diminution must have come about very rapidly, yet there is no reason to think that the Seldjuk Conquest in 1071–4 was accompanied by any great amount of massacre. There was little fighting. The population submitted without striking a blow. It was entirely unused to war, which had been left to trained armies, and, when the main army was defeated at Mantzikert and there ensued a struggle between three claimants for the succession to the power and seat of the captured Emperor, it is plain that the occupation of a great part of Anatolia was accomplished without resistance on the part of the old Christian population. In fact, it is hardly possible to avoid inferring that a bargain was struck with the Seldjuk invaders by Nicephorus, one of the claimants to the Empire, who with the support which he thus purchased from the Turks was able to establish himself as the successor of Romanus Diogenes. The Byzantine historians do not allude to any such disgraceful bargain, but pass with a leap from the battle of Mantzikert to the complete domination of the Seldjuk Turks over the whole plateau. In one page we find the Turks fighting far away beyond the Tigris: in another they are ruling peacefully in Dorylaion and Nicaea, close to Constantinople; but how the conquest was effected is nowhere described or even alluded to.

The population of Anatolia is always changing through the centuries, owing to the immigration of tribes from the East. That has been the case throughout the time that has elapsed since the destruction of the Roman civilization and social system, and the same was the case before the Roman rule began. Under Roman government the established system was so strong and the population so dense as to resist this immigration, except in times when the Government was temporarily weak.

In a very large subject two examples may serve :

(1) A very considerable Persian population was introduced into Lydia, and probably also into Cappadocia and Pontus, in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The Persian population brought with them the worship of the goddess Anahita (or, in Greek form, Anaitis), whom they identified with the native goddess Artemis, regarding each as a mere form or variety of the other, and bringing together in a joint worship something that belonged to both goddesses along with the ritual of each. This Persian garrison-population undoubtedly gradually melted into the main body of the Lydian inhabitants in the course of centuries ; but the dedications to the goddess Artemis-Anaitis continued to mark the two sections of the united population by the name of the joint goddess. It is only through religious ritual that the double population can be traced in inscriptions.

(2) Much more interesting and infinitely more important, because more permanent and still at the present day constituting a great moral force in the country, is the establishment of a Jewish population in Asia Minor. It is not within our scope to mention the bigger question either of Jews in Turkey as a whole, or even of Jews in Asiatic Turkey generally : this study is restricted to Asia Minor, and specially to the Central Plateau. The immigration took place in two distinct ways, which must be carefully distinguished.

(*a*) A considerable Jewish population was brought into the country by the Greek kings between 300 and 150 B.C. Antiochus the Great by one act introduced 2,000 Jewish families into Phrygia and Lydia.[1] These Jews were sent from Babylonia, and therefore belong to the Ten Tribes who had been carried away into Mesopotamia and the country below it Palestine also was equally subject to Antiochus; but the Palestinian Jews were not so likely to be thoroughly loyal and trustworthy garrison-colonists in the service of Greek kings.[2] It is a general principle that the great garrison cities which were founded by these Greek kings ruling in Asia Minor were peopled to some extent either by Greeks, or by Jews, or by both. Those were the educated races of the time, and they introduced a spirit of self-management which was fostered to a certain degree by the kings in those colonial garrisons ; but the Jews were probably less democratic and more disciplined than the Greeks. These educated colonists, Greeks, Macedonians, and Jews, were privileged servants of the king, championing his cause against the natives by whom they were

[1] Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xii. 3, 4 (149).

[2] Yet Antiochus praises the Palestinian Jews' loyalty, *ibid.* 138 f They also were used as colonists.

surrounded, inasmuch as their privileges depended on the stability of the royal rule.

Those Jews can be traced in history, especially in the Acts of the Apostles and, with some difficulty, through inscriptions, though in the latter case the fact that they almost all took Greek or Roman public names in addition to private Hebrew names[1] (which are rarely mentioned in the public inscriptions) causes great difficulty in identifying them as Hebrews. An important discovery, however, was made in 1914: we found an inscription showing that an official bearing only the Greek and Roman designation Aurelius Phrougianos, son of Menokritos, who filled many of the highest positions in Blaundos, and who had all the outward appearance of being an ordinary citizen, must have been a Jew, because he quoted the Book of Deuteronomy on his tombstone; and this discovery proves that a certain class of epitaphs, couched in similar forms but not actually quoting Deuteronomy, must all be regarded as Jewish.[2] Already in 1897 I expressed the suspicion that this whole class of epitaphs, which are markedly different in certain expressions from the general run of epitaphs, though following the usual lines of Phrygian custom, might probably be regarded as Jewish.[3]

In that whole region where those royal foundations of Jewish colonists were made, no single Jew now remains, though some trace of them survived as late as 1097 (see p. 9). The question is, what became of them? But, first, we must note the other class of Jewish residents in Asia Minor.

(*b*) Many other Jews came sporadically on private initiative during the Dispersion, and these were not confined to the colonies of the Seleucid kings, but were found in most or all of the great cities of Asia Minor. These were not citizens, but resident aliens, in the cities where they settled The rights of citizenship were jealously guarded; and the remarkable feature of the Seleucid colonies is that the original Jewish settlers and their descendants enjoyed in them the citizenship, with special privileges in the way of concessions to their religion; but

[1] Gaius Valerius Andronicus Salamon, e.g, sometimes omits the Hebrew name, sometimes the Latin names. He is mentioned on coins of Sala on the frontier of Lydia and Phrygia somewhere about A.D. 130–65.

[2] The text is published and discussed in the writer's *Bearing of Recent Discovery on the New Testament*, p. 358 f. Deuteronomy is quoted in a way that has no regard to the meaning and original situation: 'the curses written in Deuteronomy,' i.e chap. xxvii f., are invoked against violators of the tomb almost like a magical formula There are no regulations there about preserving graves · this kind of law was not specially Jewish

[3] *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. II, p 652 f.

new Jewish settlers, even in those garrison-colonies, would rank only as resident aliens. This disability was more marked and inevitable in a city where no royal colony with citizenship was ever planted, whereas in the royal colonies the body of Jewish citizens would indirectly give strength to co-religionists who were merely resident aliens.

An idea of the large numbers of Jews in eastern Lydia and western Phrygia may be gathered from a statement of Cicero in his oration *pro Flacco* 28. 68. Flaccus had governed the province of Asia, which then included three western districts of Phrygia, viz. the governmental districts of Apameia, Laodiceia, and Synnada. It was in the districts of Apameia and Laodiceia, but especially the former, that the Jewish resident aliens and the Jews of the Seleucid colonies were most numerous. The Governor found that the quantity of gold which was being exported annually as tax to support the Temple in Jerusalem constituted a danger to the financial stability of that rich province. He therefore seized all the gold which was being exported, to the extent of 100 lb. weight of gold at Apameia, 20 lb. weight at Laodiceia, an unknown quantity at Adramyttion,[1] and a little at Pergamos. The amount seems so astonishing to M. Th. Reinach in his *Monnaies Juives*, p. 72 f., *note*, that he regards it as having been either the sum of several years' tax, or an extraordinary contribution ; but there is no foundation for this view in the words of Cicero, and it seems unnecessary. The statement merely proves what was certain from other evidence, that there was in those regions a large Jewish population, and that it was most numerous in the great district which was grouped under Apameia. It is, however, not correct to suppose that the entire 100 lb. weight had been contributed by Jews resident in the city of Apameia, though M. Babelon, *Mélanges Numismatiques*, p. 169, takes this view and infers that the population of Apameia in the Roman time consisted in great part of Jews. That the Jews constituted a very important element in the population of that city is proved beyond doubt by other evidence,[2] but the gold which was seized there at the meeting-place of a *conventus* represents the contribution for one year's tax from all the cities in the district which looked to Apameia as administrative centre.

The old Jews of central Asia Minor and the south coast, i.e. the most completely Moslem regions, have disappeared. There is a Jewish population only in great centres of trade like 'Giaour

[1] The number is lost in the manuscript tradition . it was evidently not more than XX. That no gold was seized at other *conventus* does not prove that there were no Jews resident in those districts.

[2] *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. II, chaps. XI and XVI.

Ismir" (Christian Smyrna) and the coasts near the Dardanelles and Constantinople, where Christians are numerous.

The latest references which I have observed to Jews resident in the central parts of Asia Minor are the following:

(1) In 1097 the first Crusaders advanced with a large army from Dorylaion in the direction of Konia. North or north-west of Augustopolis (at Surmene near Kara-Hissar) they passed through Hebraica (Ἑβραϊκὴ [κώμη] Anna C. xi. p. 251). It can hardly be doubted that this indicates a Hebrew settlement.

(2) There is an inscription now at Afiom-Kara-Hissar, mentioning a Jew who emigrated from Kleisoura, near Philippopolis in Thrace, and settled at or near this city.[1] The inscription is perhaps of the early Byzantine time, but may be mediaeval, and I should personally be disposed to place it about the twelfth century, in which case it would be a witness to the very late survival of Jews in Phrygia.[2] The question is whether they survived there in the early Turkish period, and the previously mentioned fact is the only proof known to me. It is, however, certain that Byzantine historians mention Jews and Athingani with other heretic Christian sects as being very numerous in Phrygia during the ninth and tenth centuries; and the virulent feeling implied in the words of those orthodox writers shows that the same harsh treatment was likely to be apportioned to the Jews as to the heretics. The heretics for the most part joined the Seldjuk Turks, who treated them better than the orthodox Emperors had done, and appear to have gradually joined the Moslem world.

Yet there are now no Jews in Phrygia or East Lydia, or generally on the Central Plateau or the south coast, except a few hundreds who have recently come for purpose of trade at commercial centres on the coast. The statistics, as given by Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie,* furnish sufficient proof.

Take another fact: Benjamin of Tudela, in the twelfth century, touched the extreme south-eastern coast, travelling from Korykos by Tarsus and Malmistras (the modern Missis) to Antioch of Syria. He mentions no Jews in these cities. Now the Jews of Cilicia were numerous and powerful under the Roman Empire, and we must

[1] The inscription has been carried, for Kara-Hissar is a modern city, containing stones brought from Dokimion, Prymnessos, Synnada, &c. This stone (which I saw in the Armenian cemetery) perhaps came from Synnada, the business centre of the Docimian marble trade.

[2] I would not mention this doubt, but a friend new to the country and the subject maintained, when he saw it, that it was quite modern. From every point of view that seems impossible.

conclude that Benjamin, who is careful to note the number of Jews in every city where he met them, saw no Jews in Cilicia.

Turkish statistics, rather suspicious, as given by Cuinet, mention 600 Jews exactly in the whole vilayet of Konia, 400 Jews precisely in the vilayet of Trebizond,[1] 478 in the vilayet of Angora, and none in Adana (i.e. Cilicia), Kastamouni, or Sivas. Numbers like 400 and 600 are obviously untrustworthy, except as evidence that there was a small number of Jews in the two vilayets at the time when Cuinet was compiling his statistics from Turkish sources. The same authority gives 400 Copts exactly in Konia vilayet, and 100 Protestants, and 15,000 Gypsies, but no foreigners, no Roman Catholics, and no Armenian Protestants. In all these cases it is evident that the statistics are guesswork, but probably all are approximately right. At the time to which the statistics refer, I knew personally foreigners, Armenian Protestants, and Roman Catholics resident in Konia, and I should have thought that there were more Roman Catholics than Protestants. But taking these cases as representing mere official guesses without proper enumeration, they roughly serve to show the numbers of the population, and they prove how completely the old Jewish population disappeared from this province. It happens that there are included in Konia province the ancient Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, Lystra, Attalia, and Perga, in all of which, as we know from the Acts of the Apostles, there were Jews, sometimes in considerable numbers, and exercising considerable influence in the cities, and from other sources we learn that in Pisidian Antioch the Jewish population was important.[2]

In the sequel of this paper we shall observe various striking examples of the way in which races are actually dying out in Anatolia; but a supposition like this cannot for a moment be entertained with regard to a people of such striking vitality as the Jews have always shown themselves to be.

These facts may be taken as specimens of the way in which the Jews of Asia Minor have diminished or disappeared. In European Turkey both Salonika and Constantinople contain considerable bodies of Jews. Those of Salonika are mainly of Spanish origin; certainly they are not so numerous as were the Jews of the ancient Thessalonica. The numerous Jews settled in Constantinople are partly Spanish, but largely Russian and other refugees more recent than the Spanish;

[1] Jews exist only in the coast towns of these two vilayets, being, as I think, modern trading immigrants, not survivors of the old population At any rate, they are very few, even if old survivals.

[2] *Cities of St. Paul*, pp. 255 ff.

and there is no reason to think that any appreciable number of Jews of ancient Asia Minor have settled in those two cities or in European Turkey as a whole.

I have suggested elsewhere that the privileges and influence enjoyed by the Jews in Phrygia and other parts of Asia Minor where the great colonies of the Seleucid kings were founded, were not conducive to their steadiness in maintaining their religious character and their separation from the pagans around them. We know that intermarriage with pagans was practised in some degree. As a general rule the principle is true that persecution was a more powerful influence to bind the nation together than high prosperity and privileges The educated and thoughtful and most typical Jews may be swayed by purely ideal motives; but the mass needed also external stimulus.

The late Dr. Neubauer, in his *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 315, quotes from the Talmud an expression which has probably some bearing on our subject, to the effect that 'The baths and wines of Phrygia[1] have separated the ten tribes from their brethren'.

After several conversations with Dr. Neubauer, I attempted in 1897 to sum up the meaning of this passage from the Talmud in the following terms:[2]

'They lost connexion with their own land and people; they forgot their language; they did not participate in the philosophy and education of the Alexandrian Jews; and they were much more readily converted to Christianity, which is what the Talmud calls their separation from their brethren. We may then take the marriage of the Jewess Eunice at Lystra to a Greek, and the exemption of her son Timotheus from the Mosaic Law, as typical of a relaxation of the exclusive Jewish standard in Lycaonia and Phrygia and an approximation to the pagan population around them.'

Now it has been pointed out that the Phrygian Jews who were citizens of the Seleucid garrison colonies probably were brought from Babylonia, and therefore were of the ten tribes, and in this expression of the Talmud we seem to gather an echo of the opinion which we have just been expressing, that enjoyment, luxury, and privilege were not conducive to the preservation of the distinct individuality and religious quality of the Jews in Phrygia.

It deserves note, although it cannot be treated as evidence, that

[1] Monsieur I. Levy maintains that the geographical name Aphrikia, used in the Talmud, does not mean Phrygia (as Neubauer asserts). Although I cannot presume to judge, I was not convinced by Levy's reasoning, and I am glad to find that some better judges are in the same position.

[2] *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. II, p. 674.

Cuinet[1] alludes to the markedly Jewish type of features of the Christian (i.e. Orthodox[2]) population in the vilayet of Konia, where they have survived chiefly at Konia itself and the neighbouring village Sille, more still on the south coast and in several small communities at Apollonia (Olu-Borlu), Sparta (officially spelt Isbarta, ancient Báris, accus. Bárida), Permata or Bermada near Ak-Sheher to the south-east. Elsewhere in Pisidia and the South Phrygian region they are chiefly modern immigrants. We noticed the Israelite type of features, and a sketch by Lady Ramsay, made about thirty years ago, shows a most typical Jewish figure—a khanji—bearing the name of Tamêl; but this Daniel was Greek Orthodox.

These considerations suggest that to at least a certain extent the colonial Jews of Phrygia and Lydia may have melted into the general population of the Roman Empire, losing their distinctive character. This opinion was expressed by the writer many years ago, and no valid or positive argument against it has been found in the interval. There is only the general probability that the Jews were unlikely to deteriorate so far in energy as to permit themselves to be absorbed in the mass of the population. The positive arguments, scanty as they are, point to such a melting as a possible supposition; but against them the general argument from probability must be balanced, yet in doing so one must always remember that this general argument furnishes no answer to the question, what became of the Anatolian Jews and how did they disappear wholly from the Central Plateau?

The evidence of inscriptions and coins strongly suggests that the Jews of Phrygia accepted the Imperial religion (that is to say, the worship of the Emperors as incarnations of the Divine Power on earth) as a reasonable and useful political device, and that they acted as priests and priestesses in this cult. The way in which this deterioration in religious sentiment came about is suggested by such facts as the following. In Rome there were Synagogues Augustesioi and Agrippesioi.[3] These names doubtless originated in a special respect felt by the Jews for Augustus and Agrippa, but the use of such names marks in itself some slight deterioration from the true standard of Jewish feeling in religious matters. The Synagogue of the Libertines,

[1] *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol I, p. 809.

[2] The Greeks restrict the name Christian to the Orthodox church: such is the old and still the popular custom.

[3] These forms are Grecized from Latin Augustenses and Agrippenses: see my *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, p 321. It is strange how much this elementary fact is neglected, and yet it is sometimes very important as proving that a Latin form is the original. Similarly Philippêsioi of the Colonia Philippi bear a name taken from Philippenses.

mentioned in the Book of Acts, does not imply such deterioration, because it merely expresses the fact that the members of the Synagogue were all freed men, but a Synagogue of Augustesioi implies that the congregation met as persons who felt special respect for Augustus. When such a declension once begins, it may only too easily degenerate into the condonation of the Imperial cult as a useful political arrangement, and certainly all pagans would accept the name Augustesioi as implying that a cult of Augustus was permitted by the Synagogue. This belief among the outer pagan world was certainly not founded on fact, but the mere existence of such a belief held universally among the pagans would inevitably tend to act as an influence in bringing about further degeneration. If we apply this to the case of the Phrygian Jews, who were so often of high standing and influence in the cities, and filled municipal offices and priesthoods in the Imperial cult after the fashion of other citizens, we see what is implied probably in the statement which is quoted from the Talmud.

Men who were influential in their cities, busied in the political career and in municipal office, rich and immersed in the same interests as the rather degenerate Greek or Roman population around, were not likely to be very strict adherents of the Law. Their epitaphs prove that they were conforming in sepulchral custom to Phrygian fashions. The reference to Deuteronomy (p. 7) mentions the curses of chap. xxvii-xxix more as a magical resource than with any regard to the real meaning and bearing of the original. Yet in those cities there were other Jews, not honoured citizens but mere aliens, not so tempted by prosperity and rank. The disappearance of the Jews may be explained by various hypotheses

1. They might have left the country and emigrated to other countries after the Turkish Conquest in 1071, but this supposition may confidently be set aside (with one single exception, mentioned under No. 6), for Turkey and Turkish territory have always been a refuge for the Jews, and there was little temptation for them to go into other civilized countries (so-called)

2. They might have been massacred. This supposition may also be set aside, because there is not the slightest appearance that the early Seldjuk Sultans ever intentionally massacred any large section of their subjects.

3. They might have melted into the surrounding population.

4. They might have left the towns and villages to congregate in a few large cities, where business and financial operations attracted them.

Both the third and fourth alternatives deserve and call for serious

consideration. There was more business in the early Seldjuk time, and a larger number of cities were engaged in active trade, than was the case as the Ottoman Empire gradually exerted its benumbing influence, and trade and manufactures slowly died out from the country generally. Examples of this might be quoted from many parts of the country, but Ladik, the ancient Laodiceia of Lycaonia, may serve to exemplify the general fact. There was a carpet-making industry here, which only ceased to be practised within the last century; and the carpets of Ladik are identified in the trade by a special mark, viz. a jug. It is now many years since any carpet was made there. The Jews may be supposed to have abandoned dying cities of this kind, and it is certain that in Asia Minor they practically disappeared, except in Smyrna, and on the Asiatic coast of the Bosphorus, the Gulf of Ismid, the coast of the Sea of Marmora and of the Hellespont. In Smyrna the Turkish statistics give a Jewish population of 22,500, and along the coasts from the Hellespont to the Bosphorus a Jewish population of 13,500, but there can be no doubt that a large number of these Jews have settled there, taking refuge in mediaeval and modern time from persecution in other countries. Especially in Smyrna the Jewish population are very largely Spanish refugees, speaking Spanish as their home language. They came when the Jews were expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella in the fifteenth century. It is stated by some good authorities that there are in Smyrna, besides the Spanish Jews, a certain number of the old Jewish population of pre-Turkish time, but at least it is admitted that this number is extremely small, and entirely fails to show what has become of the Jews of Asia Minor. They certainly do not represent in numbers even the old Smyrniot Jews, much less the entire Jewish population of Anatolia.

Considerable space has been devoted to stating the problems connected with this people, not because the writer has the qualifications that are required for the satisfactory solution, but simply because the problems force themselves on the attention of any student, and I hope in my turn to force them on the attention of those who are better qualified.[1]

5. While the colonial privileged Jews may have partly melted into the general population, the aliens and some of the privileged Jews who were steadfast found themselves in a different position under the Christian Byzantine Empire. They are mentioned, along with the

[1] I am much indebted to Dr. Gaster and Lieutenant Professor W M. Calder for criticism.

many Christian heretics of the same regions, by Byzantine historians in terms of hatred and contempt; and like some of the Protestant sects they probably emigrated by degrees to external countries like Russia and Arabia, fleeing from Imperial persecution and scorn. Yet still a number of the Protestants and of the Jews survived in Anatolia into the Turkish period. Did any of the latter, like the former, conform to Islam? It is well known that a sect of Jews exists in Salonika who conformed to Islam. On the other hand I have seen Jewish boys eating bacon there, and was told in reply to a wondering question, that their parents had no objection to this. The same was the case in Bucharest.

6. The suspicion may be expressed that some of the Anatolian Jews returned to settle in the Holy Land. No proof is known to me, but the general tendency towards this return has always existed; and at the present day it is becoming more accentuated than formerly, and is also taking its place as a conscious force in the world of politics, and, if I may venture to express a personal opinion, it deserves also to take its place in the world of statesmanship. It is an event which will ultimately come about, and the strong, growing feeling in its favour establishes a probability that it may be one of the most important and far-reaching results of the Great War. This is stated as an historical forecast based on the past and present conditions of the country and the peoples concerned.

The length of this statement about one people, and that people numerically not very great, though morally and intellectually important, shows how impossible it is to bring within the limits of this paper a satisfactory inquiry into the history of any one among the numerous Anatolian peoples. Evidence has rarely been collected, and it is necessary to begin by collecting it. Moreover, the evidence is growing in bulk year by year; here one fact, there another, is discovered, and each throws light on the other and on previously known facts.

I would add here a suggestion which was made to me by Dr. Gaster. He reminded me of the very large size of the Jewish cemetery at Smyrna, and of the importance of having a collection made of the epitaphs. Such a collection would be an historical study of the highest importance in this question, provided it were carried out by a competent, highly trained scholar, who could decipher in a trustworthy fashion the difficult letters of the earliest and most worn inscriptions, and should be able to form a gradual classification according to age. Dr. Gaster spoke of the difficulty of inducing local residents to undertake such a work, but it is not possible for members of the ordinary

population to perform satisfactorily such a difficult task. To undertake such a large work of so difficult a character requires a special commission, preferably of two scholars working in co-operation, and bringing independent judgement and eyes to bear on every difficult stone. It may confidently be expected that historical results of high importance would be brought about by a mission of this kind to the great Jewish centres. At the same time, it must be remembered that in the Roman period no trace has ever been found of epitaphs in the Hebrew alphabet or speech. At what date Hebrew was re-introduced in Jewish epitaphs of places like Smyrna requires to be investigated, and the fixing of such a detail as this would in itself be a fact of real importance. The entire subject calls for scientific treatment on a reasonable plan, and will reward such treatment; but of course command of sufficient amount of money is the basis on which all work of this kind must rest. It is impossible to surmount the many and varied difficulties that meet any explorer, without the power of spending money, even with the advantages that a Jew would have among Jews. The difficulties that are thrown in the way of any explorer are manifold, and often entail unexpected expenditure. The present writer lost years of work, and was hampered and restricted in many other years, by inadequate resources. The old English idea that an explorer needs only a notebook and pencil and his daily bread is still widely dominant even in scholarly circles, and almost universal in the non-scholarly world.

III. Survival of Ancient Races and Ancient Custom or Law

The question is often asked whether it is possible to identify remnants of ancient peoples, whether for example in Galatia, any traces of the Gauls who conquered the country in the third century B.C. can be detected. A Scotsman who was Consul in Angora in 1881, where he did business as a merchant in the produce of the country, maintained that he had observed traces of Gaulish character, especially in the red colour of the hair, which was not uncommon, and in the mental and moral character. But such arguments are fanciful, and far from trustworthy, and for my own part I have seen no Gauls in Galatia, but many Turks, Kurds, and Turkmens. The one ancient people which I have thought recognizable is what may be called the ground stock of the Anatolian population. The Turks of the Central Plateau have varied distinctly from the Turkish Asiatic type, and have approximated to a different type, which I should be disposed to recognize as the old Anatolian. This is a large and vague subject;

I would give only one definite example. At Ivriz, at the head of a deep glen in the Taurus mountains, where Cappadocia and Lycaonia meet, there is a famous monument, beside a series of great springs which flow forth from the mountain. The monument represents the king or priest or priest-king adoring the present god. The god is a figure of vast size, about 15 ft. in height, dressed in the garb of a peasant. He is the Saviour God, the working God, who by his toil benefits and brings salvation to men. You take a guide at random from the nearest village, close to the mountain, and you are struck with the fact that, except in headdress, he shows a very remarkable similarity to the god—the same features, physique, and dress. The one and the other, the peasant and the god, are embodiments of the toiler who makes prosperity for the country, brings the gift of food, and constitutes the basis on which the happiness of the country rests.

This racial fact that the Turk has melted into the old Anatolian stock has struck every observant traveller whom I have met. We shall have to recur to this in section IV.

A very interesting field is that of investigation, or rather of speculation, with regard to the survival of ancient ritual and pre-Christian paganism. A good deal has been written or said on this subject, but the evidence is peculiarly difficult to observe, owing to the secretiveness and suspicious character of all those obscure fragments of population who differ from the commoner religious types. So far as I can judge, those who express most confident opinions on the subject are not those who have had the best opportunities of investigating.

Tribes or communities which come under this category are (1) the Ansariyeh in Cilicia, who have come thither from Syria and are almost exclusively occupied as gardeners. The romantic picture of the Syrian Ansariyeh which Disraeli has drawn in *Tancred* is well known: he works up a widespread view. (2) The Takhtadji, who have no tribal name known to the outer world, but are denominated from their occupation, which is always that of wood-cutters.[1] These are widely scattered over the country, and have been frequently the subject of recent discussion. (3) The Yezidi, or Devil-worshippers, who have been severely persecuted and massacred in comparatively recent years, are found in small groups in the Euphrates valley and further east. (4) The Yuruks—according to some writers: personally I regard them as modern immigrants from inner Asia.

To take the most important of these Anatolian communities, the Takhtadji, the opinion has been freely expressed by anthropological observers that they are a survival of some ancient pagan sect. It is

[1] A German view regards them as *dendrophoroi* of Cybele.

quite certain that, although they wear some superficial appearance of Islam, they are not really Mohammedan in faith; and they are regarded with supreme contempt by all Moslems. But this difference has thrown them back on themselves, and made them so suspicious that it is almost impossible to learn anything about their beliefs or rites. A friend, who belongs to one of the old Dutch families of the Levant, and who was brought up from childhood on a large estate about thirty miles south of Smyrna—the property of his family for generations—lived in boyhood in familiar intercourse with a village of Takhtadji on this estate. One boy in particular was attached to him as a sort of attendant and companion from childhood. They grew up together: they played and hunted in company. As my friend became interested in anthropological and ethnological investigation, he was eager to find out something of the character of the rites and beliefs that were held in this village; but though this special companion talked on every other subject freely, he would never utter a word if the conversation turned towards religion or custom, or ritual or belief, and from this woodman my friend never could learn anything. His own observation, however, showed that on certain occasions the entire village gathered at the cemetery during the night, to perform some sort of duty, apparently of a religious character, at which it was forbidden and impossible for any stranger to be present. Such a ceremony seems wholly inconsistent with Islam, and stories are told of hideous rites which are performed on the occasion, but similar stories are extremely apt to grow in popular report with regard to proscribed or unpopular religions. Exactly the same sort of tale was told about the early Christian meetings, which were secret, not from any need or desire for secrecy, but simply because meeting was forbidden and unsafe. At the present day it is well known that certain enthusiastic rites in the way of devotion to the person of the Prophet Mohammed have become common among orthodox Moslems: these rites occur mainly at night: in them the Asiatic tendency towards enthusiastic religious ritual finds a satisfaction and an outlet which the ordinary services of prayer do not afford. The fact of meeting at night, therefore, proves nothing; but the choice of a cemetery for meeting-place is more significant, and takes us back to the early Anatolian custom and belief about the sacredness of graves. My friend also knew that there was a sort of religious head of the sect, who was believed to have a home somewhere in the Adana Vilayet (that is to say, Cilicia or the mountain region to the north or west of it), and this 'high priest' was wont from time to time to make a progress through the villages of his people. When

he came to a village and entered into any house, he was for his stay the master and owner of the house, not according to the mere polite fiction of oriental hospitality, but in the fullest sense. The master and father of the family disappeared for the time, and the religious chief took his place in all respects. There is here a certain resemblance to the ancient religious idea that the god in the old pagan religion of Anatolia was the absolute lord and master of his people, and that the priest is the representative of the god on earth, a resemblance involving a process of degeneration and degradation which is likely to occur. But it is not safe to lay too much stress on this resemblance. Degeneration takes strange forms, and brings about generic resemblances due more to human nature in its decay than to positive survival of religious custom. it is beyond doubt that the Takhtadji are a race in degeneration.

Undoubtedly there is a strong temptation to carry much further this line of hypothesis, and several modern writers have done so, but the evidence seems to me insufficient. It does not strengthen my belief in theories stated by learned authorities when I find that one traveller who has carried this line of thought rather far did not speak Turkish, but was dependent on information derived from a Greek servant, and still less when I employed this servant for some weeks and observed how fanciful were his accounts of customs practised by the Moslems: the fact was that he knew little and imagined much. Nor was my confidence increased, to take another example of a very high anthropological authority, who has written a delightful description of Yuruk social customs, when the late Professor H. Kiepert pointed out a quaint error in the map accompanying these observations, a map drawn by himself and incorporating the observations of that distinguished and respected scholar. There was a mountain which bore the name 'Black-Mountain-they-call-it'.[1] It was obvious that some native, when asked the name of the mountain, had replied 'Black Mountain they call it', the common way of speaking, and that the whole sentence was put down as the name of the mountain. The name 'Black Mountain' is so common in the Turkish country, that you are rarely out of sight of some Black Mount. Such an example of unfamiliarity with Turkish conversation weakens one's confidence in the account given by the same authority of the quaint marriage customs of the Yuruks.

From the historical point of view there are interesting survivals of

[1] The map was published with this name in a Preliminary Report; but Kiepert deleted it from the map in the final publication.

pre-Moslem religions, clad in Moslem appearance. In the Hermus valley, a little north of Sardis, there are several villages through which the traveller might readily pass without noticing that the inhabitants are not ordinary Osmanli; but various subtle differences are found by those who have the opportunity of looking beneath the surface. While the men are all called by Mohammedan names, the names of the women are Christian. Marriage is indissoluble, and Moslem freedom of divorce is absolutely proscribed and unknown. Wine is made and used freely. These are all sure signs of Orthodox character. Priests of a sort exist, and wear a black head-dress, which is characteristic of Greek priests and unknown in Mohammedan usage. It is not open to doubt that there remain in these villages some remnants of the old Christian population of the Hermus valley, which was able to preserve itself by a partial conversion to Mohammedanism in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and yet did not wholly abandon its older social customs.

This example suggests that the melting of the old Christian inhabitants into the Osmanli or Turk population was one that occurred gradually, and not by instantaneous conversion. In the eastern parts of Asia Minor similar small groups have been observed. It cannot be doubted that in these cases you have remnants of the Christian population who sought to preserve themselves and to avoid danger by a pretended conformity to Mohammedanism.

In the same valley as Sardis, not many miles further up, the city of Philadelphia maintained itself as a Christian city, independent alike of Greek Emperors and Turkish Sultans, and surrounded by a Moslem population, until 1379–90, when it yielded to a combined attack made by the Byzantine and the Turkish armies. These people of Philadelphia welcomed the German crusading army of Barbarossa in the year 1185, and the same army was also welcomed at Laodiceia in the Lycus valley by a Christian population. In the years that followed these showed much more craven spirit. The Laodicean Christians disappeared entirely, and for centuries there was no Christian inhabitant left in the valley, except in the single village of Khonas, which stands high above Colossae on the steep side of Mount Cadmus. In that sort of secluded position fragments of an older population find refuge (p. 356). When the railway began to feel its way up to the Lycus valley, it was preceded by Christians, who served as agents to extend the trading connexion with the line, and it was followed by a regular influx of Christian population almost entirely Greek, who have kept pace with the railways that radiated from Smyrna.

Such villagers stand in a totally different category from those many Christian communities which adopted Mohammedanism completely. These became fanatically Moslem: e. g. the feeling between the Pomaks, or Moslem Bulgarians, and the Christian Bulgarians was extremely bitter. The same was the case in Crete, yet the Cretan Moslems were obviously of Greek origin. Their physique was typically Greek; they used the Greek language; and, when large numbers of them settled in Asiatic Anatolia amid purely Mohammedan surroundings, they felt that they were among an alien race, and quickly died out (see section VI).

These few examples may serve to illustrate the survival of ancient racial elements in Asiatic Turkey, but a much more important, and to the present writer more interesting, subject is the survival of ancient customs and laws in Turkish society, which has long engaged attention. On this subject something may be found in the writer's *Impressions of Turkey*, ch. xi.

Instead of repeating the examples given in that book, I may refer back to the striking case quoted in section II, where it is mentioned that old Turkish legend sought to legitimize the possession of Asia Minor by creating a hero of the Conquest, who by marriage to a Christian Princess became possessed of her right of inheritance. One is struck with numberless examples of this belief among the Turks, that mere military conquest does not convey full right of possession. The religious feeling is never completely eliminated, though it lies so deep as to express itself only in mythology and folk-lore, that the old race and the old religion are the rightful possessors. For example, in Thyatira, the modern Ak-Hissar, there is a round mosque, which is a converted Christian Church, and on the top there stands a cross. When my wife drew the attention of the Imam to this cross, he explained that the building could not survive unless the cross were kept there, and he showed us inside the mosque a short column of marble, supporting nothing, which as he declared always wept when a Christian entered the mosque. Similar beliefs have been observed in Konia, Constantinople, Damascus, &c.

Most important of all is the sphere of Law. The Turkish Conquest of Constantinople was really the climax of a gradual orientalization of the Byzantine Empire. Isaurians, Cappadocians, Phrygians, and Armenians reigned in Constantinople on the throne of the Roman Caesars, and the final stage occurred when a Turkish Sultan sat on the same throne. It was not uncharacteristic that in the ninth century the most intimate friend of the Emperor Theophilus was a Turk named Theophobos.

About the years 1890–5 a land scheme was carried out in the neighbourhood of Smyrna which proved to be highly beneficial. There was a large amount of waste land all round the valley. Some of the European residents recalled the principle of Turkish law or custom that unused land lapses to the common good, and that private property in such land ceases ; and they induced the governor of the province to promise possession to squatters, who should engage to plant vineyards or otherwise use the soil, and to guarantee permanent possession to the worker of the land so long as he was making full use of it. The result was a great extension of production in the valley and on the fields around, almost wholly by Greeks. Whether this principle is special to Turkish law or is common to all Moslem sacred law I do not know. It concerns our subject as one of the most ancient features of western Asian religion and custom. It springs from the old religious idea that the land belongs to the goddess and that the people are her slaves, bound to make use of the land, which is holy. There can be no human ownership in land, for as the Hebrew law often says, 'The earth is the Lord's'. The earth herself was the supreme goddess, and the divine nature cannot be the property of man, but the land stands in need of human work in order to be useful. There is therefore conjoined with the idea of ownership by the goddess of her own self the other idea that he who is making the land useful is co-operating with the supreme goddess as ultimate owner, and therefore he has the right of possession which continues so long as the co-partnership lasts.

Such ideas as nationalization of the land or peasant proprietorship had no place in this system, but instead there existed security of tenure for the cultivator, and this was the basis on which the improvement of the land and the subjugation of the soil for the benefit of the family of the cultivator rested.

They gathered out the stones, they stored the water that fell from heaven, the gift of the god, or brought it in artificial channels from some bountiful fountain, which also was recognized as the gift of the god. Under the divine teaching they sowed corn and improved the species. They planted trees which would not begin to be useful until a considerable number of years had elapsed. They fenced their gardens round to keep out marauding animals. Thus they transformed the Mediterranean lands from their naturally rather sterile condition into a great series of gardens and orchards that surrounded the central sea.

This system of divine ownership presupposes the state of peace, and looks forward to a continuance of peace, so that the cultivator

can expect to reap many years afterwards the fruit of his toil—but with a state of war comes uncertainty of tenure. The prosperity of Asia Minor depended upon peace and diminished or, in parts, disappeared entirely, when war disturbed the conditions of society

With war begins the era of estates on a large scale belonging to private proprietors; the conquerors divided among themselves a certain proportion of the land they had won Especially the king, by a sort of religious fiction identified with the god, was regarded and worshipped by the population as an incarnation of the divine nature, and through this fiction became the lord of the land and, to a certain extent, of the cultivators who were necessary for using the land. The soldier-landlord must provide for working the estate: he borrowed the needed money from the central temple, which he rarely, if ever, disturbed, because it was dangerous to interfere with the gods whose power was supreme in the country. He had to worship and respect them in order to be able to live in the land. Even the modern Moslem respects the sanctuaries and festivals which he found among the Christian population when he conquered the land.

IV. Turk and Turkmen

Many of the distinctions about which we speak are not recognized in government statistics, and the diverse races are summed up as Moslems or as Osmanli (on which title there is more to say in the sequel). This is the case with the distinction between Turkmen and Turk.

One of the first impressions made on the traveller when he leaves the railways and cities, and goes out over the Central Plateau, is the difference between two classes of population, who are called in ordinary expression Turks and Turkmen. The population of towns and generally of the settled villages consists of Turks, or, as they call themselves, Osmanli; and the distinction between them and the Turkmens is clearly marked. The Turkmen tribes used to claim ostentatiously to be and to be styled 'Turkmen', and repudiated the name 'Turk', while the Osmanli would have regarded it as an insult to be called 'Turkmen'. Formerly the usual account of this difference was that the Turks represent the tribes who overran Asia Minor in the years immediately following the great battle of Mantzikert in A.D. 1071 (which laid the whole country prostrate before the invaders from Central Asia), whereas the Turkmens belong to various successive waves of immigration which came in from Central Asia during the following centuries On the other hand, an explanation which has

been favoured recently is that the Turkish population is the native Anatolian population Moslemized, while the Turkmen tribes are left unexplained, and it seems to be assumed that they are the conquering race.

Although these explanations both contain some element of truth, they are both insufficient, because they take no note of the fact that the difference goes back to the earliest years after the Turkish Conquest.[1] Nicetas and Cinnamus describe the 'Turkmens' or 'Nomads' as already a familiar element in the population as early as the middle of the twelfth century, and Anna Comnena alludes to them in the very beginning of that century. Anna calls them 'Turcomans': Cinnamus calls them Nomads and Persians.[2] Nicetas describes them as a pastoral people, who swarmed in numbers near and across the frontiers of the Romans, seeking suitable pasturage for their flocks. At this time (1100–70) it is clear that they had overflowed like a flood the entire plains of the Central Plateau; and in truth they were a flood which drowned out the old population, and destroyed the Roman civilization outside the walls of the great cities. The Nomads were in a sense the conquerors of Anatolia, for they reduced the country from the agricultural to the nomadic stage.

It is impossible to explain the presence of the Turkmens as due solely to inroads of later population from Asia, though doubtless such immigration continued at intervals for centuries, as will be shown in the sequel. They came with the armies which conquered the Romans, and within forty years of the day when the first Turkish army appeared in the country they are spoken of by historians as a marked and important element in the population on the west and north-west Turkish frontiers, not very far from the Bosphorus and the Aegean Sea. The difference of Turk and Turkmen was quite as apparent between 1100 and 1120 as it is at the present day, and the Byzantine accounts are very similar to what a modern traveller would give, although they are briefer and neglect many traits on which a modern traveller would dwell. The Byzantine historians were not interested in ethnological or anthropological observations, on which the modern traveller would insist as most important.

The Turkmens extend widely over Anatolia. They are found as far west as the Phrygian hill country called Turkmen-Dagh, south of Dorylaion (Eski-Sheher), and the valley called Turkmen-Ova (Campus

[1] Some of the passages are quoted in *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 213.

[2] The Byzantine forms Τουρκόμανοι (or -ννοί) and 'Οθωμανοί gave rise to the false forms Turcoman and Ottoman. Chalcocondylas has 'Οτουμανίδαι.

Metropolitanus), a long valley north-east from the Ottoman railway and the old city of Apameia, traversed by the great central highway of the Roman Empire and the great trade route of the early Turkish period. But the principal haunt of the Turkmen tribes (Asheret) is in the level plains around the great salt lake in the centre of the country and in the eastern Taurus mountains. The Ramazan-Oglu Turkmens of the Eastern Taurus overran and partially conquered the Cilician plains by the sea centuries before the Turkish power crossed the Taurus to enter Cilicia: they dominated that province or fought for power in it against the kings of Lesser Armenia and the Memluks from Egypt and even the scanty remnants of the Byzantine power, all of which were striving side by side to gain the upper hand in the fertile plains by the sea. The power of the Ramazan-Oglu was quite independent of the Seldjuk Sultans of Roum with their capital at Konia, and it began before the Ottoman or Osmanli Turks had ever been heard of. This was the one case in which the Turkmens seemed about to constitute something in the shape of definite political organization.

In none of the regions in which they now are found was the population ever purely Turkmen. At the present day there dwell side by side with them Yuruks, Turks, Kurds, Armenians, &c., not to mention smaller groups of population in the towns. In the valley called Turkmen-Ova the villages now, for the most part, claim the title 'Osmanli', but some are or were recently Yuruk, and there can be no doubt that villages which are now called Osmanli were formerly Turkmen, and the process whereby the Turkmen is transformed into the Turk through settlement and change of feeling is instructive: it has been going on before the traveller's eyes in the last thirty or forty years, and is typical of a slower process that has been going on through the centuries.

There has never been any real affection between the Turks and the Turkmens, but rather a slight though distinct feeling of hostility; and for centuries even the west Turkmen tribes (Asheret) maintained themselves practically in independence of the Ottoman Government, paying no taxes, treating great officials almost on terms of equality, and not serving as soldiers in foreign countries. The Turkmens were an unruly and even a dangerous element in the country. Peaceful merchants did not venture to travel along the roads except in large caravans, which had to be always on their guard against attack from the Nomads. The Seldjuk Sultans in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries attempted to protect the great lines of communication by means of splendid khans. These khans are places of large size and

military strength, built for defence with loop-holed walls of great thickness; and they could easily be maintained against the attacks of large bands of Nomad assailants.

A German traveller has laid emphasis on the character of these great Seldjuk khans, as a proof of the high standard of civilization which characterized the Seldjuk Empire of Roum; but that proof depends upon what is meant by civilization. They indeed possess a stateliness and architectural dignity and beauty which are extremely impressive.[1] Generally they stand alone in a desert, with only a few wretched hovels of the modern remnant of population in the neighbourhood, or even absolutely solitary with no habitation for miles around, and they thus rightly give the impression that they belong to a far higher standard of civilization than the modern. In the realm of art they are eminent; but they do not prove that peace or order or good organization characterized the Seldjuk rule. They are really fortresses in a dangerous country. As a rule they were not centres of population, but stood out like fortified islands in the great sea of the nomad wilderness. They attest the weakness rather than the strength of Seldjuk power. The Seldjuk Turkish Sultans had no footing in the desert, except within the walls of those fortified refuges. The Turkmen was the enemy of the Seldjuk Turk, just as later he was hostile to the Osmanli Sultans: rarely indeed an active enemy, but a proud and unruly and almost alien element in a very loosely organized Empire.

Now we come to the question, What is the cause of the difference between Turks and Turkmens? In other words, who and what is the Turkish people as distinguished from the Turkmen tribes? There can be no doubt that the Turkmen are much closer in character to the original Turkish invaders of the country, for they are more distinctly Asiatic in physical type and in occupation. It was such as they that mainly were instrumental in destroying the army of Romanus Diogenes in 1071, and they occupied the country as a whole. They are nearer to the Mongol type than are the Turks. They are a tall, powerfully built race, as is natural in men who are nourished mainly on the milk of a limestone plateau. Changes have been produced by the settling influence of political and administrative circumstances during the last century and mainly the second half of the century,

[1] The largest and most splendid of the Seldjuk khans was Sultan Khan, twenty hours north-east of Konia, which was being rapidly destroyed in 1912 to furnish materials for a new Government House at Ak-Serai. The most easily accessible in a decent state of preservation is Zazadin-Khan, half-ruined, four hours north-east from Konia. On the former, see Sarre, *Reise in Anatolien*.

but they still remain a well-marked and distinctive type. The Turks of the towns and villages, however, approximate in type more to a European population. They are and have always been peaceful, and are easily governed by a firm and fair administration of law, and they are even willing to submit to a degree of unfair treatment which would drive to fury or despair most European peoples.

The following hypothesis may serve to explain in part the origin of the distinction between Turk and Turkmen. The Turkish population is not pure Turk, it represents a mixed race, springing from the union between a section of the Asiatic conquerors and the old population of Anatolia; and it is probably more truly Anatolian than Turk. It consists really of two different, and yet not practically distinguishable, classes, (1) the offspring of Turkish conquerors marrying women of the old population, and (2) a large number of the old Anatolian population who adopted Mohammedanism.

It is recorded by historians, especially by Nicetas, that many of the heretic Christians [1] of Anatolia actually preferred the domination of the Turkish Sultans of Konia to the rule of the Byzantine Emperors. As heretics, they had been harshly treated and contemptuously regarded by the Orthodox Government, and they welcomed the Seldjuks as deliverers from a sort of bondage. They threw in their lot with the conquerors, resisting the attack of John Comnenus, helped them, and gradually adopted their language. These are the facts of the case, and the hypothesis is forced on us almost inevitably that with few exceptions the old heretic population, which was so numerous in Phrygia and Lycaonia, gradually adopted also the religion of the conquering people. There was every temptation to do this. They did not belong to the Orthodox Church, but were rejected and despised by it. Now the Orthodox Church still continued to exist with considerable privileges under the Seldjuk rule. The heretics could not find a home among the Christians, and gradually they acquiesced in the faith of Islam. They were Protestants, and there is always much greater community of feeling, based on similarity of type in ritual, between Protestants and Moslems, than can possibly exist between Orthodox and Moslems. In fact, it has always seemed to me that in origin the faith of Islam springs from the influence exerted by refugee Christian heretics on the thought and conduct of Arabs. The great founder of Islam was the person through whom this influence found

[1] Nicetas, p. 50, does not say that these renegades were heretics, but their country is mentioned by others as full of heretics, and Nicetas says that they adopted Turkish customs See my *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 389.

expression and direction, and Islam is, roughly speaking,[1] the first successful Protestantism, i.e. the first case in which the revolt from the character imparted to the Orthodox faith during the fifth and later centuries succeeded in making itself strong enough to become a conquering power.

It is of course not the case that all the Protestants acquiesced in the faith of Islam. The Nestorians for example have maintained a continuous existence as a separate Church to the present day, but their numbers are few and have been growing fewer, and the history of the Nestorian Church exemplifies the way in which the Christian communities gradually melted away and disappeared during the time when Turkish power was strongest. Some might add that the continued existence of the Armenian Church, which is pointedly distinguished from the Orthodox and is regarded with dislike by the latter as infected with the Monophysite heresy, is an example of the survival of a heretic sect on a large scale. But the Armenians are not Protestants: they accept that dogma regarding the Mother of God, which the real Protestants and the characteristic heretics of Anatolia rejected, and even in regard to the Armenian survival we have to remember that this is also a national as much as a religious fact. It is a nation that has survived, a nation unified by its own special form of religious ritual and clinging to it with all the strength that results from a union of patriotism and religious feeling in a single force, and in our own time we have seen how the Armenian people, after surviving for centuries, has been at last exposed to a process of extermination. Its numbers are immensely decreased during the last thirty years, and without aid from external powers and from the civilized races of Europe Armenianism would probably be exterminated within the limits of the Turkish Empire.

In all these various historical facts we see only varying effects of the same circumstances. We see the same forces acting more quickly and more completely in some cases, and less rapidly but in the long run none the less surely in other cases. Without external aid the Christian element of the population of Anatolia would probably disappear, except the Greek Orthodox Church, which, though once at least very severely handled, has always known how to make terms with the Ottoman Government and yet retain its own character.

In this survey we observe that in Asia Minor all the initiative, the

[1] This rough statement must not be treated as an attempt, which would be merely foolish and presumptuous, to put the nature of Islam into a sentence. It expresses one aspect, which needs emphasis, because too often neglected.

enterprise, and the enthusiasm and self-confidence are found with the Protestants, whereas in the Orthodox Church one is struck with the quiet unchanging permanence, the submission to outward circumstances as almost immaterial, and the absolute steadfastness in suffering. Those who most value the former qualities will regard with special interest the iconoclast and other Protestant or heretic sects. Those who look to uniformity and steadfastness as the highest characteristics will look with most sympathy on the marvellous history of the Orthodox Church in this country. Contemplated at any moment and for any brief period the Greek Orthodox Church seems as dull as ditch water and as level as a marsh, while the striking qualities of human nature and of history are with the heretics; but seen over a long period of a thousand years or more, the former acquires the dignity of large scale and continuity—while the latter indubitably lack certain of the characteristics which make for permanence.

With regard to the Christians who adopted Mohammedanism, this process of change is not likely to have occurred suddenly, either by forcible conversion or by rapid transformation of Christians into Moslems. It seems to have come about voluntarily and slowly, and the Christian population lived for a time side by side with the Moslem Turks, gradually conforming to Islam, not through any compulsion on the part of the Seldjuk Sultans, but through a process in which like sought like. The situation presents some resemblance to that which existed about the year A.D. 50 to 52, when the Phrygian and Lycaonian Churches of the Roman Province Galatia tended to follow the Jewish Christians rather than the Pauline teaching. The reason of that tendency lay in a natural affinity of the Anatolian people for the Semitic type of religion, and it required all the personal authority of Paul to keep them true to his own teaching.[1] In a similar fashion, the Christian population of the Seldjuk Empire assimilated itself to the Asiatic religion of Mohammed.

The Turkish population, therefore, is very strongly coloured with the old Anatolian character. It must be supposed that those who settled down in the cities were the most adaptable, the most ready to learn, and the most educated section of the conquerors. They adopted in considerable degree the manners and habits of the people, taking houses and industries and wives as they found them in the country. But the distinction between the nomad and those who settled down in the cities is apparent at so early a date after the conquest, as to show that there existed some distinction from the beginning. The Turks had already been a power in Asia for some

[1] *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, p 256

centuries, and had been in relations with more civilized races, and the distinction of Turk and Turkmen began during that time.

Further, there must have been an economic change. A large part of the country was degraded from the agricultural to the nomad stage, and in consequence the amount of food produced was not sufficient to support a large population. Through the operation of causes like these, the change gradually came about.

The Turkmens are not nomadic to the same extent as the Yuruks.[1] Their summer residence (Yaila) is frequently quite close to their winter village (Kishla). Sometimes the Yaila is within a few hundred yards of the Kishla, but usually it is more distant and on higher ground; and often the winter village divides itself in summer among a series of Yaila, extending over a wide territory. The Kishla has little to distinguish it from an ordinary Turkish village, and it is especially by the lofty head-dress and unveiled face of the women that the ordinary traveller can judge whether such a village is Turkmen or Turk.

Some of the Turkmen groups are Shiya, while others are Sunni. I could never discover any principle underlying the religious difference, nor any cause determining it, nor any geographical plan in the distribution of the two sects. It was equally difficult to find any social difference produced by the religious fact, and no pacific person attempts to investigate social facts in Turkey, unless they are very patent. See Section III

V. Nomads and their Settlement in the Agricultural State

The most thoroughly nomadic of all the races of Anatolia are the Yuruks, a series of small, scattered communities found chiefly in the mountains, but occasionally also in the great plains. They extend in small groups from the neighbourhood of Smyrna to the Eastern Taurus. As their name indicates (Yuru means to move or travel), they are a nomadic people, wandering sometimes very great distances between their summer and their winter haunts. The most typical Yuruks do not practise agriculture. It has sometimes been considered—and one distinguished German scholar and traveller, at least, maintains—that the Yuruks, whose customs are in many respects distinctly different from the Turkish, preserve traces of old Anatolian habits and ways of life. This, I think, is not correct. They are typical Central Asian nomads, differing from the Turkish merely because they preserve far more thoroughly than any other tribe in

[1] See Section V

Turkey the old nomadic Central Asian habit, and many customs which accompany it. Just because they are so truly nomad, they are untrue to the old Anatolian type, which was settled and peaceful. The nomadization of the country was the means by which Turkey broke down the old Roman (or Graeco-Roman) society. That well-knit society, weak in many ways and unfit to defend itself against barbaric assault, possessed in spite of its weaknesses a remarkable cohesive strength, which enabled it to withstand and to recover from the tremendous assaults of the Arabs. The first Mohammedan attacks lasted for three centuries, and there was hardly a city in all Asia Minor that was not captured at least once. Yet the social fabric of Roman law and organization stood firm and regained its older cohesive unity.

The nomads prevented the Sultans from inheriting fully the Roman bequest, because they largely destroyed it. In the spasmodic attempts made by individual Sultans to reorganize the Empire, the nomads presented themselves as a difficulty that must be eliminated before organization could be achieved It was part of the policy of Abd-ul-Hamid—carrying out more effectively the tendencies which were inevitably produced by the centralizing policy begun by Sultan Mahmud II about 1815—to bring about uniformity of the Moslem population, and to substitute for the great variety of Moslem racial names, Yuruk, Avshahr, Circassian, Takhtadji, Kurd, &c., one common condition and one Imperial name.[1] In order to succeed in this attempt it was necessary to produce a certain uniformity of life and occupation. above all, the marked distinction between the nomad and the settled peoples was absolutely hostile to the whole aims of government from Stamboul, and considerable progress was made in the early part of the reign of Abdul Hamid, after the Russo-Turkish War had ended, in the way of compelling nomads to settle down in permanent villages. The Yuruks were the most confirmed wanderers, but the attempt was made to force them by various devices to settle. The devices were not kindly or gentle, and they were successful only in a limited degree. I have known some villages where Yuruks had been compelled to settle as a resident population: after a few years these claimed the title Osmanli This claim was especially made by the leading men of the village. The old chief of the tribe became under the new system the principal person in the village, and he knew that it was to his interest to adopt the policy of the Government and to enforce it on his people and to popularize the title Osmanli. But the neighbours were quite aware

[1] See Section X.

of the historical fact and would tell the inquiring traveller that the people of that village called themselves Osmanli, but were really Yuruk. There still remain, however, in the mountain regions of Central Taurus considerable numbers of Yuruks, who preserve the old nomadic habit unbroken.

The Turkmens in the semi-nomadic condition described in Section IV are presumably in an intermediate stage between their old nomadic habit (as described by Byzantine historians and by early travellers) and the condition of fixed settlement to which it has been the aim of the centralized administration to reduce them. When one finds that many villages which style themselves Osmanli go out during the summer to Yaila, it is probably right to infer that here we have a population which has advanced a little farther on the path that leads from nomadism to complete settlement. In all villages of this class a considerable amount of agriculture is practised, whereas the pure nomad lives by the produce of his flocks and herds. In proportion as the population becomes settled and devotes itself more and more to agriculture, the land is able to support a distinctly larger population.

It is pathetic to observe the attempts at agriculture which are made by villagers who are settling down from nomadism. They have, in some cases, not yet learned that it is necessary to gather out the stones, and one notices[1] on the edge of the hills corn struggling up out of soil which could hardly be seen owing to the number of large loose stones, which were scattered over it. It is a hard experience for a nomadic people to settle down to agricultural life. The life of the nomad is, in a sense, a continual holiday. The work is light, and has become pleasant through long habit. Looking after sheep or goats requires little physical toil and no hard manual labour, though it would be far from pleasant to a person who was suddenly plunged into this kind of life, as it involves much exposure and, in times of bad weather, real hardship ; but to the nomad the agricultural life presents itself as one of hard, never-ending and uncongenial toil, and usually he has to begin by breaking new land, and sometimes to settle on land which requires much preparation and preliminary work before it is fit for agriculture. The process of bringing the water for irrigation is one which may involve years of prolonged toil, requiring engineering skill, which the nomads do not possess ; and in default of any irrigation they are dependent for the harvest entirely on the chances of a very uncertain rainfall, which frequently comes in great storms that do more harm than good. In one case, on the northern skirts of Kara-

[1] The best example that I remember is on the edge of Karadja Dagh, east of Konia, between Emir-Ghazi and Kara-Bunar.

Dagh, fifty miles south-east of Konia, we saw in 1908 several square miles of growing corn which had been almost completely covered by gravel and sand washed down by a great rainfall from the mountain side: the land was totally ruined, and there was no energy nor skill in the wretched population of the village to restore the soil to a condition fit for agriculture.

The process of settling down from the nomadic to the agricultural stage is one that frequently proceeds from natural causes. An agricultural population can live in larger numbers on the land than a nomad and pastoral people. If a pastoral population increases beyond the nomadic limit of nourishment, it must either send out swarms to new fields, or settle to make more use of the land by cultivation, or keep down its numbers by infanticide or some other method. I have read an argument of a distinguished foreign sociologist directed to prove that the practice of infanticide was a humane method intended to guard against the starvation of a too numerous population in a pastoral country!

There are naturally several stages in the process of settling down as it takes place in natural evolution. Setting aside the main fact that a gradually increasing number of people and amount of soil is devoted to the processes of agriculture, there is the external and visible fact that the nomads cease to be purely pastoral wanderers, and go back and forward annually between the same winter and summer quarters, Kishla and Yaila. A Kishla is not unlike a Turkish village, except that it is even more filthy and dilapidated and ramshackle. The summer quarters, Yaila, are generally at some distance on a higher elevation or out in the open plain, and the habitations in Yaila are generally tents or booths, but sometimes even built huts. In some cases the summer quarters are intended to facilitate the care of flocks, but in other cases, where the process of settling has proceeded further, they are useful in cultivating outlying lands, where little or nothing could be done during the long winters.

Neither the earlier Seldjuk Sultans nor the later Ottoman Empire intended to destroy the old Roman fabric or to reduce the plateau of Asia Minor to the nomadic stage. The nomad tribes were a thorn in the flesh of the Turkish State, although they had been the real instruments of conquest. As the present writer said in 1891, 'the Oriental character grew stronger century by century in the Byzantine government; one dynasty overturned another, and each was less "western" than the preceding one. Phrygians, Isaurians, Cappadocians, and Armenians, ruled under the style of Roman Emperors, till at length a purely Oriental dynasty of Osmanlis eliminated even the

superficial forms of the West. The change was not in all respects so great as we are apt to suppose. The language and the religion and the government of Anatolia reached at last the Oriental goal to which the genius of the land tended' (*Histor. Geogr. of Asia M.* p. 25).

VI. Recent Immigrant Races

The population of Asia Minor has been remaking itself during recent centuries through constant immigration from the East. Immigration from the West has brought in only small numbers, but these have been persons as a rule of very much higher education and energy than the native peoples, and have therefore exerted an influence quite disproportionate to their strength. By the Capitulations, however, they could not become Turkish subjects, and must remain aliens.[1] Twice during the writer's experience the British Government has tried to get rid of the British residents in Turkey by withdrawing consular protection after a certain lapse of generations; and they have had to send a lawyer home to prove that this attempt to get rid of them was illegal and impossible.

The pressure from the East has always continued, except in so far as better organization prevents it. While it would be outside of our purpose to enumerate all the peoples whose presence in Asia Minor can be detected at the present day, a task which as a matter of fact is impossible, it is useful to mention a certain number of the tribes, in order to exemplify the manner in which they have settled in Asia Minor in comparatively recent time. A people called AVSHAHR specially attracts attention. They are apparently not dissimilar to the Turkmens in physique and character and habits of life, and they are among comparatively modern immigrants, because their home is in the eastern regions of Asia Minor. They are found also in much larger numbers in Persia than in Turkey, though there is no continuity between their Turkish haunts and their Persian abodes. Long distances often separate the sections of a nomadic people. At present the Anti-Taurus affords the Avshahr a shelter in its deep glens and high-lying pastures, but until about fifty years ago their country was the great uplands called Uzun-Yaila ('Long Summer-Pastures'), which extend between the upper waters of the Halys and the Tokhma-Su (one of the western affluents of the Euphrates), from which they

[1] Until some date not very much anterior to 1880 the alien males under consular protection were not allowed to own real estate, but alien women could do so; and elderly English friends told us that their property used to be held in the name of their wives.

were driven out by the Circassians, in circumstances which will be alluded to in a later paragraph of this section. In the Anti-Taurus the Avshahr still dwell, and so late as 1882, as I can bear witness, the Turkish officials had to preserve a very humble demeanour when they ventured into the mountain villages.

While this region is the main home of the Avshahr, it is remarkable to find two villages bearing that name[1] in the extreme south-western part of Phrygia, in the Kara-Eyuk Ova, a little way north of Kibyra and the Lycian frontier. One asks why this small section of people should be found so far from the main body, but when one remembers that they are nomads, the process can be easily imagined, and is exemplified in many instances, of which a few specimens will be found in the sequel of this section. A group is broken off from the main body, and wanders about seeking a place to dwell. It is driven and buffeted from point to point, until at last it finds opportunity of resting in its present abode, usually settling down in the process from the nomadic to the agricultural stage (see later, p. 37)

The KURDS, on the contrary, are one of the oldest peoples who can be traced in Asia Minor, or in Armenia farther east, or Kurdistan. They are supposed to be of the same race as the Kardouchoi, whom Xenophon found hostile to the march of the 10,000 Greeks nearly 400 years B.C. in that same region. Yet, although they, for the most part, live farther east than the Turkish Avshahr, they are probably much older residents of the country.

It is not widely known that, in addition to the Kurds of Kurdistan and Armenia, who have become so unpleasantly notorious in respect of the Armenian massacres, there are also considerable bodies of Kurds west of the Halys, completely divided from the others by a stretch of territory. These Kurds of the central plateau inhabit almost the whole country of the Haimane (including the south-western part of the province of Angora) and the central plains immediately adjoining the great Salt Lake. In the plains they are mixed up with Yuruks and Turkmens, and isolated groups of them extend far south, within 14 hours of Konia. These Galatian and Lycaonian Kurds are in character very similar to those of Kurdistan, but they are immigrant, whereas the others have inhabited their country for thousands of years. They preserved practical independence of the Turkish Government and paid no tribute until about the year 1880. In the year 1883, while travelling in their country, we were told by a Zaptieh (gendarme) that they were now perfectly quiet, and that travelling among them

[1] They are distinguished as Avshahr and Kum-Avshahr, see *Impressions of Turkey*, p 109.

was safe; that conditions had been very different formerly, but the present *Kaimmakam*, a Circassian, had taught them a lesson: he could not of course get authority to execute any of them, but he had a practice of beating severely any one that was arrested, and it chanced that every one after being beaten died, and the Haimane was now at rest.

The Kurds, who speak an Indo-European tongue which is, I believe, akin to the Armenian, are one of the most interesting ethnologically, and one of the least attractive in moral character, of all the Anatolian tribes. We have all heard a great deal about them in recent years, and hardly ever a word to their credit. Personally, my experience of them has been quite agreeable, though in one or two cases they have not shown any superabundant hospitality. They are, as a rule, greedy and covetous, but at the same time they appreciate the material benefits of civilization, and they realize that they have no opportunity of acquiring such things as civilization offers, in a land where the nearest small shop is 12 to 20 hours distant. They all have the reputation of being thieves, and frankly admit it.

In 1911, in a waste and dreary part of the plains on the west of the Great Salt Lake, we came on an interesting settlement which was just in process of formation. We stopped at a great fountain of excellent water which rose out of the plain and flowed away towards the Salt Lake. A woman was drawing water. Her dress and appearance attracted instant attention, as she obviously belonged to some strange race. We halted to inquire into the circumstances, and also to hunt for inscriptions in the settlement which her presence indicated. We found a small body of MONGOLS who had come, at the invitation of Abd-ul-Hamid's agents, to settle in Turkey. Their former home had been away east of Bokhara, but its exact position we failed to determine; and they had spent three months travelling from their original home to Constantinople. Thence after some delay they were sent to this point in the plain. There was here fertile soil unoccupied with abundant water. Greek masons from the town of Ak-Sheher, a station on the railway about 30 hours distant, were employed by Government to build houses for the new settlers, and a row of small houses had been hastily run up to receive them. The workmen had finished and were now about to depart. The row of shanties was about as forlorn a beginning for a new life as can be imagined. The workmen had hastily run up a series of single rooms, consisting only of four walls and a chimney. There was no flooring. Inside each the natural soil was covered with the débris of mortar, stones, and all the filth which workmen leave behind them. The

Mongols were too disheartened to set about the improvement of the hovels and of the land. It was too late to begin to sow for the present year. They were dumped down there without guidance, without equipment, without provisions, and far away from any centre where it was possible to purchase anything, if they possessed money. They spoke Turkish in a different dialect, but were easily able to communicate with Turkish speakers, which was their one advantage. Physically they were a fine people, not tall like the Turkmens, but strongly built, vigorous, and good-looking after the Mongol type. A year later I inquired about them, and was told they had all died off. Winter came on: cold and hunger did their work.

In this case you have a typical example of the treatment which a centralized Turkish Government has extended to the many thousands of immigrants who have come into Asia Minor since 1860. I do not imagine that the first Avshahr immigrants were so unfortunate, because they came at an earlier time, and had to deal with human beings and not with Government, but allowing for certain differences one learns from the other case how a small body of settlers was propelled from point to point until at last it found a resting-place. The village of Avshahr retains the name of these settlers. There were plenty of villages round about where kindly treatment from poor people could be obtained, and those surrounding villages distinguished the new one as the village of the Avshahr. There is, however, no sympathy among the Turks of the plateau for alien Moslem immigrants.

The CRETAN Moslems who settled on the plateau almost all died; the total change of climate and life killed them; there was no one to teach them how to adapt themselves to the new surroundings. On the other hand, the Cretans who settled near the west coast were able to suit themselves to their situation, because the climate was not dissimilar to that of their island home. They are always regarded with great suspicion as unruly, quarrelsome, and dangerous. The fact is that people who have energy and initiative enough to emigrate instead of submitting to the conditions of home learn to rebel and to help themselves, and adopt the old Border motto, 'Thou shalt want ere I want'.

Beginning from the time when Russia conquered the Mohammedan lands near or beyond its Asiatic frontier, many Moslem immigrants from the conquered countries have come to settle in Turkey. A natural inclination to dwell alongside of their fellow Moslems led them to emigrate into Turkey, and the fact that these emigrants left their lands to become the property of native Russian subjects

or of Christians who would assimilate themselves more easily to the Russian administration, was probably regarded by the Russian Government as presenting distinct advantages in the new period that was beginning, inasmuch as the presence of many Moslems, more or less hostile, in the newly conquered regions was likely to be an additional difficulty. In this way, TATARS, GEORGIANS, and above all, CIRCASSIANS, came into Anatolia about and after the year 1860. The Turkish Government invited and welcomed them, promising lands and a good settlement, and appointing Commissioners to plant colonies of these immigrants in the many regions where the population was scanty or almost entirely wanting. This access of new population did not prove so advantageous as might have been expected. There is no sympathy between Turks and Circassians. The Turks dislike and fear the Circassians, while the latter dislike and regard with contempt the Turks. The Circassians are unruly, while the Turkish population is obedient in the highest degree to the existing authority, and the feeling of hostility between the old population and the immigrant Circassians has constituted a serious difficulty throughout the last 50 years. Every traveller can tell many experiences of trouble caused in the country to the native Turks, and sometimes to the traveller himself, by Circassian outlaws or robbers.

Moreover, the Commissioners who were appointed to find settlements for the immigrant tribes acted in the regular Turkish fashion. They regarded their office as an opportunity for emolument, and were unable to find settlements until they had plundered the people under their protection of everything that they possessed when they entered Turkey. One heard many tales of the disgraceful treatment to which the Circassians were subjected, and their experiences in the process of settlement must have left a deep impression on their minds.

One case is specially characteristic of Turkish administrative methods. A large body of Circassians who had been made to march about the country westward and eastward by the Commissioners of Settlement, at last found themselves at Amasia—helpless, almost starving, and wholly desperate.[1] They seized the Pasha, and gave him a choice, either to find homes for them at once or to be killed on the spot: homes for them were found. I am not sure whether it was this body of Circassians or another that was conducted to the Uzun-Yaila, the rolling uplands which extend between Halys and the Tokhma-Su. They were informed that these were the lands allotted

[1] My authority was the Consul for Germany at Amasia in 1881: he was Swiss by nationality and blood.

to them. The lands were at the moment in possession of the Avshahr, who had hitherto preserved practical independence, and paid no attention to orders from Constantinople or from Sivas. This was an ingenious dodge, worthy of the best Turkish tradition. Whatever the result, the Turk must gain. Two unruly elements, a danger to unity of feeling and to centralized administration, were (like barbarian gladiators in a Roman amphitheatre) set to fight one another. It would have been a supreme triumph for the old kind of Turkish policy, that these two elements should have been so exactly balanced as to destroy each other. The Circassians, however, being desperate with hunger, proved stronger, drove out the Avshahr into the Antitaurus mountains, and took possession of the Uzun-Yaila, where they still are.

This tide of immigration has been continuously pouring into Anatolia during the reign of Abd-ul-Hamid. Great efforts were made by him through his emissaries in all parts of the Asiatic world to induce Moslems to come to Turkey out of Christian countries, as well as to strengthen the Moslem element in the land generally. Out of Russia many refugees have come, and most of them (as I believe) have regretted their action when too late.[1] In the year 1884 the monument called the Tomb of Midas in the Phrygian mountain country stood solitary in an uninhabited country. In 1887 there was a Circassian village newly built right in front of the great rock-tomb, and it still remained there when I last visited the place in 1907. These Circassians had come from Russia and had settled in this winding picturesque glen, delightful indeed in summer and healthy though cold in winter. We rode down from this place to the residence of the Mutessarif at Kara-Hissar in company with the Circassian Bey who had led his little tribe into Turkey. He was now going at the summons of some soldiers to answer charges in connexion with unpaid taxes, and he declared repeatedly on the way that he had made a profound blunder in leaving Russia, where his people had been prosperous and happy, and entering a country where he was exposed to spoliation on all sides. That little matter of unpaid taxes was weighing heavy on his mind, and perhaps the language of a person in such circumstances must not be regarded as strictly and perfectly trustworthy. But he maintained that he had not a penny left in his possession, that everything which his people possessed worth seizing had been taken, and that he regarded the Turks with supreme contempt. The Russians he feared, and the English he feared, but the Turks were of no account. Whatever may have been the case in this instance, the

[1] I can only vouch for the feeling of those that I have met, which was always the same.

story of the early Circassian immigrants as I have heard it often from excellent authorities was most discreditable to the Turks. Very considerable numbers of Circassians left the country and came into Anatolia, when the Caucasus was conquered by the Russians. They were taken hither and thither, back and forward, through Asiatic and European Turkey, and were fleeced of everything that they possessed. It is certain that the Circassians are an unruly and even a dangerous element in a comparatively peaceful country, for Turkey undoubtedly is peaceful to a remarkable degree, except where there are Christians or Druses or other heretics to be harried and massacred at Government orders. Wherever there is nowadays any robbery or disturbance in the open country, the trouble is in four cases out of five connected with Circassians, but it must be acknowledged that in most cases the Circassian malcontents have had good reason to be discontented. The poor Moslem population used to suffer more from the police than any other element of the population. The Turks submitted to injustice and spoliation, but the Circassians resisted such treatment.

Tatar immigrants from Russia have also come in considerable numbers. There are not so many distinct villages of Tatars, who frequently are attracted to the larger towns. They act as wagoners, and their trade requires that they should be at the great centres of intercourse. They are extremely hardy and strong, and make a very valuable element in the population; they are industrious, good-tempered and kindly in disposition, and fraternize readily with the older population.

The chief source of new population, however, during recent years has been the European provinces of Turkey. As these were cut off from the Empire and placed under Christian rule, a considerable body of the Moslem population has in each case emigrated to be under Moslem rule, and almost all have been sent into Anatolia. Natives of Bosnia and Bulgaria and Roumelia are found in large numbers scattered here and there over the plateau. They are all in popular terms lumped up together as Roumeli, and they are more energetic, more enterprising, and economically better instructed than the Anatolian population. The mere process of emigration is educative, for the emigrants have to face and overcome many difficulties; and economic education is essentially the process of learning to overcome the difficulties of the world, a process which is also morally invigorative. Further, their dress distinguishes them at a glance: it is not essentially different in type, but there are slight differences which are obvious to an observant eye.

In pre-Turkish times, as has been already said, there occurred real intermingling of race and blood in Asia Minor, though one strain and type always became dominant in the long run—mainly through the influence of geographical and climatic conditions. In the Turkish period, however, the various races do not intermix. They live side by side, interwoven with one another in the most extraordinary fashion, and yet there is hardly ever any intermarriage. The view which the present writer holds in regard to this subject is that the want of real intermixture is a source of weakness and not of strength. It is, as a rule, the mixed races which are the most important in the history of the world, though there are striking exceptions, as for example in the case of the Jews (who owe their strength and permanence to 'the religion of the Book'). But in Turkey the juxtaposition of intermingled nomad and semi-nomad and agricultural populations, all keeping separate from one another, seems to result in a stock which is not energetic or vigorous: still less can it be called intellectual or easily educable. It is also a potential source of danger to peace, not because the peoples of Asia Minor are difficult to govern or prone to disorder, but that, if quarrels do break out between quite distinct races, they are apt to become more serious. Yet in general it is indubitably the case that only firm administration of the ordinary law is needed to keep the peace in a region where no criminal class exists.

VII. Decrease of the Moslems of Anatolia

It is not here intended to take any account of decrease due to war. Anatolia has always been the main source of the military strength of the Turkish Empire, and it is the villages of Anatolia, chiefly, that supply its soldiers; as the European provinces have dropped off, the importance of Anatolia has steadily increased.

The greatest drain has been through that never-ending war whose existence is hardly known in the West, namely, the war in the Yemen. It is always regarded in the villages as a final parting when one of their number is called up for the war in Arabia. One who knows well used to say that, where twelve go, one returns. The change of climate, sudden and extreme, from Anatolia to Arabia is very trying, and no arrangements are made to teach men to adapt themselves to such a complete change, or to make adaptation possible if its principles were taught. This steady drain on the population has been going on for very many years. The cause is not death in battle. when there is a little fighting, perhaps one may be killed on each side. Disease is the real cause. From other reasons the same cause has been steadily active in Anatolia.

The large recent accession of population (as described in Section VI) ought to have added greatly to the strength of Asiatic Turkey, but it has been balanced by the steady decrease of the old population I spoke about this decrease in 1897 [1] in the following terms:

'Will the revival of Mohammedanism be permanent in Asia Minor? So far as the centre and west is concerned, it cannot be. The Moslems are dying out there. Even where the Greeks have not begun to settle, the Turks are diminishing in numbers owing to conscription, misgovernment, and certain diseases—a topic on which I will not enter, because I have avoided studying or observing them. The Moslems have no heart. They are in the grip of the railways, and under the influence of Europe. In the eastern regions it may be different for a time. . . . Yet most of us probably will live to see the boundary between European and Asiatic rule placed near the Euphrates. . . . Orientalism is ebbing and dying in the country. The tide of western ideas and western thoughts is flowing and strong; eight centuries of strict and stern repression are behind it and drive it onward irresistibly. The Great Powers of Europe, as they feebly and nervelessly protest against the movement towards freedom, and officially disown it, and stand for the constituted authority and rights of the Sultan,[2] . . are in the position of Canute when he set bounds to the flowing tide. The world, the course of history and the mind of man are against the Powers, and there is nothing possible for them in the long run except an ignominious retreat from their position, amid the contempt and the reprobation of mankind, whose feelings they are now outraging. They are abusing the resources of civilized society and government to support and prop up the most contemptible administration by which barbarism and organized disorder ever tried to stifle enlightenment and order. But they cannot do more, they do not even pretend to do more, than prolong its dying agonies a few months or years; they do not think, and they hardly plead as an excuse, that they are lessening the inevitable dangers of its dissolution by postponement, some of them, doubtless, know (as those of my acquaintance that are most familiar with the East all feel) that they are only increasing those dangers by staving them off for the moment. They can drill a good army for the Sultan, and Turks are very good material for soldiers, but they cannot put permanent vitality into the Asiatic reaction.' [3]

[1] *Impressions of Turkey*, p 156: also cp. pp. 130–3.

[2] The date when this was published was 1897.

[3] The chief fault in that paragraph seems to be in understanding the strength which might be given to Turkey by strong and stern European guidance.

My friend, Sir William Whittall, expressed in a letter his emphatic agreement with this statement, and he supported his own observation by the evidence of a German physician, who had been employed by Abd-ul-Hamid to report upon the decrease in the population. This is a grave matter, and what I have heard about it, or seen, needs to be carefully stated.

Abd-ul-Hamid was undoubtedly influenced by reports which had reached him of an alarming nature, with regard to the diminution of the Moslem population in the Asiatic provinces, where the spread of disease had been, and still is, a marked feature. I have often said that the filth and dilapidation of Turkish villages were steadily becoming worse, and that the country was apparently coming to the condition in which some great pestilence was likely to break out. You estimate safely the dirtiness of a Turkish village or of any house in it by the number of years that you have known it, and you say that you were in this same house ten years ago, and that it is now ten years dirtier than it was when you last saw it. It is only the strong sunlight which preserves the country from some terrible plague. Villages or their neighbourhood are inhabitable in summer, but in case of rain the condition to which a village is reduced is indescribable. Owing to the nature of the reports which the Sultan heard, he employed a distinguished German physician to report on the condition of the Province of Angora, and also as some say of Kastamouni. This physician spent several years in making an investigation, and sent in a report which was never published, but whose contents were known to be of a most serious character. It was, however, much talked about by well-informed people, and its general character was reported to me independently by two excellent authorities, personally well acquainted with this physician (who is now, or was three years ago, a Professor in Strassburg University) Both these authorities, one British, the other German, were among the best-informed persons with regard to Turkish affairs that I have met, and both described in identical terms (evidently caught from the lips of a person in conversation) the tone of the report, which was to the effect that the population of the Province was rapidly dying out, and that nothing could be done to save them, because measures which would give relief and diminish the danger were impossible as conflicting with the established social system of the country.

There can be little doubt that the anxious care with which Abd-ul-Hamid tried to bring in immigrants from outside countries was due to the impression that this expert report made on him, and doubtless it was supplemented by the unskilled reports which reached him from

many other sources. It cannot be doubted that Abd-ul-Hamid's policy all hangs together. He did undoubtedly try to gauge the situation, and he set himself deliberately to work for a definite purpose, viz. the restoration of Moslem power. The means which he employed were commonly of a primitive type, but he attempted to study the facts of the Empire and to work out a policy of his own, in which he attained some success. One cannot approve his means, but one must admit that he was actuated by a fanatical religious belief and an overwhelming desire to strengthen the people and religion of his own land.

In order to show that I am not merely judging after the event, I may be permitted to quote from the same source (as published in 1897) another passage[1].

'But Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid believed that the Crescent would be renewed, and he has for twenty years faced the torrent in his shattered and hardly seaworthy bark, kept her head upstream, and made astonishing way. With an almost bankrupt treasury, a navy which has rotted till the ships hardly hold together, a beaten and broken army, a disaffected people, surrounded by disloyalty, in constant peril from his own subjects, held on his throne only by the diplomatists of Europe and their mutual hatred and mistrust and the dread of each that another may secure their coveted share of dismembered Turkey, he reigns still, the sole mover of Turkish policy, autocrat to a degree that no other recent Sultan has been; and under him Mohammedanism and Orientalism have gathered fresh strength to defy the feeling of Europe, strength lying in the moral power that resolute purpose and religious fervour give against selfish or blundering adversaries. . .

'This man, who has played the part of Mithridates in the nineteenth century and played it with such skill and success, with scheming head, not with warlike hands, well deserves the historian's study. It is a remarkable part that he has undertaken, to stem the tide of change, which the three previous Sultans accepted as inevitable, and to stifle the growth of civilization in Turkey, which the strongest party in Turkey desired. The task would have been impossible, had it not been for the resources that civilization put in his hands, for, indubitably, modern inventiveness, by facilitating destruction, places enormous power in the hands of barbarism.

'His ally, without whom he could not have done nearly so much, has been Germany. It was patent to every one as far back as 1882 that the Sultan, feeling he had nothing to fear from German aggression, inclined to favour that country, which became immensely

[1] *Impressions of Turkey*, 1897, pp. 139, 151.

influential in Constantinople and has remained so ever since. Each party had much to gain: neither had anything to lose. German capital found an opening in Turkish enterprises; German officers organized the Turkish army; Krupp supplied the guns, and Germans calculated the range, did all the more scientific part of artillery practice, and taught the soldiers to do the simpler work. The Sultan wanted an effective army to defend his life and to crush disaffection; and the Germans gave it to him. So long as German officers are there to guide the operations, and so long as they succeed in keeping the supreme command out of the hands of some incapable Turk . . . the Sultan can do as he will in the East. German railways radiate from the Bosphorus over Asia Minor. German enterprises get every facility they require. People may blame the selfish policy of Germany; but her policy has been no more selfish than that of every other European power interested in the East at one time or other.'

It has been learned since the preceding paragraph was printed that the German policy in Turkey differed in being so much more far-sighted than that of any other nation, and in the last two years in being more unscrupulous.

VIII. Unity through Religion

Neither in Asia Minor, nor incidentally in Asia as a whole, can the problem of race ever be dissociated in practical affairs from the problem of religion, and those parts of Europe which are nearest to Asia approximate correspondingly in this characteristic. It is mainly by religion, far more than by blood or language, that classification and separation of elements has taken place. But still it is not rare to find that religious facts have been only the insignia on the banners of opposing races, or of antagonistic economic elements which were already arrayed against one another by other causes. The religious differences served only to emphasize and to define racial or economic hostility. For example, the hatred between the Bulgarian and the Greek elements in the population of south-eastern Europe existed long before 1870, but since that year it has been accentuated and directed by the schism of the Bulgarian Church of the Exarchate from the Patriarchate of the Greeks. Throughout Turkey the power of religion as a unifying force is especially conspicuous in the Orthodox Church All members of the Orthodox Church call themselves Hellenes; all feel themselves to be so. They differ in race and in language, and are widely separated from one another, like islands in the estranging sea of Islam. But small communities in

Isauria and in Pisidia, in Cappadocia and in Pontus, feel themselves one with the Hellenes of Greece, because they are united in the Orthodox Church. The common fact of Christianity has little power to produce a feeling of community with any other Christian Churches, except among the most educated and thoughtful Hellenes. The Hellenes consider the Orthodox as the only Christians, and they will state the comparative elements in the population of a town as being 'so many Islam, so many Christians, so many Armenians and a few Protestant'.

There is no doubt that Islam, in spite of sectarian divisions, is to a certain degree unified in feeling, at least so far as the two great groups of Sunni and Shiya are concerned. While Sunni and Shiya are enemies, disliking and despising one another, they are held together by a certain unity of common ritual; and in so far as religious consciousness is roused by pressure from without against Islam in general, Sunni and Shiya may, for a temporary purpose, be unified. But certainly, so far as the immensely preponderating distribution and numbers of Sunni go, they are held together in a remarkable degree, so far as religious feeling is concerned; but this unity has rarely been sufficient to weld together different countries and diverse races in a common political movement or a struggle against any other power. The great invasions of Islam upon the non-Mohammedan world have been inroads of a single race, or have been dominated and led by one race; they have not been invasions by a union of races. For example, on the one hand (as a friend of mine, brought up from infancy in Turkey and serving as a Government official in the Malayan Provinces told me), the birthday of Abd-ul-Hamid was celebrated with far greater enthusiasm among the Mohammedans of that country than the birthday of King Edward. But, on the other hand, common action in politics or war between the Turks and the Moslems of eastern Asia could not be regarded in the past, or at present, as a possible factor in history. The attempt of Abd-ul-Hamid to make a great Pan-Islamic union had a sporadic success here and there, but as a whole it was not a serious danger to other races and external Governments. The truth is expressed, as I think, by a good observer: 'The spiritual unity of Islam is a great reality, and acts as a powerful promoter of vital religious forces throughout all its branches' (*Vital Forces of Chr. and Islam*. Oxford, 1915). But in that sentence you cannot substitute 'political' for 'religious' and retain any truth.

On the other hand, I doubt much whether there is any vital unity between Sunni and the other heterodox sects of Islam, apart from Shiya, so far as they are found in Asia Minor. These heretic sects are

so few in numbers, that they hardly attain to independent recognition, but are slumped all together as Shiya, or designated by some epithet of opprobrium, which Sunni apply to any and every heterodox sect.

Though the interrelation of racial and religious factors can never be in practical life safely dissociated, yet in theoretical and abstract contemplation of the problem, as contemplated in this paper, the religious factor will receive little notice, except in this general warning that in practical affairs it can never safely be left out of consideration.

IX. The Attempted Unification of Turkey

The existence of so many diverse races in Asia Minor used to constitute a distinct weakness in the country, owing to the want of sympathy and the mistrust and even active dislike which exists between many sections even of the Moslems. It is true that in Asia Minor there is no Arab or Arab-speaking population with the exception of a few immigrants from Syria into Cilicia, and therefore the deep chasm which divides Turk from Arab has no existence there. Moreover, in Anatolia the strange way in which the different sections of the population are interwoven with one another tended to form many comparatively shallow lines of cleavage. But the diversity of population and feeling prevented the growth of any deep-seated patriotism or loyalty, while the centralized administration ruling from Stamboul was not of such a character as to encourage and develop loyalty or friendly feelings on the part even of the Moslems. The lines of cleavage between the different peoples, and especially between Turk and Arab, are the points of weakness in Turkey.

All who would understand the forces which have been moving in Turkey must study the policy and the history of Abd-ul-Hamid, a man who possessed some noteworthy ideals, and who aimed at the re-creation of the Turkish Empire, but who was by nature destitute of the practical power of carrying out his ideas in action that would produce permanent effects. He relied too much on the forces of Pan-Islamism, and attempted to create a general feeling throughout all Moslem countries of respect for, and loyalty to, himself as the supreme head of the religion, and to base on this feeling the power of the Sultanate. Previous Sultans had set little store by the title of Khalif, but to Abd-ul-Hamid it became the pivot round which the policy of the Turkish Empire moved. The Sultan was to be in the first place the supreme head of Islam throughout the world, and in

the second place the autocrat of Turkey. In the earlier years of his reign, when the writer first began to travel in and to observe Turkey, Abd-ul-Hamid was extremely unpopular there, and his government was unjust and oppressive in the highest degree; not that he was intentionally unfair to the Moslem population, but that the old system of bribery and corruption was too strong for him, and he lacked the practical capacity for inaugurating a better system of administration. In these circumstances he used the feeling of the Moslem world in general to conciliate to himself the support of his own Ottoman subjects

In the present study we have of course nothing to do with his policy as a whole, but only as directed to the problem of reconciling the diverse and mutually unfriendly Moslem races of Turkey in an Imperial loyalty and unity. These races are all summed up in official statistics under one heading for the purpose of concealing the disunion.

Abd-ul-Hamid's Armenian policy was part of his general Imperial policy, viz. to strengthen the Moslem element and to eliminate the Christian. It cannot be doubted that he was informed of the steady decay and impoverishment of the Mohammedan population of Anatolia, and that his policy was determined mainly by the wish to benefit the Moslems at the expense of the Christians The Greeks were saved, because they were too near the west and had command of the machinery of publicity: and their dislike for all non-Orthodox Christians ensured their tacit acquiescence in measures against the Armenians. The mob did not see that it was a case of 'Noman shall be the last I will devour'; it must indeed be recognized that the best and most educated Greeks abhorred the Armenian massacres, and a few of the most far-sighted perceived that their own destruction would come next; but the common Greeks used the opportunity of profit.

The Sultan desired to improve the condition of his Moslem subjects, but he did not know how to do so by economic measures of a kind which might be tried in a civilized country, where knowledge and past experience guide in some degree the efforts of a Government. He had only the past experience of Turkey; and the stages of change (one cannot say development) in Turkey have always been marked by massacre as the one instrument.

Every Armenian massacre, as I believe, was determined in accordance with a certain plan after the old Turkish fashion; e.g. in the great massacre at Constantinople the main idea was to do away with the Armenian porters, and to replace them by Moslem Kurds: in

short, to take an entire trade away from the present holders and hand it over to a favoured people. The new porters had to be settled at Constantinople in the business of porterage: the massacre was a way of providing for them. I do not doubt that there was some rough sort of reasoning which underlay the resolution to institute each massacre in the other places, though I am not in a position to say what it was in every case.

In a rough Turkish fashion the purpose was attained. All the loot from the Armenians was seized by the new owners and was sold widely throughout Asiatic Turkey, not merely by Moslems but also by 'Christians', at ridiculously small prices. I know of cases in which Europeans refused to purchase as curios much beautifully wrought wearing apparel and rich dresses, offered at tempting prices, because they recognized that the work was Armenian and inferred the reason for its appearance in markets far from the massacres. I know of a case in which the British Vice-Consul forbade his employees to purchase any Armenian spoils on pain of dismissal. He was engaged in business in a remote city, where the pretence was maintained by Government that no Armenian massacres ever took place, and he incurred such odium from the Governor of the Province, one of the ablest of Turkish administrators, dangerous as a foe and useful as a friend, that complaints and totally unfounded charges of misconduct were trumped up and sent to Constantinople against him, and he was removed from office; but in order to avoid any appearance of submission to dictation or of punishment without trial, this dismissal was put in the form of the suppression of the Consulate.

The depreciation in value of the stolen Armenian property is a measure of the failure of such measures to benefit even those who get the loot. Massacres and robbery do good to no one, and are ruinous in the long run to the country. Who remains to pay taxes and to bear the expense of government? The ignorant and unruly Kurdish porters, who took the place of the Armenians in Constantinople, have been an increasing cause of trouble to the foreign merchants ever since, and an ever-present danger to the city.

And yet, looking back over the reign of Abd-ul-Hamid and comparing the treatment which the Armenians experienced at his hands with what they have been experiencing under his Young-Turk successors, one begins to make some allowance for a policy which, barbarous and abominable as it undoubtedly was, yet evidently was not so cruel as it might have been.

The old Sultan had certainly a difficult problem to face in the earlier years of his reign. In 1880 to 1882 a hopeless despondency

about the future of the country reigned everywhere in Turkish society. Prophecies were current that the end of Turkish power was at hand. I quote the saying of a Binbashi or Major, uttered at Angora in 1881, when I was there: 'We have deserved the ruin that is surely before us, and nothing can save us.' Soldiers who had fought against the Russians declared that the misfortunes which the Turks had experienced were a deserved punishment for the treatment of wounded Russians by their own men. Abd-ul-Hamid had to re-create a feeling of hope among his Moslem subjects. A prophecy began to be current in 1882 that the year 1300, which began on October 31, 1882, was an epoch of Mohammedan history. The prophecies previously current had been about the end of Turkish power. Abd-ul-Hamid introduced the new religious idea: he revived the idea of the Khalifate, on which his predecessors had laid no stress. He planned out a scheme of strengthening Mohammedan feeling and making Turkey the centre of Mohammedan revival. His emissaries were active from the borders of China to the western regions of Africa on the Atlantic Ocean. It was part of his plan to increase the Moslem population of Anatolia by inducing immigrants to come in, and it was also part of his plan to improve their position in the country, to make them more comfortable, more contented and more prosperous. He had no thought that this object could be achieved by good government the only method which he saw was to take all that the Armenians possessed and hand it over to the Moslems. If in the process of doing this it was necessary to kill the former owners, that was an unfortunate accident which was inseparable from the situation, and really now that we see what he might have done, we begin to think that he was not so bad after all as his successors. We notice also that he substituted a religious idea for a racial, Mohammedan for Turkish. The idea has been changed under the modern administration which succeeded his. It is no longer a religious idea, but rather a national one. The religious idea laid too much stress on the Arabian holy places, and exalted the Arab element dangerously. The new idea is to lay stress on Turkish greatness and Turkish racial spirit.

There can, I think, be no doubt that he deliberately and consciously worked towards the end of creating a uniform empire, peopled by Moslems, who should as far as possible be similar in character and aims, and united in loyalty to the Sultan as Khalif. There are several points in his policy which bear upon the subject of this paper. He was conscious of the weakness which was caused by the extreme dissimilarity of character among the different tribes of Asia Minor. He aimed at producing a certain uniformity by encouraging settlement,

prohibiting nomadism, and producing a more active type of Mohammedan religious feeling It was regarded as a thing likely to attract his attention and to produce some reward, if an influential native of a village set himself to make a new mosque. I have seen a case in which quite an interesting old village mosque was pulled down, in order to substitute for it a new, ugly, barn-like structure, possessing no architectural feature whatsoever. The person who was guilty of this act told me that it had cost him £500, but a Greek servant whom I had declared that the new mosque would cost about £50 to build : no Turk, in boasting about his merits, can be expected to underestimate their value.[1] An experience like this leads me to believe the story which I have heard that, when Abd-ul-Hamid learned that a chief on the west coast of Africa had constructed a new mosque, he sent him a special decoration, which was conveyed to him through the agency of an English citizen, resident in Liverpool—a lawyer who had become a Mohammedan.

The progress in this movement towards a unification of the Moslem population as Osmanli was very noticeable in the time of Abd-ul-Hamid The purest and most unmixed Seldjuk Turkish population, in districts where no Osmanli in the racial sense had ever set foot, called themselves and felt themselves Osmanli. They are the people of Osman, because they are loyal to the dynasty which traces itself back to Osman. In order to introduce any real unification into the Moslem population an economic change was often necessary as a first step. The various nomad tribes had never felt any loyalty to the dynasty of Osman, and in many cases they had preserved practical independence : sometimes because their wandering life made it extremely difficult for the central Government to reach them, inasmuch as ephemeral administrators, changing rapidly, had not time to learn how to lay hands on a shifting population before they gained promotion to another office (generally through bribery) ; sometimes because the numbers of the nomads in certain regions made them so strong that the Imperial officials did not venture to exact obedience or taxes from them.

Until very recent times the motley population of Asia Minor appears to have been perfectly content with tribal and racial designations. The Turkmen or Avshahr was satisfied to be Turkmen or Avshahr, and did not think, so far as I know, of a national or imperial unity to which he belonged ; and therefore there was no general name by which the unity of the Empire could be expressed.

[1] Abd-ul-Hamid's power came to an end before the new mosque was fully completed, and no reward was gained by this vandalism.

Whether Abd-ul-Hamid attached any importance to the adoption of one name or general designation for the Moslem subjects of the Empire, I am not aware. Perhaps it was outside the sphere of his interests; perhaps he was lacking in the practical sense for the importance of matters like this; but at least it is inevitable that a process such as he was attempting to carry out should find a name to give expression to it; and the wide adoption of an imperial name in Anatolia is a marked feature of his reign, as I can assert from positive knowledge. The name was an old historic title, and the diffusion of it was a fact of Ottoman government long before Abd-ul-Hamid, but his policy gave strength to a natural process in the Empire. The situation, and a certain growing feeling among the people of Asia Minor, caused the process, which seems to have begun through the influence of the centralizing policy initiated by the Sultan Mahmud II about 1830. So far as I can learn, there existed previously little, if any, tendency to real unification of feeling in the country, and therefore unification of name had little vitality. The tie to the Sultan sat very lightly on the many nomad or semi-nomad tribes in the country, while all Christians, Jews, and certain heretic Moslems had no desire, and were not accorded the right, to call themselves by a name appropriated to the Imperial Turks. There did, however, exist a name which gradually established itself as expressive of unity in a Turkish Moslem Empire. This was the name Osmanli.

X Osmanli or Turk

The national name to which the Turkish people of Asia Minor and South-eastern Europe lay claim is Osmanli (or in European fashion, derived from the Byzantine Greek form, Ottoman); but this name has now no racial character. It did not come into existence until about two centuries after the conquest of Anatolia had been achieved by the Seldjuk Turks. The Osmanli were originally a tribe settled in the mountain district to the south and south-east of the Sea of Marmara, taking their name from their leader Osman. They were the people of Osman: names of this character are extremely common in Anatolia. The successors of Osman rapidly extended their power, overrunning the north-western part of Asia Minor and the south-eastern part of Europe, and ultimately making themselves heirs to the old Seldjuk Sultans of Konia or Roum, and leaders of the entire Empire. At this time the Turkish power was bounded on the south by Mount Taurus, and it was not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that the Osmanli Sultans extended their power south of the Taurus, conquering Cilicia, Syria and Egypt, under Selim II.

The name Osmanli became a sort of Imperial designation. All Moslem subjects who felt loyalty to the Osmanli Sultans called themselves Osmanli. This was an Imperial designation and a basis on which rested a feeling of unity in the Empire. It implied religion and also loyalty to the Ottoman Empire among those who claimed this title, and they prefer it as more honourable than any other.

'What is Osmanli?' said the deputy elected for Adrianople to the Turkish Chamber in 1908, when the question was raised in a small social gathering where I was present. 'They call me Osmanli; my father was Albanian, my mother was Circassian, and I am Osmanli, The name has no ethnological meaning.' It has, however, true political application and force. It expresses and sums up all that exists in the way of political and social unity and of loyalty to the dynasty, apart from the religious factor Formerly there was very little of this feeling. It has been growing during the last ninety years or so The soil in which it struck root and from which it gained sustenance was the centralization of government, a very scanty soil, affording a very poor sustenance. The claim which Abd-ul-Hamid has to rank as a power in history is that he perceived the want of unity in the Empire, and that he attempted in his own way to remedy this evil. His methods were barbarous and also they were inadequate. He had no education and no acquaintance with the facts and possibilities of civilized or humane administration. He attempted to put in force the old Turkish principle of government by massacre, not that I imagine that he was ever fully satisfied with this, but he was not capable of devising anything better. There has never been any way of governing in Turkey, except to let things go on until the administration began to suspect some danger from some element in the population, whereupon this element was reduced to harmlessness by massacre; and this established and hereditary custom has often been employed in argument by speakers and writers in this country as a sufficient justification for the policy of Abd-ul-Hamid. The same old custom is at the present day admitted in practice by the European allies of Turkey, whose only criticism on the past seems to be that the method was never applied with sufficient thoroughness to be permanently effective: instead of merely diminishing the numbers of an element in the population which was believed to be dangerous, that element ought to be eliminated entirely. Of course that is the real and logical expression of the old Turkish method.

There existed indeed an older name of real racial character, viz. Turk, which was in use at all times, from the first entrance of the Seldjuk Turks into Asia Minor. The language which Seldjuk and

Osmanli alike speak is Turk, and when the racial character has to be brought out, the name Turk is necessary; but in the earlier years of my experience in Asia Minor I was always struck with the fact that it was rather uncourteous and rude to ask a man whether he was Turk or not. The polite expression was to ask whether he was Osmanli. The name Turk carried with it a certain connotation of dullness and slowness of wit, and the expression 'Turk-head' or 'Turk-person' was applied by one Osmanli to another, in the sense of 'stupid fellow'.

In the last few years there has been a tendency to give dignity to the name 'Turk', and to regard the Empire as being typically Turkish rather than Moslem, in other words, to exalt the political aspect of the Empire above the religious aspect; but this tendency, which forms part of the Young Turk movement, has not made itself effective in altering the thoughts and ideals of the general population in Asiatic Turkey. It remains special to the small governing minority in Turkey, and it is distinct from, and even opposed to, the Pan-Islamic policy of Abd-ul-Hamid. It is, however, a device for attaining the same purpose that Abd-ul-Hamid aimed at, viz. the revivification of the Turkish Empire. The Young Turks tried at first to continue his appeal to Pan-Islamic feeling, but met with small success; and the appeal to the racial and conquering feeling was substituted. The success of the latter appeal requires that non-Turkish elements like Circassian and Kurd should be willing to merge their racial character in the designation of Osmanli, which they would adopt more readily than that of Turk.

In Turkish official statistics all Moslems are classed together under that single heading, and no account is taken of the diversity of tribe and blood and feeling which we have been describing. Accordingly, even if the official statistics were approximately correct in respect of numbers, there could be no process more misleading than to rely on the official numbers without knowledge of the actual facts regarding race and feeling.

XI. No Racial Map possible

There are in Anatolia few well-marked boundaries dividing the country into separate districts of any size except the one great distinction between the central plateau and the coast-lands which are separated from the plateau by a rim of mountains. Of this rim the best-known part is Taurus, which is the southern rim; but the whole consists of elevated plateaux much broken by water-courses.

Taurus is really a lofty plateau, forty to eighty miles broad. The coast-lands do not offer a continuous roadway, for the mountains

more than once approach so close to the sea as almost entirely to prevent passage along the water. Hence in several cases sea valleys are more closely connected with the plateau than with each other.

On the west the coastline is so broken and long, that this region is like part of the Greek rather than the Asiatic world, and the sea valleys which extend up between the long fingers of mountains belong geographically and racially rather to a Greek than an Asiatic people: even on the north and the south coast Greek colonies were formerly the most important factors in the history of these regions, although the colonists were very much mixed with the native population. In most cases history and geography alike prescribe a difference of character and treatment between the great plateau and the western coast-lands.

To come to the plateau proper, there seems to be no other principle of division possible, either according to physical features or according to religion or according to race, except that modern principle of classification according to the railways which serve the several parts. There are important lines of railway which radiate from Constantinople and rival lines radiating from Smyrna. The centre and junction of the railway systems on the plateau is at Eski-Sheher (the ancient city of Dorylaion), near one of the great battlefields of the First Crusade, and the most important point in the Byzantine military system. This place was a tiny village of two hundred inhabitants when I first saw it in 1883, possessing no importance except that there were hot springs highly prized for their medical value. It now contains about 60,000 inhabitants and important engineering works.

Here great systems of railway diverge, one going along the north edge of the plateau to Angora, and ultimately, in the future, to Sivas, Erzerum and the Caucasus; the other to Tarsus and Adana and Aleppo, forking on the one hand through Palestine to Arabia and ultimately to Egypt, and on the other hand to Baghdad and the Persian Gulf. The spheres of influence on the plateau (if there be more than one), must be limited according to railway connexion. The country between the two railway systems is for the most part perfectly level, and in dry weather one could drive a wagon along almost any line.

Nearly two years ago I stated in a London paper that I would guarantee to take as many automobiles as were required from Constantinople to the southern sea near Tarsus or Adana, the first few in fourteen days and thereafter the rest in ten days The one serious difficulty was negotiating the steep rise from the Camp of Cyrus in a deep glen of the Taurus mountains at Bozanti to the Cilician

Gates: on this steep ascent there was a fair road, not well adapted for motor-cars, as far as the Egyptian lines (constructed by Ibrahim Pasha in 1832). Since then an excellent route served by motor-cars has been constructed in this section

The want of geographical limits furnished by nature on the plateau is not so serious as might be feared. I venture to think that, if there are different spheres of influence in Asia Minor in the future, the most important thing will be, not to fence these off from one another by any artificial or natural walls of separation, but to connect them as closely as possible with one another. The true guard and the true strength of each sphere will be through the mutual intercourse and prosperity in which each assists the other. On the other hand, if there should be a state of war, recent events have shown that purely artificial lines of military defence can be constructed without the aid of nature.

It would be impossible to give a map of Asia Minor, exhibiting the diversity of race. A mere wall-map, however large, would be quite insufficient to show this with any completeness. Even the difference of religion would be hard to exhibit on a map, except in a very rough fashion. There are large districts, including most of Central Anatolia, where Mohammedanism is almost universal, but it just misses being universal because there is rarely a town in which there is not a certain non-Moslem population: at least that was the case up to the beginning of the great war. How the Christians have fared in those regions is unknown, but it is certain that many months ago they were starving and in the most deplorable condition, and by this time they have died in large numbers. Moreover, when one indicates a district as Mohammedan, one is neglecting the diversity of sect and taking no notice of the heretical Moslems. In one town of the Euphrates valley, with a population apparently of about four or five thousand, there were in 1890 seventeen different religions, from Sunni Moslems to Protestant and Yezidi (devil-worshippers).

In constructing a map it is necessary to neglect very small elements of the population, unless the map is on a quite gigantic scale. Now in the East the neglect of small elements prevents a correct estimate of the position. It is the case to a far greater extent in Asia than in Europe, that the government of a country depends frequently on the very small elements. We have an instance at the present day in the domination of the Young Turk party. Years ago, when I was still full of hope in the ability and promise of that party, I used to maintain that there were not in the whole of Asia Minor as many as one hundred Young Turks, setting aside those Turks who

were of European origin, though settled in Asia. The entire mass of the native population of Asia Minor was Old Turk. But the Young Turks ruled then and the Young Turks are ruling now. It is the small but energetic and resolute minority which rules in Asia, and to neglect the small elements in a map is to deprive the map of all value as an aid to good administration.

Such a map may be useful in collecting statistics, for the usefulness of statistics depends entirely on the treatment given to them by the statistician, and collections of statistics which omit tiny elements may have a certain claim to be good in theory and yet prove in practice deceptive in the highest degree.

To take one example of the importance of very small elements . in 1880 I was for a month or two brought into contact with an English workman on the railway in charge of the permanent way for a section of about thirty miles. In all the region of valley and mountain which adjoined that piece of railway, he was in many respects the most influential and important person ; and recommendation from him to a nomad tribe encamped in the mountain was much more important to me than a letter from the Governor of the entire province—yet that influence came to him solely in virtue of his natural capacity and his racial character. Every one knew that he was honest, and all people came to him and trusted him to settle differences, to heal divisions and quarrels, and to maintain good feeling. He was a man of little education, except that practical training which is got through skilled work on a railway. He had no future career before him, because he lacked the instruction which is needed for one of the higher positions on the railway, and he was naturally a little undisciplined ; but he possessed the heritage of his race in the natural capacity for understanding and for sympathizing with and for managing a less educated people. We have all been often told that this capacity is what young Englishmen learn at the great schools. I know from this and many other examples that they do not learn it at school, but that it is born in them, and given opportunity it must come out : a good school may train and discipline, but does not make it.

But that most important factor in the administration of a very large district does not appear in a map, however great the scale ; and yet if you omit the one man in your arrangements for the conduct of the district you miss out the most important agent.

Asia is a country which has been governed always by autocrats, and its history has proceeded always through that collective self-righting force which enables the people to eliminate the effete offspring of the

great and able autocrat. European interference in the East always tends to support the existing dynasty, however effete, and thus to destroy the safety factor in Asiatic administration. Whether the theory of divine right of a reigning dynasty has value in European countries generally it is not my purpose to inquire, but that its introduction into South-Eastern Europe and Western Asia has been throughout all modern history a pernicious influence is certain.

XII. Anticipations of the Future

While I have disclaimed any intention of referring to political matters and to the present situation, some reflections arise inevitably out of the circumstances as just described. Those who have watched the steady, continuous, unresting and unhasting[1] progress of German influence in Turkey, cannot avoid inferring that the present situation in Europe is largely the outcome of the situation in the East. The influence of Germany had reached such a stage that, in order to continue its extension, closer contact between Germany and Turkey was necessary. That influence began through the reasonable belief of Abd-ul-Hamid that Germany was a safe power to deal with, because it was not in a position to exercise any pressure upon him : inasmuch as by land it was far distant, with alien and hostile races separating it from Turkey, while by sea it could not exercise any serious pressure.[2] But events gradually removed the inconvenient powers that lay between by ranging them on the side of Germany The Balkan alliance and its war with Turkey in 1912 constituted a serious blow to the German policy, but already in April, 1913,[3] it was seen and privately stated by some of the best-informed authorities in Constantinople that an agreement between Turkey and Bulgaria was being shaped, and that the Balkan alliance was on the point of being broken. In this situation no one can doubt, or has ever doubted,[4] that the moving influence was Austro-German. In the result, there remained no hostile power separating Germany from Turkey except Serbia, and the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 was a step in the

[1] Often I read of the 'feverish haste' of German operations, but history will use the above adjectives about their operations in Turkey

[2] The connexion by the Danube, even with Austria and Roumania as allies, was totally inadequate and unsuited for exerting any real pressure on Turkey. Writers who look at the map, but have apparently never gone down the Danube by steamer, lay unjustifiable stress on this route.

[3] Perhaps earlier : it was mentioned to me in April as a matter in progress.

[4] It was accepted formerly as true, but recently it became convenient to deny or ignore it.

consolidation of German influence over Turkey : this Serbian impediment had to be removed at all cost, and the time seemed favourable.

No one who was familiar with the growth of German interest in Turkey and the magnitude of the schemes in railways, irrigation, &c., which were being pushed in the country, and the intense and devoted energy which was being applied to push them, could feel any doubt with regard to the real motive of the War. A promenade across France to the Atlantic Ocean by a German army has for many years been regarded by every German from the highest to the lowest as an incident which could at any time be tacked on to greater measures, but which was not in itself worth taking up as a main issue. War with England was regarded as inevitable at some time or other in the near future, but was not an immediate object at that time it was to be postponed for the moment. War with Russia was not desired for its own sake, but merely accepted with a view to clearing the path towards the Bosphorus and Mesopotamia. This was the step which Germany was driven to take by its immediate interests and ambition, and any settlement which gives to Germany that chief purpose will be recorded by history as a victory in the war, whatever be the price—great or small—that is paid for that victory. Such a settlement would constitute a distinct step forward in the career which has been marked out for her, whether we say that the career has been marked by fate or by her own deliberate and conscious choice, or by both.

Those who think of this South-Eastern problem as specially important are bound to recognize the intense enthusiasm and devotion which Germany applied to the task before her. Every German whom I met in Turkey, with I think one exception, was working consciously and intentionally and with his whole power towards this end, subordinating to it every other consideration, and I must say that it was a relief often to come in contact with members of the German Embassy, and to converse on the subject of Turkey, because, apart from their actual purposes in the study of Turkey, they were applying such energy and thoroughness to the study, as to make conversation with them stimulating and suggestive in the highest degree ; whereas most Europeans in Constantinople were so uninterested in big general questions about the development of Turkey that one learned little from them. Only in two or three cases was any constructive imagination shown in the views that were expressed by English people in Constantinople or at home in discussing the future of that country, but constructive imagination is the foundation of statesmanship. I could not but contrast the history of Cyprus under British

administration since 1878 with the German policy in Anatolia. In the one case about twenty years elapsed before any step was taken, however small, in facilitating the development of the resources of the country, and in the following years the steps which were taken were extremely small and most penuriously economical. Yet this was a work which demanded much expenditure at the moment, if anything were to be gained. The results promised to be in the long run extremely important, but undoubtedly they were costly. Or again, take the scantiness of British enterprises for the development of Asia Minor in the sixty years which followed the Crimean War, when British influence was sometimes strong and always considerable. It was either wasted or misapplied, and private mercantile interests were left to do what they could in their own interest, without any plan for the improvement of the country.

On the other hand, in the score of years which followed the time when Great Britain threw into the hands of Germany the English railway from the Bosphorus leading towards the East or South-East, great economic projects were formed upon a wide view of improvement in land cultivation and in communication, and were worked out with remarkable vigour and much immediate expenditure of money. It is absolutely necessary to recognize the importance and the bearing of facts like these upon the situation in Turkey. I have known cases where Turks in influential positions, who fully recognized the ultimate selfishness of German ends, and cherished a strong dislike for Germans as neighbours or as associates, were forced to confess that they must join in those great German schemes of improving the country, because on no other side could they find any help for them, or any interest in them. A Turkish Pasha, a man of very high influence and Governor of one of the great provinces of the Empire, was thinking very seriously about sending his second son to be educated in England. I discussed this matter with him, and so did other friends of mine. He was brought to Constantinople to act as Grand Vizier, and he changed his mind with regard to the upbringing of his son, because, as he said, he found that all the officials at the German Embassy and Consulate were working hard from morning till night on large schemes, whereas all British officials with whom he was brought in contact seemed to have no time to spare for any work in regard to Turkey, while they had infinite leisure to spend in all sorts of amusements of a more or less athletic character, from lawn tennis to shooting excursions, and he had come to the conclusion that he wanted his son to be brought up to work like a German rather than to play like an Englishman.

The effect of recent events has been to strengthen the unity of the country. This unity always rested on the Turk or Osmanli section of the whole population, which constituted a large majority, and in the central regions of Anatolia an absolutely overwhelming majority. In Anatolia, therefore, lay always the centre and the strength of Turkey.

In respect of that great line of division between Moslems and Christians in Asiatic Turkey the diversity is dying out and unification is rapidly being achieved through the simple process of starvation, combined, in some cases, with massacre. Alike in Anatolia and in Syria the same accounts are given that the Christians are dying of famine in thousands, while in Armenia widespread massacre was followed by starvation.

Besides this there has been a weakening of the old dislike that separated section from section of the Anatolian Moslems, and a gradual increase in the fellow-feeling of the whole body This was not due to the popularity of the Young Turk rule, which never in Anatolia excited any feeling of sympathy or approval. Still, the recent revival of pride in the name Turk, and possibly some other causes unknown to the writer, which have come into play since he last saw the country in the end of June 1914, seem to have been exercising an appreciable influence. Then further, the common warfare against a foreign foe and the comradeship in the army have been a distinctly unifying force. Unfortunately the attacks on Turkey have been made almost entirely from the outside, and not at the internal points of cleavage; and these attacks, which on the whole have been resisted with fair success, have acted like blows from a hammer on a mass of metal, steadily welding it into a single piece. Again, the fact that in several cases the Turks were carrying the war beyond their own bounds and attacking the enemy in his own country, produced a feeling of success, which has helped to counterbalance the considerable losses sustained on the north-east, and the slighter losses on the south-east.

It cannot be doubted that recent policy in Turkey has been largely guided from Berlin. German methods, while outraging the feelings of high-spirited races, are admirably suited to dominate submissive and obedient peoples like the Turks, and to over-awe faint-hearted and cowardly individuals in any country. The impression that the traveller gets in Turkey is that the Germans, though intensely disliked after a little experience, are even more dreaded than hated. The moral character of the methods employed in forcing on this unification do not concern us here; but the knowledge and intellectual

skill displayed constitute a lesson in efficiency. The evidence, though not sufficient to disclose fully the methods and the causes, is sufficient to prove that unification has been proceeding with quite unexpected celerity.

One thing, however, is certain. The foundations were laid for this process of unification by Abd-ul-Hamid, and the Government which succeeded him has been building on these foundations under German guidance. Training in modern method at school is followed by training in military method on a vast scale; and a robber state of purely autocratic organization is being created, similar to that of the Mongols under Genghiz Khan and Tamerlane The method of this creation is interesting.

Now there will soon be given us a new chance to regulate and improve the motley population of Anatolia. Will it be done with knowledge by people who know the conditions or even wish to know them, or will it be done in the old fashion by diplomatists who occupy far too lofty a position to condescend to know anything about the needs and character of the people whose fate they are to dispose? I used to sketch out the possibilities of government by a Commission of scientific men and historians trained in modern methods of history, and I even had appointed in imagination a Chairman for the Commission—though unfortunately this Chairman was a German, the one German I know who struck me as being politically sane. It was my lot to meet a number of Germans, scholars and men of affairs especially interested in the same lines as myself, and I admired their intense interest in the country and the zealous work which they were applying to the task of understanding it. Just because they were often the people who knew facts, I resorted to their company wherever it was possible, and found it stimulating, interesting, and instructive. Besides them I found most to learn from English business men, whose life was cast in Turkey, and whose fortunes depended on their knowledge.

The Germans were playing for a great stake. There never has been such a game in the history of the world, and there never has been so gigantic a stake to play for. But they did not play the game, and they cannot succeed until they learn to play according to the rules. One must, however, honestly give them credit for untiring work, unresting vigilance, infinite interest in every department of the subject, and perfect readiness to discuss it from all sides in an obviously scientific spirit.

The Young Turk reform movement began with very different ideals from Abd-ul-Hamid's, and was characterized at first by devoted

and almost fanatical admiration for the free institutions of Western Europe. The devotion was a little exaggerated, and therefore was liable to issue in a reaction.[1] It is a matter of history that the German allies of Abd-ul-Hamid step by step succeeded, through the indifference and errors of the free western nations, in attracting a certain number of the leaders of the new movement, and driving into exile, or bringing about the assassination of others, and finally establishing their control of the forces of so-called reform. The way in which this came about lies apart from the subject of this paper, but the result was, as has already been said, to substitute for Abd-ul-Hamid's pan-islamic and religious, a national and Turkish movement towards the same goal.

The control of the education and the drilling of Turkey is now entirely in German hands. It is well known that a distinguished scholar, whose reputation was considerable among the small number who are interested in the Ethiopic language, has been for some time at the head of the educational side of the new influence in Constantinople, and some very bold measures which have been adopted may possibly be ascribed to his organizing skill and knowledge.

The Turkish army, properly drilled and officered by educated people, is, and has always been, capable of being made into a formidable weapon.

The Turkish State is being rapidly transformed into a great military weapon of the same kind as it was in the beginning, but much more dangerous through the possession of western training and western engines of destruction. It began as a community among whom all the males were soldiers from infancy. It is now again approximating steadily towards the same form. No man is wanted who is not fit to fight. Christians and weakly Moslems are equally undesirable and have the same fate.

Since there are no industries in Turkey except those which are controlled by Christians, and in which Moslems play only the part of porters and watchmen, no deduction from the total numbers of male Turks is required for this department. Since all the agricultural operations have been conducted (even in times of peace) by women,

[1] Sir W. Whittall, an excellent observer, wrote to me in 1908 from Constantinople that this reaction must come, because 'the Turks expect too much from England, and are sure to be disappointed', and also because 'they have no conception of the difficulties of the task before them, and think that they can take their place immediately beside the great nations of Europe'. After being hopeful of Young Turk success for eight months he wrote early in 1909 that he had lost all hope of their success.

little deduction is required from the total numbers for the cultivation of the soil. Since there are practically no physicians, all the males who grow up are available for military service, because the weak die off in childhood; thus the ideal of Tamerlane, or Genghiz Khan, is to be reached in a nation of warrior men supported by the work of the women.

WARTON LECTURE ON ENGLISH POETRY

VII

IS THERE A POETIC VIEW OF THE WORLD?

By C. H. HERFORD, Litt.D.

Read November 24, 1916

'View of the World' is a clumsy phrase for an idea which itself has for most of us an unattractive flavour of pedantry. This latter impression is hardly removed by a knowledge of the part which, under the neater and more expressive term *Weltanschauung*, it has played in German literary study. *Weltanschauung* is the indispensable final chapter without which no German biography, the confidential disclosure without which no German friendship, is complete. A *Weltanschauung* or 'World-view', in its full scope, comprehends ideas about life of quite distinct categories; it touches metaphysics and science, ethics and aesthetics; it offers an answer to Faust's question 'what it is that at bottom holds the world together', but also to the practical questions, what is the end of action and how we ought to act.

Historically, we know, the answers to these questions occur, in great part, as successive steps in continuous or closely-connected processes of thought. But between these continuous processes yawn gulfs which no argument can bridge. From Bacon through Hobbes to Locke we can trace something like a connected development. But between Hobbes and his contemporary Boehme there is a cleavage due not to bad reasoning on either side, but to a radical difference in the kind of experience from which the reasoning in the two cases set out. And the history of belief indicates that there are at least two types of elemental experience which thus generate ideas about the world, and to which two great classes of World-view in essence correspond. These may be distinguished as the *religious* and the *philosophical*. In the first, thought is dominated by the consciousness of a power or powers distinct from man, controlling his fate, protecting his country or his tribe, determining his moral code, his scheme of values, and his expectations after death. From the crudest fetishism and animism to the loftiest

theism, a living relation to such a Power is the root fact from which the religious World-view takes its origin and derives its character.

On the other hand, we find a vast and complex body of conceptions of the world which do not originate in intercourse with a divine Power, or in the fear or hope which such a power may inspire, but in the effort to give a finally and universally valid account of experience.

Naturally, neither these nor any other type of World-view, if such there be, are mutually exclusive in substance and content. Religion may reach the conclusions of philosophy, and philosophy those of religion, each by a path strictly its own. Historically, the two attitudes to life have intimately interacted, and if the religious type has on the whole shown less power of resistance to the penetration of ideas of the opposed type, on the other hand modern philosophy, in particular, has often built upon, and not seldom with, ideas first begotten not by speculative curiosity, but by the rapture or the agony of God-intoxicated or demon-haunted souls. The eternal war of Ormuzd and Ahriman still echoes in the Hebraic intensity of our distinction between good and evil; and the visionary ecstasies of the mystics were of account in the evolution of philosophic pantheism And, similarly, the edifices of theology have borrowed fortifying buttresses or indispensable pillars from ideas evolved by scientific reason or a purely secular interpretation of good. Aristotle, applied and interpreted by Aquinas, became one of the masters, not only of those who know, but of those who believe. Nevertheless, the two types have, on a comprehensive survey, stood distinctly apart; and their ramifications appear to dominate between them the entire field of belief and speculative thought.

Is it possible, nevertheless, to distinguish a third type of 'World-view' analogous to these? In other words, is there any third kind of experience, distinct from that of either religion or philosophy, yet involving an apprehension of reality comparable in originality, and possibly in importance, with theirs? The present essay is based upon the view that such an experience is given in and by poetry.[1]

I

For the specific experience which comes to a poet through poetry, however it may be interwoven with religious or philosophic ideas, has a radically different psychological origin and character. It is equally intense and absorbing, but it is not determined by conscious relation

[1] The distinction of a religious, philosophic, and poetic World-view is based upon W. Dilthey: *Das Wesen der Philosophie: Weltanschauungslehre* (Hinneberg, *Kultur der Gegenwart*, I. vi).

to an outer power, and it seeks to express rather than to explain. It is neither transfigured fear or hope, nor yet a logical process. In the making of a poem there may be even a conscious detachment from actuality, and the poet may float free in a dream world, apparently without thought of the world which he inhabits. The poetic may well be thought to differ from the religious or the philosophic types of experience less in inducing any specific way of contemplating reality than in liberating us from the necessity or desire to contemplate it at all

Yet it is certain that the poet's detachment, even in his most ethereal dream-flights, from reality, is only apparent. In all the spontaneous and seemingly arbitrary movement of his mind among its crowding ideal shapes, reality through his stored-up experience is at work, quietly weaving a thousand subtle filiations between the poem and the life of men at large. *Othello* is much farther from 'actuality' than the poor novel on which its story was based; but it is penetrated with the vision of life, of which Cinthio's tale caught so feeble and fugitive a glimpse. What distinguishes poetic from religious or philosophic apprehension is not that it turns away from reality, but that it lies open to and in eager watch for reality at doors and windows which with them are barred or blind. The poet's soul resides, so to speak, in his senses, in his emotions, in his imagination, as well as in his conscious intelligence; and we may provisionally describe poetic apprehension as an intense state of consciousness in which all these are vitally concerned. In so far as a particular outlook upon the world is founded upon a particular type of experience, a poet's World-view will be radically affected by his senses, emotions, imagination. The flower which Wordsworth contemplated on the bank or by the lake, and that other which Tennyson with his more curious scrutiny plucked from the crannied wall, could stir these poets' intellect and heart to the depths, and their apprehension, as poets, of God and man, of Nature, of Duty, would have been different without it.

But in any case, it will be said, even if we grant that poetic experience tends to induce some way of regarding reality, it cannot possibly induce any constant or definable way, if elements of mind so infinitely diverse, so individual, as emotion and imagination, are vitally concerned in the process. That energizing of mind released from the control of actuality, which we call imagination, that free following out of trains of suggestion called up by emotion, takes the colour, at every step, of the individual make of the poet's nature, and the individual cast of his experience. In so far as a World-view is

strictly poetic in origin, the conclusion might seem hard to resist that there may be as many poetic World-views as there are poets. And it is true that the individual quality of the poet will always cleave to whatever is strictly poetic in his thinking. But even so, it may be possible to determine typical directions in which poetic apprehension tends to engender or to sway belief, and to modify ideas imbibed in education or accepted on authority.

Thus, it may be provisionally laid down that a view of the World reached through poetic experience will tend to accentuate those aspects of Man and Nature, and those ways of regarding them, which offer most scope, analogy, or sanction, to this type of experience. Where the senses play a vital part, and are yet vitally implicated with passion and ideas, there will be little disposition to doctrines which either brand the senses as evil or illusory, or erect them into a sufficing faith. The logical intellect, its processes and conclusions, will receive a respectful but distant salute, while the irrational elements of life are accepted as its needful ingredients or even as a supreme source of its worth. Love, which tramples on reason, and, in the great words of à Kempis, warmly glows like a flame beyond all measure, may be called in some sense the natural religion of the poet. The mysterious love of man and woman, in particular, irrelevant to most of the problems of philosophy, and regarded by religion chiefly as a dangerous disturbing force, is one of the perennial springs of poetry, and one of the shaping analogies of poetic thought. And the same impassioned insight which gives significance to this love exalts also all those other energies of the soul which carry men out of and beyond themselves. Poetry is naturally heroic; it has presided over the cult of the hero, as religion and philosophy over those of the saint and the sage; it has rewarded him with enchanting secular Paradises, Elysian fields, Isles of the Blest, and Temples of Fame. Poetry is disposed to magnify human nature; the transition from Aeschylus, who painted men greater than they were, to Euripides, who drew them after life, is also a decline in the intrinsic temper of poetry, if in that alone. And because of its bent to think greatly of man, it makes for the assertion, in the great sense, of *freedom*—of man's freedom to be himself. Neither the shibboleths of political freedom nor those of free thought have always, it is true, found response among poets. Their part has rather been to keep alive in mankind the temper which treats outward obstacles not as the soul's constraints, but as its opportunities; the faith that iron bars do not make a cage, and that you may be bounded in a nutshell, and yet not only count yourself, but be, a king of infinite space.

In the interpretation of Nature, poetic experience works creatively or selectively on similar lines. To those wonderful deposits of the imagination of the past, the myths of extinct faiths, from which theology and philosophy have long withdrawn their sanction, or on which they have laid their taboo, the poets have habitually been very tender. And when they felt as poets, the image drawn from a myth has never had merely decorative value, or served merely as a 'poetic synonym' for the exact term. It expressed something in the poet's vision not otherwise to be put into words. If the glorious anthropomorphism of Olympus and Asgard has faded for ever, the mystery of life everywhere pulsing through Nature, and perpetually reborn in 'Man and beast and earth and air and sea', cries to the poet with a voice which will not be put by, and the symbols by which he seeks to convey his sense of it, if they read personality too definitely into the play of that elusive mystery, yet capture something in it which escapes the reasoned formulas of science

Hence many great philosophic ideas about the universe which, without ascribing life or mind to it, might seem projected from our inner, rather than gathered from our outer, experience, have powerfully appealed to poets. The antithesis of the One and the Many, which fascinated and fertilized every phase of Greek thought, had one of its roots in the acute Greek feeling for continuity through change, which is equally manifest in the Parthenon and in the Pindaric Ode, and to a less degree in all art and poetry wherever the sense of rhythm is present at all. 'When we feel the poetic thrill,' says Santayana, 'is it not that we find sweep in the concise, and depth in the clear?' That felicitously expresses the genius of Hellenic art in particular; but it also marks off the specifically poetic apprehension of Oneness as a 'something deeply interfused' in and through the living multiplicity of the world, alike from the mystic vision of a One whose splendour dissolves the reality of things, and from the vision of Peter Bell, for whom nothing but 'things' exists. Yet even this pregnant Oneness has commonly gathered, in the poetic conception of the universe, the higher and richer attribute of soul-life. It has become a living and working Nature vitally implicated in every organ and filament, or Mind diffused through every limb, or Love, or Beauty, or Power, woven through the woof of it, or the splendour of God irradiating it through and through

When we turn, as is proposed in what follows, from these general considerations to watch the actual operation of poetic apprehension in concrete examples, we naturally encounter some serious difficulties.

Poetic apprehension may be as distinct and definable as we will, but it can rarely be caught acting *in vacuo*. Poets are men; they are usually citizens; they are often penetrated with some form of religious or philosophical faith. It is inevitable, in such cases, that their strictly poetic experience should be coloured or even overridden by ideas proper to their possibly more habitual or more deeply established persuasions. In poets like Goethe and Shelley, deeply concerned with the issues of life outside poetry, philosophic and poetic impulses and data may well seem inextricably mingled. Even Blake and Whitman, who perhaps come nearer than any other moderns to shaping out a poetic World-view for themselves, evidently worked, as poets, under a deep bias of revolutionary dogma, which made them unjust to some aspects of poetry itself And with poet-exponents of great theological or philosophical systems, like Lucretius or Dante, it may well appear idle to seek to catch the moment when the runnel of poetry carved out a watercourse of its own, instead of falling into and moving along with the great tide of Epicurean or Catholic thought. Yet we attach some meaning to our words when we distinguish periods in which the poetic element in a poet's nature was more potent than at others. When we say, for instance, that in Shelley the poetic apprehension after 1812 worked itself progressively free from an alien philosophy; or that in Wordsworth, from about the same date, it became progressively overlaid by a theology almost equally alien; or that in Dante's *Convito*, the poet of the *Vita Nuova*, who will finally recover dominance in the *Commedia*, has yielded much ground to the scholastic thinker. Distinctions so clearly felt and sharply drawn cannot be groundless What is here proposed is to examine whether any typical character or direction can be discovered in the modifications which the data of religious or philosophical beliefs and ideals have undergone in certain commanding poet natures. In that case we might possess some of the material for answering the question I have been bold enough to suggest in the title of this paper.

II

I begin with examples in which these data are derived from *religion*; and, in the first place, from religion still untouched by philosophic reflection. Without rashly assuming the solution of unsolved or insoluble problems, one may venture to assert that the Homeric epics owe their present form neither to purely religious awe nor merely to conscious and deliberate artistry, but to a poetic apprehension of the world operating upon the data of the savage cults and rituals, the animism, totemism, and magic, which anthropology is

gradually deciphering under the palimpsest of their obliterating splendour. With some aspects of the process we are not here concerned. If 'Homer', as many modern scholars suppose, disliked human sacrifice and similar barbarities, and tempered or effaced the record of them, he reflects the growing efficacy of civilized, but not necessarily of poetic, ideas. It is otherwise with the transformation, whatever its precise nature and history, which put the defined character and rich personal accent of the Homeric Olympus in place of the psychological fluidity and incoherence of primitive religion. For the childhood of poetry the change possibly involved a loss. A world where there are no barriers, or none which magic cannot dissolve, where gods and men and beasts pass over into one another without resistance or demur, where everything can be done and had if the right formula be pronounced and the due charm applied—such a world is the home and habitat of the fairy tale; but its facile instability must be overcome before a mature poetry, no less certainly than before a mature science, can arise. The Homeric outlook upon the world had as a religion grave flaws, which merited the strictures of later moralists, but it had also, as a religion, magnificent qualities to which they rarely did justice. His deathless figures permanently raised the status of man and the ideals of human achievement; and every line of the poetry is instinct with an assurance of the glory of the world and the goodness of life, and the nobility of heroic emprise, and of reverence and of pity, which justly made his book the Bible of later Greece.

Yet it is plain that even Homer reflects or finds reflection in but a limited tract of the Greek mind; that there were many deeper, as well as darker, currents in the Greek way of apprehending the world, of which that radiant mirror shows no trace. Humanity had triumphed over the superhuman as well as over the subhuman, clarity over mystery as well as over confusion. The Ionian thinkers of the sixth century swept away the fables of Olympus, fastened on the problem of substance, and proclaimed the sublime discovery that the All is One. The Orphic cults and the Thracian orgies of Dionysus betrayed by the widespread and intimate hold which they won in Greek life, refined and humanized as they doubtless were, that religion in Greece too included the riot of intoxicated rapture as well as clear-eyed piety; the Bacchic frenzy, which carries men beyond themselves, as well as temperate self-reverence and self-control. Both these new elements enriched and uplifted, if at some points they also impoverished and degraded, Greek mentality and the Greek apprehension of the world, religious, philosophic, and poetic alike. The philosophic apprehension

of unity reacted on religion, and the two strains coalesced in the sublime theism of Cleanthes' hymn. The Dionysiac rapture reacted on philosophy—without it should we have had the great doctrine proclaimed in the *Phaedrus*, of the divine vision won through madness and love? And both reacted upon poetry—above all on tragedy, with its stringent ideal of unity, maintained and manifested through all the phases and moods of conflict, and the alliance, disclosed in its very structure, of Apolline clarity and order with the lyric exaltation of Dionysus. But the matter of tragedy shows yet more evidently the larger and deeper World-view which poetry has now won. In passing from Homer to Aeschylus we enter an atmosphere in which the gods are hardly ever visible, but which is laden and tense with the sense of divine things. His persons, it was said, are more than human; certainly his gods are sometimes—like the Zeus of the *Prometheus*—less than divine. But the Aeschylean universe has outgrown Olympus without having dispossessed it. A soul of immense reach and depth, apprehending life from many sides, but always with a sense of vast issues and inexhaustible import, here interprets the old stories of man's relations with the gods, and leaves us with a new vision of the possibilities and responsibility of man. His tragic conflicts call incommensurate forces into play, and their apparent solution leaves yet larger problems unsolved. The story of Prometheus ended with his reconciliation to Zeus; and this doubtless expressed the poet's deliberate intention and design. The modern world has remembered Prometheus, not for his final surrender or appeasement, but as the assertor and embodiment of something in man which stands over against the gods he recognizes, and not only endures unflinchingly all that their utmost anger can inflict, but arraigns them himself before a law of Justice higher than their own. Aeschylus, we know, was a devoutly religious man, and never dreamed of surrendering his reverence for the divine because of the crimes of the gods. Possibly, as Wilamowitz has suggested, he believed that divinity itself had passed through a youth 'full of foolish noise' to become with ripening years a righteous God and Father, worthy at length of universal reverence. Reverence for such an erring divinity is hardly distinguishable from forgiveness; in any case it foreshadows, if it does not announce, the clear recognition of human responsibility. And that recognition is already dominant in the mature work of Aeschylus. The traditional superstitions which still entangled the Greek mind—the doctrine of an irresistible fate, or of a divine jealousy attending human greatness—dissolve under the scrutiny of his terrible insight. Man is free even in his crimes, and the greater because he is free.

Clytaemnestra chooses and wills as freely as Lady Macbeth; she is as little the helpless victim of the curse of Atreus as the other of the Witches' spell. It needed a great poet thus to embrace in his vision of life things incompatible to common sense. 'Whether Aeschylus is greater', declares the penetrating interpreter to whom I have referred, 'when he uplifts our hearts by the full tones of surrender to the divine, or when he thrills us with the terrible acts and sufferings of human freewill, every one must decide for himself from his own experience, but let no one say that he understands the poet until he has known them both.'[1] The poet's eye, 'glancing from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven', overcomes the antinomies of theological dogma; and herein lies one of the most signal services which poetic apprehension has rendered to thought, and not least to religion.

To pass from Aeschylus to Dante is to watch operations of poetic intelligence in which only the environment, the material, and the instruments of expression are profoundly changed. The words just quoted of the Greek might apply without the alteration of a syllable to the Florentine, and if ever poet saw earth and heaven at once it was he. But the theological World-view which he found was more authoritatively established, more intellectual in its philosophical substance, and more rich and beautiful in its human appeal. The fresh fountain of religious feeling, still abundantly flowing, was fortified and entrenched within a vast structure of elaborated dogma, for which councils and saints had supplied the architects and the masons, and ancient philosophy the stones. Within this imposing edifice, nevertheless, Dante, with complete conviction, found and made his home. No one now questions the absoluteness of Dante's Catholic faith, and we should seek in vain for any rebellious upsurging of the poet in him against the starkest of scholastic abstractions. On the contrary, his wonderful gift of style continually finds the material for poetry in the most seemingly arid regions. Sometimes the result is merely an astonishing *tour de force*, but often we become aware that Dante has not only invented but discovered, and that many a dogma which has the air of being the mere husk of religion is in reality the imperfect, stammering utterance through which religious passion sought to make itself articulate. Dante, in short, makes us feel in these constructions of the intellect the language of the soul.

To do this needed something more than devout belief. It needed the imaginative intuition of a poet. The poetry of Dante was distinguished from that of his older contemporaries above all by being

[1] Wilamowitz, *Oresteia*, p 47.

just this intense soul-vision put into words. 'I simply write down what Love within dictates.'[1] Psychological veracity never fails him. Allegory, in so many hands a tissue of personified abstractions, becomes, in his, a living image of humanity. Symbolic meanings and applications interweave and encircle it, but the core is real. His vision is only on the surface a description—necessarily speculative—of the fortunes of souls after death; its substance, as he tells us, is 'man of his freewill choosing good or evil here'. The human denizens of his hell and purgatory and paradise have undergone no inner change; they are the men he had known, in their spiritual habits as they lived; and their fate, when Dante is thinking most as a poet and least as a theologian, is a continuation of their crucial actions. That Paolo and Francesca are immersed in unquenchable flames satisfies the theological idea of retribution, Dante inflicts on them the more searching penalty of being for ever locked in the embrace of their illicit love. And how often, when he thinks he is devoutly following out to the last consequence the Church's dogma of eternal punishment, he is unconsciously testifying to the poet's sublime faith in the soul of man as stronger than death and hell. 'Who is he', asks Dante, looking upon Capaneo (*Inf.* xiv. 46), 'who seems not to heed the flame, but lies fiercely unsubdued by the fiery vein?' Or the yet greater picture of Farinata (*Inf.* x. 35), defiantly erect where the rest grovel in agony, 'as if he held hell in great disdain'. Even the criminals whom the poet most abhors, and thrusts into the very depths of the abyss, even the traitors guilty of the death of Caesar or of Christ, he allows still to show greatness of soul; Brutus, champed to a bloody foam in the jaws of Lucifer, is still the Stoic philosopher, and though he writhes in agony, utters not a word (*Inf.* xxxiv. 66). And how wonderfully in the great Ulysses scene (*Inf.* xxvi) the poet takes the pen out of the hand of the theologian, and, forgetting the 'fraud' for which the captor of Troy is doing penance in hell, compels us to listen entranced to his tale of that last voyage, beyond the sunset, of the old wanderer, still insatiable of experience, who had kindled his shrinking comrades by bidding them 'Consider of what seed ye are sprung; ye were not made to live like the brute beasts, but to follow after virtue and knowledge'. Strange words to issue from the quenchless flames of hell! But Dante goes beyond this. For the sake of the heroism of Cato, he flatly violates the theological categories which condemned him to hell, and makes him the guardian of Purgatory.[2] As for the rest of the 'virtuous heathen', he cannot

[1] *Purg* xxiv 52 4.

[2] The case of Trajan, who for his justice was said to have been saved by the

indeed transfer them from the hell to which the Church has assigned them—a hell much more ferocious than any of which they had dreamed—to Elysium. But he does what he may, and he provides for them within the precincts of hell an Elysium of green lawns and running streams, 'the one place in the Inferno where there is light and air' (*Inf.* iii). The theological ethic of sin is thus unconsciously crossed, again and again, by the poetic ethic for which 'good' means greatness of soul.

Moreover, with a depth of spiritual insight strangely in contrast with the vulgar notion of punishment which dictated the theological hell, Dante has asserted, even in this realm of iron necessity, the freedom of man. The inmates of hell are not convicts condemned and punished for sins long since repented of: they are there of their own motion and by their own will, and if there is no hope there, it is not because God has no mercy, but because they cannot repent. The souls in Purgatory are held there by no compulsion; they desire nothing but to be purified of their sins, and the moment they desire to mount to Paradise, that moment they are free.

It would be strange, then, had Dante, with all his sense of supreme cosmic forces, not stood for the faith that man is yet the 'captain of his soul'. There he is at one with Aeschylus and Milton, and the other great theological poets of the West. Man's 'freedom' is a root idea of the Comedy; and not merely because its purpose was to show him 'in the exercise of freewill', determining his fate hereafter. Dante went much farther than this. A devoted Catholic and citizen, and eager to welcome the authority both of Church and State, he was driven by the corruption of the one and the anarchy of the other to seek 'another way'—the way of spiritual self-help with the aid of philosophy and theology, along which he is led by Vergil and Beatrice. The great farewell words with which Vergil leaves him in the Earthly Paradise, 'I crown and mitre thee king and bishop over thyself', express with thrilling power the individualist—nay, the revolutionary—side of his thought. He would not have been the great poet he was if it had been the only side. Dante's reverence for Vergil and for Beatrice is of the very substance of his self-assertion; he has crowned and mitred himself by taking them for his guides, and the result is the great poetic cosmos eloquent beyond all the other masterpieces of the world of devout discipleship, and yet instinct in every line with

prayers of Gregory, is not quite parallel, since there was here a theological tradition in his favour. But at least Dante seizes on and emphasizes the tradition, and not merely 'saves' Trajan, but makes him the comrade of the glorious just kings in Jupiter (*Par.* xx. 44 f)

the ardour of a soul 'voyaging through strange seas of thought alone'.

But the name of Beatrice points to another aspect of Dante's work on which the impress of the poet in him is yet more unmistakably set. Measured by the range and compass of thought, and by the richness and delicacy of feeling, which the term in his usage conveys, Dante is the first, as he is the greatest, of the poets of Love. His poetry recovers and renews, or at the least suggests and recalls, all the varieties of intellectual and emotional experience for which philosophy, religion, and romance had, before his time, found in 'Love' the final expression, or the speaking symbol. The cosmic love (φιλία) by which Empedocles had first interpreted the universal phenomena which we still, hardly less anthropomorphically, know as 'attraction'; the passion for another human being (ἔρως) in which the author of the *Phaedrus* and the *Symposium* discovered one of the sources of the divine exaltation which emancipates men from their human limits, and endows them with the vision of reality, the love of God for man, and of man for God (ἀγάπη), proclaimed as the very core of Christianity in the Fourth Gospel—these three types of love, all denoted for Dante by *Amor*, *amore*,[1] were conjoined in his experience with a fourth, distinct from all, though nearly allied to the second: the romantic love of woman which had been the chief inspiration of the poetry of Provence, and which, however sublimated and spiritualized, is enshrined in the *Vita Nuova*. To say that Dante's mind, equally powerful in analysis and in synthesis, confounds these distinctions would be unjust; but it would be equally untrue to assert that their associations are never blended. Christian philosophy had itself absorbed the first; cosmic attraction then reappeared in a sublime apotheosis, as the love which draws all the universe towards God, and by which God, as its source, 'moves the sun and the other stars'. And if Dante, in his treatise on poetry,[2] distinguishes himself from the poets of 'love' as a poet of 'morals', or 'righteousness', he also, as we saw, ascribes his whole power as a poet to his writing what love dictated in his heart. Man in virtue of his freedom has power to misuse Love, and Dante everywhere scornfully contrasts the higher and the baser love. Nay, all sin which can be 'purged away' he regards

[1] The second type I take to be represented, with obvious differences, for Dante by the 'philosophical' love of Guido Guinicelli, the 'father of love poets and my own' (*Purg.* xxvi 97); there is no evidence that he knew anything of this part of Plato; in any case, of course, this love is for him excited only by woman. The *amore* of Empedocles is mentioned in *Inf.* xii 42; Empedocles himself, as well as Plato, is in Limbo (*Inf.* iv. 138)

[2] *De Vulg. Eloq.* ii 2.

as due to 'love' wrongly used; the whole population of Purgatory is there because it loved unwisely, or loved indifferent things too well, or right things too little. But the harm here, for Dante, arises not from love, but from the application to it of the evil material in man's nature—'as a foul impress may be set upon the most precious wax.'[1]

Something of the idealizing atmosphere which Christianity and Plato had thrown about love thus always colours it in Dante's mind. But it is also subtly touched with that other idealizing force which not Christianity but the poets had recognized, which Christian ethics had contemptuously tolerated or scornfully tabooed. Dante had known the love of woman in many forms. Longing for the absent wife and child had consumed his flesh and his bones in exile,[2] and his virginal adoration of Beatrice sprang from no coldness of the blood. The power of womanhood to lift men to supreme heights of vision and fortitude, which he had divined through Beatrice and sung in the great canzone of the *Vita Nuova*,[3] no more passed out of his faith than did her image from his memory. If the Comedy is a great scheme of salvation, it is also a great song of womanhood such as, he said, no man ever sang before; and if we say that Beatrice is there a symbol for Theology, that is doubtless true: but a thousand phrases remind us how much she symbolizes besides; and the look 'in the eyes of Beatrice', which draws Dante upward through the circling spheres of Paradise to the beatific vision, attests also his faith in the power of the lover's adoration to lift a man out of his humanity (*trasumanar*), and make him 'joyful even in the flames'.

Thus Dante, though he counted himself not among the poets of love, but among the poets of 'righteousness', is one of the inspiring sources of the modern poetry which invests the love of man and woman with the ideal attributes which philosophy and religion had proclaimed in other forms of love, but had ignored or repudiated in this. In Spenser—Platonist, Christian, and lover at once—the fusion of the three strains is complete; his great hymns to Love, who

> is lord of all the world by right,
> And ruleth all things by his powerful saw,

prelude his even greater hymn of marriage. Even Chaucer perhaps learnt from Dante that amazed awe with which, in the opening lines of one of his earliest Italianate poems, he contemplates the 'wonderful working' of love.[4] The Petrarchists and Sonneteers went far to reduce the expression of this love to hollow phrase-making. But with

[1] *Purg.* xviii 36. [2] *Canz* xix.
[3] *Canz* i [4] *Parlement of Fowles*, 1 f.

Romanticism it found fresh and original utterance, and its status in the world has never been more loftily affirmed than by Celtic Romanticizing poets of to-day. 'I say that Eros is a being!' declares one of the finest spirits among them. 'It is more than a power of the soul, though it is that also. It has a universal life of its own.'[1]

III

The power of personality and the glory of love · these have emerged from our discussion thus far as the things in life whose appeal to poetic intelligence was most potent in modifying the substance or changing the perspective of a World-view derived from religion. We have now to examine, in a fashion unavoidably even more fragmentary and summary, the reaction of another series of poetic minds upon the more complex and abstruse World-views of *philosophy*.

It is necessary for the purpose to adopt a rough grouping of philosophic systems, and I take the following division into three fundamental types, based with qualifications upon one proposed by Wilhelm Dilthey in the essay already referred to.

To the first belong the naturalistic schools, from Democritus to Hobbes and the Encyclopedists, deriving their philosophical conceptions directly or indirectly from an analysis of the physical world, and commonly disdaining or ignoring phenomena not to be so explained To the second type of thinkers the objective world is still the absorbing subject of contemplation; but it is approached not from the side of physics, but from the side of self-conscious mind; it is felt, not as material for causal investigation, but as responsive to the human spirit, now as living Nature, now as immanent God, now as a progressively evolving Absolute. Here, with various qualifications, we may class Heraclitus, the Stoics, Spinoza, Leibniz, Hegel. In the third type, the focus of interest and the determining source of philosophic ideas is the self-conscious mind itself. It feels profoundly its own energy and power of self-determination; and it regards the objective world not as deeply at one with it, responsive to its feeling, accessible to its thought, but rather as a threatening power against which it must vindicate its spiritual freedom and build its secure spiritual home. In the philosophies of this type, personality—which the first type ignored and the second reduced to an organ of a world process—became the fundamental condition of our experience, as with Kant and Fichte, or a transcendent personal God shaping the universe to his mind, as with the Plato of the *Timaeus*.

[1] A. E., *Imaginations and Reveries*, p. 151.

If we now consider these three types in relation to our problem, it seems evident that the second and the third are naturally more congenial to poetry than the first. Yet we know that one of the greatest of Roman poets made it the work of his life to expound the atomic Naturalism of Epicurus to an unreceptive Roman world. The *De Rerum Natura* was not, like the *Essay on Man*, the attempt of a consummate writer to clothe in elegant dress philosophic ideas which he only half understood and which he abandoned in alarm when they threatened to be dangerous. Lucretius was the poet but also the prophet of Epicureanism, and it is among the prophets of the faiths by which men live and die that we must seek a parallel to the passionate earnestness with which he proclaims to Memmius the saving gospel of Epicurus—to that same Memmius who a few years later showed his piety to Epicurus's memory by destroying his house. But Lucretius felt and thought also as a poet, and in the temper of poetry. He was not 'lending his pen' to a good cause, nor turning Greek science into Latin hexameters in order that it might be more vividly grasped or more readily remembered. He was conquering a new way in poetry, as his master (according to his pious faith) had done in thought, striking out a virgin path which no foot before his had trod, as Epicurus had soared beyond the flaming walls of the world in the lonely and victorious quest for truth. And he calls on the Muses for aid with as devout a faith in his poetic mission as Milton had when he summoned Urania or some greater Muse to be his guide while he essayed 'things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme'.

The atomic system of Democritus, which Epicurus adopted as his account of the world, was a magnificent contribution to physical science, and the fertility of its essential idea is still unexhausted. The problems of mind and life, of ethic and religion and art, it touched only in so far as it resolved mind and all its activities into functions of matter and motion, death into disintegration of elements, and divine agency into an idle dream. But these negations were precisely what commended the doctrine to Epicurus. A saintly recluse, bent only upon showing mankind how to live a life of serene and cheerful virtue, he took over the doctrine of the great physicist of Abdêra, as that which promised most effectual relief from disturbing superstitions. He might have gone to the great Athenian idealists of the previous century, the immortal masters not only of those who know, but of those who think and labour and create, whether in science or in poetry or in citizenship; but his aim was precisely to liberate from these distracting energies, and allure a weary

generation from the forum and the workshop, even the studio of letters or of art, the strenuous laboratories of science, and the temples of the gods, into the choice seclusion of his garden, the garden of a secular monasticism, secure from fear, and fragrant with innocent and beautiful things Such a secular monasticism has charms for the modern spirit, in some of its phases, too; and M. Anatole France has described a latter-day Epicurean garden even more securely barred than the old from the fever and the fret of thought. What Epicurus added of his own to Democritus's theory was an accommodation not to truth but to convenience, and the measure of his scientific ardour is given by his easy toleration of conflicting explanations of the same phenomenon, provided they did not call in the intervention of the gods while the measure of his attachment to poetry is given by his counsel to his disciples to go past it with stopped ears, as by the Sirens' deadly song.

It was of this enemy of disturbing emotion, this quietist of paganism, this timid and debonair humanitarian, that his Roman disciple drew the magnificent and astonishing portrait which opens the *De Rerum Natura.* The Lucretian Epicurus is another Prometheus—'the Greek who, when mankind lay prostrate before the horrible apparition of Religion, first of mortals dared to face and withstand her. No legendary terror quelled him, nor thunder, nor the menacing roar of heaven; they did but kindle the more the eager courage of his soul, to be the first to break the bars of Nature's gates. So the living might of his genius prevailed; and he passed beyond the far-flaming walls of the world, and traversed in mind and spirit the immeasureable universe, returning thence in triumph to tell us what can, and what cannot, come into being, . . . having trampled under foot Religion who once crushed mankind, and lifted mankind in turn by his victory up to the height of heaven.'[1]

One might well surmise that a philosophy which a poet could thus ardently proclaim was itself, after all, not without some of the seeds or springs of poetry; and that Lucretius, in choosing to expound it in verse, was not staking everything on his power of making good, by brilliant surface decoration or eloquent digressions, radical defects of substance. No doubt there are passages enough in his poem where poetic substance and decorative surface seem equally wanting. But perhaps we yield too implicitly to the spell of Homer and of Aristotle, or, it may be, to that of Lessing or Mommsen, if with the last-named we declare Lucretius's choice of subject 'a blunder'.[2] Rather, we can

[1] *De Rer. Nat.* i. 63-79.

[2] *Röm Gesch.* V. xii. 595. Goethe, to speak only of German critics, was of

discern under much scholastic obstruction and irrelevance the outlines of a colossal epic of the universe, of which the protagonist is Man, and wanting neither in the heroic exultations nor in the tragic dooms, neither in the melancholy over what passes nor in the triumph over what endures, which go to the making of the greatest epic. And these qualities had one of their roots in the atomic theory of Democritus itself, at first sight so unpromising for poetry.

For his theory was, in effect, and probably in intention, a device for overcoming that dilemma on the horns of which early Greek thought found itself so desperately impaled, the antithesis of the One and the Many. The Eleatics had declared that pure Being was alone real, denying Change and Motion; Heraclitus declared that nothing was real but Change, and the only perpetuity 'flux'. His rival Democritus showed that it was possible to hold change and permanence to be equally real by supposing the world of the senses, where all things die and are born, to be composed of uncreated and indestructible elements. Underlying the ceaseless fluctuations of Nature and life as we see them, lay a continuity of eternal substance, of which they were the passing modes—one of the greatest of philosophical conceptions, as Santayana has called it,[1] but also one appealing profoundly to the specifically poetic intuition which I have described. Whether the permanent, apprehended through the flux of sense, be a spiritual substance like Plato's ideas, or Shelley's 'white radiance of eternity', or whether it be the constant Form and Function of the flowing river, as in Wordsworth's last Duddon sonnet, or whether, as here, it be a background of material particles perpetually combining and resolved, we have the kind of intuition which gives the thrill of poetry; we discover 'sweep in the concise, and depth in the clear'; infinite perspectives open out in the moment and in the point, and, however remote as yet the temper and the conclusions of Spinozan mysticism may be, we yet in some sort see things 'in the light of eternity'.

In Lucretius this conception found a mind capable of being ravished by its imaginative grandeur, as well as of pursuing it indefatigably

another opinion His own choice of subject in poems like the *Metamorphose der Pflanzen* was closely analogous, and he recognized with high appreciation Lucretius's extraordinary gifts—cognate with his own—of intuition (*Anschauung*) and imagination, enabling him to 'describe with power' and to 'explore beyond the reach of the senses the mysterious recesses of Nature'; in other words, gifts which found peculiar scope in dealing with the subject which Lucretius actually chose Cf. Goethe's letter to v. Knebel, the first German translator of the *De Rer. Nat*, Feb 14, 1821, *Werke*, ed. Hempel, xxix. 537.

[1] Santayana, *Three Philosophical Poets*, to which this essay owes several suggestions.

through the thorniest mazes of mechanical proof. The contagious fervour which breathes through his poem is not the mere ardour of the disciple bent on winning a convert, nor the joy of the literary craftsman as his hexameters leap forth glowing on the anvil: it is the sacred passion of one who has had a sublime vision of life and nature, and who bears about the radiance of it into all the work to which he has set his hand. It is not because of anything that Lucretius adds to Epicurus—in explicit doctrine he really adds nothing at all—that the impression produced by his poem differs so greatly from that of all we know—in fragments and at second-hand, it is true—of Epicurus's own writings. The ultimate principles are the same, but the accent is laid at different points. The parochial timidities of Epicurus have left their traces on the Roman's page; but they appear as hardly more than rudimentary survivals among the native inspirations of a man of heroic mettle and valour and Roman tenacity and force of will. He is not able quite to break free even from speculative foibles which show the Master's shallow opportunism at its worst; he repeats the dictum that the sun is about as large as it looks, a lamp hung a little above the earth, and daily lighted and put out; but he becomes himself when he lets his imagination soar into the infinities of Time and Space which his faith opens out or leaves room for. It is a triumph of poetry as well as of common sense when he scoffs at the Stoic dogma of a Space which abruptly comes to an end, when he stations an archer at the supposed terminus and ironically bids him shoot his arrow into the hypothetical nothingness beyond. Or in more sombre mood, how grave an intensity he puts into a common thought like that of the end of life by the sublimely terrible epithet *immortal* which he applies to death:

Mortalem vitam mors cum immortalis ademit (iii. 869),

or into a mere reminder that birth and death are always with us, by making us hear the continuous succession, through the ages, of funeral laments and wailings of the newly-born (iii. 578). He accepts without question the swerving of the atoms, devised by Epicurus—child and man of genius at once—to refute the Stoic dogma of necessity; but what possesses his mind and imagination is not these intrusions of caprice, but the great continuities and uniformities of existence, which follow from the perpetual dissolution and re-making of life:

'Rains die, when father ether has tumbled them into the lap of mother earth; but then goodly crops spring up and trees laden with fruit; and by them we and the beasts are fed, and glad towns teem with children and the woods ring with the song of young birds' (i. 250 f.).

Only, as such passages show, Lucretius grasps these uniformities and continuities not as theoretic abstractions, but as underlying conditions of the teeming multiplicity and joyous profusion of living Nature. His senses, imagination, and philosophic intellect, all phenomenally acute and alert, wrought intimately together; and he enters into and exposes the life of the individual thing with an intensity of insight and a realistic precision and power which burn its image upon our brain, without ever relaxing our consciousness that it is yet part of an endless process and the incidental expression of law.

None the less, his conception of the nature of the process itself does insensibly undergo a change. The hidden flaw in his system could not but, with an exponent so richly endowed and so transparently sincere, at some point disturb its imposing coherence. Atomism could not explain life, and life poured with too abounding a tide through the heart and brain of Lucretius not to undermine in some degree the authority of his mechanical calculus, and to lend a surreptitious persuasiveness to analogies derived from the animated soul. Without ostensibly disturbing the integrity of his Epicurean creed, such analogies have, in two ways, infused an alien colour into his poetry and alien implications into his thought. In the first place, he feels, as abounding natures will, that life—'the mere living'—is somehow very good, in spite of all the evils it brings in its train, and death pathetic, in spite of the evils from which it sets us free. When he is demonstrating that the world cannot have been made by gods, he sets forth its grave flaws of structure and arrangement with merciless trenchancy—'tanta stat praedita culpa' (v. 199); and, like Lear, he makes the new-born child wail because he is come into a world where so many griefs await him And no one ever urged with more passionate eloquence that it is unreasonable to fear to die. None the less, phrases charged with a different feeling about life continually escape him. To begin to live is 'to rise up into the divine borders of light' (i. 20). And secondly, despite his philosophical assurance, incessantly repeated, that birth and death are merely different aspects of the same continuous mechanical process, and that nothing receives life except by the death of something else,[1] he cannot suppress the suggestion that the creative energy of the world is akin to that which, with conscious will and desire, brings forth the successive generations of man. And so, in the astonishing and magnificent opening address

[1] Alid ex alio reficit natura, nec ullam
rem gigni patitur, nisi morte adiuta aliena.
i 263, &c.

to Venus (i. 1 f.), the poet who was about to demonstrate that the gods lived eternally remote from the life of men calls upon the legendary mother of his own race, as the divine power ever at work in this teeming universe, the giver of increase, bringing all things to birth, from the simplest corn-blade to the might and glory of the Roman Empire.

So grave and impressive an appeal cannot be treated as mere rhetorical ornament. If we call it figure, it is figure of the kind which is not a 'poetical' substitute for exact description, but conveys something for which no other terms are adequate. The great symbol of Venus rendered his vehement apprehension of the life of Nature with more veracity than that calculus of atomic movements which he was about to expound, and by which his logical intellect with perfect sincerity believed it to be explained.

Far less astonishing than his bold rehabilitation of the goddess of Love is his fetishistic feeling for the Earth, the legendary Mother of men. For him, too, as for primaeval myth, she is the 'universal mother',[1] who in her fresh youth brought forth flower and tree, and bird and beast; from whose body sprang at length the race of man itself; nay, he tells us how the infants crept forth 'from wombs rooted in the soil', and how, wherever this happened, earth yielded naturally through her pores a liquor most like to milk, 'even as nowadays every woman when she has borne is filled with sweet milk, because all that current of nutriment streams toward the breast'.

But if Lucretius in such passages goes even beyond the most implicit modern attribution of personality to Nature, his feeling is at another point sharply marked off from that of Wordsworth, for instance, or Meredith. His Earth is veritably mother, but she is not benign; she has brought forth the teeming life which possesses her, but she does not love her children, nor mould their forms by silent sympathy, nor nourish their manhood from her 'well of strength'.

For the Earth is not only our Mother; she is our tomb (ii. 1148 f.). And the eternal energy of creation is not only matched by the eternal energy of dissolution, but here and now is actually yielding ground to it. The Earth, so prolific in her joyous youth, is now like a woman who has ceased to bear, 'worn out by length of days'. In the whole universe birth and death absolutely balance, the equation of mechanical value is never infringed; the universe has no history, only a continuous substitution of terms. But each living thing has a history; it knows the exultation of onset and the melancholy of decline, nor is its fear

[1] v. 788 f. His 'scientific' mind about Earth is expressed in ii 652 f.

of death cancelled by the knowledge that in that very moment, and in consequence of that fact, some other living thing will be born. And Lucretius, feeling for our earth as a living thing, and one very near to us and deeply involved in all the issues of our existence, does not suggest that some other Earth elsewhere is now on the threshold of being. She has for him a history, and the joy and pathos of history, and he forgets that she is a mechanical term. To say that he puts the 'Nevermore' of romantic sentimentality in the place of the dispassionate 'give and take' of mechanics would do wrong to the immense virility which animates every line of this athlete among poets. Of the cheap melancholy of discontent he knows as little as of the cheap satisfaction of complacency, or of that literary melancholy where the sigh of Horace, or Ronsard, or Herrick, over the passing of roses and all other beautiful things covers a sly diplomatic appeal to the human rosebud to be gathered while still there is time. No, the melancholy of Lucretius is like that of Durer's *Melancholia*, the sadness of strong intellect and far-reaching vision as it contemplates the setting of the sun of time and the ebbing of the tides of mortality, or like Wordsworth's mournful music of dissolution, only to be heard by an ear emancipated from vulgar joys and fears; or like the melancholy of Keats—the veiled goddess who hath her shrine in the very temple of delight,—the *amari aliquid*, in Lucretius's own yet more pregnant words, which lurks in the very sweetness of the flower.

IV

The naturalism of Democritus and Epicurus, then, though framed purely in the interest of scientific explanation, and hostile both to poetry and to religion as commonly understood, was in essence a great poetic discovery, the disclosure of a World-view wholly novel and of entrancing appeal to the poetic apprehension. The sublime perspectives of an illimitable universe, the permanent oneness underlying the changing shows of sense: these were contributions of philosophy to a poetic outlook of which no poet had yet dreamed, and which it was reserved for the greatest of philosophic poets to make explicitly his own.

But the system was not thus responsive to poetry at all points; and we have seen Lucretius the poet involuntarily creating an atmosphere of passion and pathos, attachment, regret not dreamt of in his philosophy. And there are signs enough that had that philosophy admitted, what it fiercely denied, those ideas of a living and personal or even divine Nature, or of a universe pervaded by God, which

respond to poetic apprehension at the point where the Epicurean naturalism left it, as it were in the lurch, he would have eagerly embraced them.

Now it was precisely those ideas of life and personality present in Nature, or even pervading the universe, which prevailed among philosophic thinkers of the *second type*, who inquired (to put it in the roughest way) not how the world might have come about, but what it meant. For the answer, infinitely varied in its terms, uniformly postulated that the idealism of man reflected something answering to it in the very nature of reality. Two profound suggestions towards an ideal conception of the world, thrown out by the genius of Greece, could still intoxicate the intellect of early nineteenth-century Germany.—the Heraclitean idea of the harmony of opposites, and the Platonic and Stoic doctrine of the soul of the world. Of the first I say nothing more here; for Heraclitus, pregnant as his dark sayings are with poetry, has never had his Lucretius.[1] The doctrine of a world-soul, on the other hand, has again and again helped poetry to articulate her rapturous apprehension of the glory of the world. For European speculation, at least, the conception had its origin in the *Timaeus*, where the last perfecting touch of the divinely-appointed artificer who constructs the world is to give it a 'soul' and make it 'a blessed god'.

In the pantheism of the Stoics, the idea of a divine world-soul set forth in this grandiose myth became a radical dogma, one of the chief sources of their significance as an intellectual and moral force. At Rome the Stoic pantheism softened the rigour of national and social distinctions. The humanity of the Roman law lies in the direct line of its influence. In the mind of the most sensitive and tender of Roman poets, on the other hand, the Stoic idea fell upon a soil rich in qualities uncongenial, if not unknown, to its native habitat. Stoic thought in Vergil, no less than Epicurean in Lucretius, has taken the colour of that richer soil. The sublime verses which he puts in the mouth of Anchises have riveted this solution, if such it be, of the world-riddle upon the mind of posterity; but the real contribution of Vergil is less in any expressive phrase or image than in the diffused magic of a temperament in which all subtle and delicate attachments wonderfully throve; where, more than in any other Roman mind, the 'threefold reverence' of Goethe, the reverence for what is

[1] His famous illustration, quoted by Plato, is the harmony of the lyre brought about by the balance of opposite forces in the strings. Plut. *Is. et Osir.* (quot. Ritter and Preller, p. 17), Plat. *Symp.*, p. 187.

above us, for what is below us, and for our fellow-men, found its congenial home.

And it is not hard to see how sheer poetic instinct drew him this way. His two great masters in poetry, Homer and Lucretius, had inspired and helped to mould a genius fundamentally unlike either. The majestic pageant of the Olympians was not at bottom more consonant to his poetry than the scorn which tramples on all fear of divinity and puts the roar of Acheron under its feet. The Jupiter and Venus and Juno and Pallas who so efficiently order the changing fortunes of Aeneas are but a splendid decoration, like the Olympian figures in Raphael's frescoes at the Farnesina. And well as he understands the bliss of the triumphant intellect, of Man become the master of things, he is himself content with the humbler joys of one who has acquaintance with Pan and the Nymphs, with the gods of the woodland and the fountain-spring. These were real for him, not it may be with the matter-of-fact reality of the senses, but as speaking symbols of something more deeply interfused, less articulate than man, but more articulate to man's spirit than the fountains or the flowers.

The great pantheistic phrases of Vergil have echoed, we know, throughout the after-history of poetry. We might even be tempted to say that pantheism, in some sense, must be the substance of any 'poetic view of the world'. But if so, it must be a pantheism which owes at least as much to the entranced intuition of the poets as to the abstract thinking of philosophy. Their ecstasy of the senses, their feasting joy in the moment, and in the spot, have enabled them not merely to express the creed of pantheism with greater freshness and sincerity, but to give it interpretations and applications of which theoretic speculation never dreamed. We should not prize the great lines of *Tintern Abbey* so far above the eloquent platitudes of the *Essay on Man* if we did not feel that Pope was merely putting philosophy at second-hand into brilliant verse, while Wordsworth had not only reached his thought through his own impassioned contemplation, but actually given it a new compass and profundity not attainable by any logical process. He found his 'something more deeply interfused' as he looked with emotion too deep for tears upon the humble flower and the simple village child, or remembered the experiences of his own wonderful boyhood; and these were for him not merely portions of a body of which God was the soul, but themselves luminous points, or running springs, of spiritual light and life. So that if his poetry touches doctrinal pantheism (which he never names) at one pole, at the other it is nearer to the spiritual fetishism of St. Francis's hymns to Brother Sun and Brother Rain.

It is easier to distinguish definite philosophic ideas at work in the poetic apprehension of Shelley. We know in any case that they played an immensely greater part in his intellectual growth. Plato and Dante have helped him to those wonderful phrases in which he seeks to make articulate his rapturous cosmic vision of

> That light, whose smile kindles the universe,
> That Beauty in which all things work and move,
>
> . . . . .
>
> that sustaining love
> Which thro' the web of Being blindly wove,
> In man and beast and earth and air and sea,
> Burns bright or dim as each are mirrors of
> The fire for which all thirst.

That is his rendering, translated out of theological terms, of the sublime opening lines of the *Paradiso*:

'The glory of Him who moves the whole, penetrates through the universe and is reflected in one part more and in another less.'

But, even so, Shelley is feeling through these great words—Light, Love, Beauty—towards something which none of them can completely convey. And in this Shelleyan 'love' itself, the subtle distinctions carried out, as we saw, by Dante disappear even more completely than the dramatic play of thought in the *Symposium* disappears in the suffused splendour of Spenser's *Hymns*. In logical power Shelley was as little to be compared with Dante as Spenser with Plato. Yet some distinctions seem to assert themselves even in that ecstatic love-interwoven universe of his. His poet's intense consciousness of personality sounds clear through the pantheistic harmonies. When he is trying to utter as he sees it the sublime paradox of the dead but deathless poet, he falls successively, heedless of inconsistency, upon symbols drawn from the dogmas of antagonistic schools of thought. Pantheism, individual immortality, heaven, Elysium—he draws upon them all, but none suffices. The dead poet is made one with Nature, becomes a part of the loveliness which once he made more lovely; his voice is heard in the nightingale's song. But he is also an individual soul, who has passed at death to the abode where the Immortals are, and is welcomed there by Chatterton and Sidney and Lucan and the rest. A cognate depth and reach of apprehension has perplexed the discoverers of contradiction in *In Memoriam*. 'For the poets', aptly comments Mr. Bradley, though he is thinking chiefly of Shelley and Tennyson, 'the soul of the dead in being mingled with nature does not lose its personality; in living in God it remains human and itself.'[1]

[1] *A Commentary on In Memoriam*, Introd.

In comparison with the magnificent audacities of pantheism and cosmic love, the philosophic conception of 'Nature' has enjoyed the position of a great authoritative commonplace, by invoking which the most mediocre poet could dignify and quicken his verse. It belonged to science as much as to poetry, and to the poetry of clarified good sense by as good right as to that of childlike intuition. It could stand for the ideal of just expression which Pope counselled the poet 'first to follow', as legitimately as, a century later, it was to stand for the living presence of Beauty, of whose 'wedding' with the soul Wordsworth chanted the spousal verse, or as the teeming creative energy whose infinity Faust sought vainly to clasp. But even that Augustan 'Nature' gathered something from the quality of the minds which pursued literary discipline by its light, and no one doubts that in Wordsworth or in Goethe the *φύσις* or *natura* of strictly philosophic speculation was but the fecund germ of a poetic creation, which, whether it answered to a cosmic reality or not, answered to deep-seated and ineffaceable instincts and needs of man. Only, if great and original genius has set its hall-mark upon this noble metal, the crowd of small poets have mixed it with their feeble alloys. There is a Nature which responds to the greatest and sublimest aspirations of man, and one which answers to his self-indulgent dreams; a Nature which is wedded to his soul, and one which is but the casual mistress of his light desires. If the term 'poetical' has a slightly derisive air, it is because a cheap glamour, which disguises truth, so often replaces the profound symbol which touches its core. A truly 'poetic' World-view has at any rate nothing to do with this second-rate romance.

Among the poetic ways of regarding *Nature*, there are two types, the distinction between which concerns us. It is shadowed forth in the two images I borrowed just now from Wordsworth and from *Faust*. We may feel Nature as intimately united to us, deep calling to deep. Or we may feel it as something which eludes our clasp, but holds us by the very appeal of its infinity to that which is infinite in ourselves. The first type is too familiar to be further discussed here. But the second, or Goethean type, needs a few words.

For it was with Goethe that a new and powerful philosophic influence tardily entered modern poetry—the influence of Spinoza. A quarter of a century before Wordsworth and Coleridge were overheard talking of him at Nether Stowey, Spinoza had found deep springs of sympathy in the young Goethe. A vivid passage in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Book XIV) tells us that what especially fascinated him was 'the boundless unselfishness that glowed in every sentence', and notably that 'strange sentence' which later suggested

a famous retort of his Philine—'He who loves God must not expect that God shall love him in return'.[1] Spinoza's God meant, roughly, the infinity of Nature, and to love God meant to see all things in the light of that infinity. Such a dictum therefore cut at the root of the whole body of poetry which asserted an answering spirit in Nature, from the self-indulgent dreams of romantic sentiment to the love-interwoven universe of Dante or Shelley. The grandeur of Spinoza's conception is apparent enough even in his geometrical formulas, but Goethe's intense intuition translated it into human experiences which stir us to the depths The Erdgeist's retort to Faust—'Du gleichst dem Geist den du begreifst, nicht mir'—is one of the most thrilling in all poetry, not because it indulges all our wishes, nor yet because it baffles them, but because the barrier it opposes to the intellect is a gate to the imagination, and we step out into a poetic apprehension of the infinity which our formulas seek to capture in vain.

It is by a like suggestion of infinities beyond our reach and untouched by our emotions that he moves us in poems like *Das Gottliche* or *Die Grenzen der Menschheit*, or the opening scene of the Second Part of *Faust*, which insist with so lofty a calm on our limitations. From these infinities, if we wish to live and act, we must turn away, and that is what, as a wise physician, Goethe bids us do. The intolerable glory of the sun is broken up for us in the many-hued rainbow, and this refracted light must be the guide of our life. But no one could see life there who had not himself gazed on the glory of the sun, and while we read Goethe's words we evade the very limitations he imposes, just as Shelley (in the great kindred passage), by the very image which condemns life as a dome of many-coloured glass, lifts us into the 'white radiance' beyond. 'A little ring bounds our life,' he says elsewhere, 'and many generations succeed one another on the endless chain of their being.' A little ring on an endless chain—a 'little life rounded with a sleep',—that way lies a poetry as great as that which comes to the visionary Celt who sees 'waving round every leaf and tree the fiery tresses of that hidden sun which is the soul of the earth'.[2]

But that way, also, lies a poetry of Man, a poetry which has its sustaining centre not in the cosmos, but in the soul. To refuse the easy assumption of Nature's comradeship in our sorrow, to resign the cheap consolations of the 'pathetic fallacy', may be the way not merely to resignation, or Stoicism, but to an apprehension of the

[1] *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, iv. 9
[2] A. E., *The Renewal of Youth*

heights and depths of the soul thrown back upon itself, and fetching strength not from any outer power, but from undreamed-of inner resources of its own. When Wordsworth, in the grasp of a great sorrow, puts aside the glamour of the poet's dream, in order to bear with fortitude 'what is to be borne', he has taken a step towards that poetry. When he finds in suffering 'the nature of infinity', with gracious avenues opening out of it to wondrous regions of soul life, he has entered it.[1]

V

We have thus watched the modification, first of the naturalistic atomism, then of the cosmic conceptions of 'pantheism' and 'Nature', by the immediate intuition, the eager senses, and the vivid soul-consciousness which characterize the poetic apprehension. It remains to glance, finally, at the relations of poetry with that third type of philosophic system, in which soul-consciousness itself has played the guiding and master part

It was with the assertion of the soul's predominance that European philosophy, in the full sense of the word, began. When Socrates turned from the cosmic speculations of the Ionians to found his 'thinking-shop' at Athens, and chaffed Anaxagoras for having put mind at the head of things and then given it nothing to do, he was preparing the way, we know, for the magnificent soul-sovereignty established by the master of all idealists. Plato set up a trenchant dualism between soul and sense, and thrust the sense-world into a limbo of disparagement from which, where his spell prevailed, it never emerged. The body was the soul's prison; the senses cheated it with illusion and dragged it down with base desires.

The Transcendentalists of modern Germany established a soul-autocracy differently conceived, and founded upon other postulates, but not less absolute. Kant shattered the claims of *Verstand*, but only to enthrone *Vernunft*; Fichte found nothing real and nothing good that was not rooted in heroic will, Schopenhauer built up a philosophy of self-effacement and world-flight on the doctrine that the will to live which tortures us is also the malign indwelling energy of the world. And none of them surpassed in calm audacity the claims made for individual reason by Fichte's English contemporary, Godwin.

Speculation of this type was already allied to poetry by the boldness of its 'subjective idealism', and it might be expected that its

[1] The lines from *The Borderers* are in fact, of course, earlier than those from *Peele Castle*.

points of fruitful contact with poetry would be correspondingly numerous. Yet this is hardly, on the whole, the case. If Plato's influence on poetry is hard to measure, if Kant brought something vital to Schiller, and Schopenhauer to Wagner, 'subjective' philosophers and poets in the main pursued their common preoccupation with soul along paths which rarely crossed. Each brought to the exploration of that marvellous mine a lamp of extraordinary power; but they carried it into different regions, surveyed them on different methods, and returned with different results. Poets without any scientific psychology have, in virtue of imaginative insight into the ways of character, created a mass of psychological material with which scientific psychology has only begun to cope. It is only among poetic portrayers of the second rank, such as Jonson and the allegorists, that theoretic categories of character have had any determining weight. The supreme characters of literature are true creations, creations that are at the same time discoveries—pieces of humanity which exceed Nature's 'reach', perhaps, but not her 'grasp'. Prometheus, Hamlet, Satan, Faust, permanently enlarged the status of the human soul in our common valuation of life. That 'discovery of Man' which intoxicated the Renascence was pre-eminently a discovery of the stature of man's soul—'how noble in reason, how infinite in faculty, . . . in action how like an angel, in apprehension how like a god!' but philosophic ideas hardly touched the surface of either Shakespeare or Marlowe, and they furnished but one strand in the woof of the mind of Milton.

In the English poetry of the time of Wordsworth there is more affinity to philosophic ideas, but their actual influence is apt to be strongest just where the poetry itself is least intense In a very luminous lecture Mr. Bradley has traced the relation between the two movements.[1] An exalted faith in soul possessed and inspired both, but each was in the main unconscious of the other. In the poetry of his own countryman, Schiller, Kant's austere ideas reappear transformed in the crucible of the poet's livelier emotions or quicker sense of beauty. Coleridge drank as deeply of Kantian and cognate ideas, but only when the brief chapter of his own poetry was all but closed; while the magnificent prose-poem in which Carlyle conveyed the philosophy of Fichte-Jean Paul-Teufelsdröckh stands alone. What Wordsworth may have drawn through Coleridge's talk is not clearly distinguishable from the original bent of his own mind. The two streams ran courses largely parallel, but in distinct though adjacent

[1] *English Poetry and German Philosophy in the Age of Wordsworth* (Manchester University Press).

valleys. With Godwin's ideas, on the other hand, both Wordsworth, Blake, and Shelley had stood in close intellectual relations. And these were precisely the men whose poetry set the deepest impress upon their view of life.

Is it possible by the help of either the parallel or the derivative relationship to lay down any common features in the process?

In the first place, the stress on the exaltation of spirit is shifted by the poets, and with great emphasis, from 'reason', the instrument of philosophy, to imagination. Reason is constantly not merely ignored but openly slighted. It is not what they mean when they exalt 'mind'. When Wordsworth tells us, in the great *Recluse* passage, of the awe, beyond Empyrean or Erebus, with which he contemplated 'the mind of man'; when he sees the heroic devotion of the fallen Toussaint perpetuated in 'man's inconquerable mind'; when he encourages those who doubted Spanish heroism with the sublime assurance that 'the true sorrow of humanity consists in this: not that the mind of man fails, but that the course and demands of life so rarely correspond with the dignity and intensity of human desires',—by this 'mind' he means imagination, passion, heroic will, but not discourse of reason. Wordsworth, apprehending soul with his poet's intuition, apprehends it as he knew it in himself. He saw it, therefore, as an energy operating not through 'meddling intellect' but through vision and vision-illuminated will, with open eye and ear for its indispensable associates, and love as its core. The 'soul' whereby alone the nations shall be great and free was something in which the humblest peasant and the simplest child had part, and in which the meanest flower struck answering chords. It is not accident that the soul-animated England of Wordsworth's ideal is so widely unlike Hegel's Prussian state.

In William Blake soul-autocracy became aggressive and revolutionary, and the breach with reason, philosophic or other, widened to a yawning gulf. Whether he is declaring 'the world of imagination to be the world of eternity', scoffing at the nature-lover who sees 'with' not 'through' the eye, or affirming that 'to generalize is to be an idiot'—(a stupendous example of the procedure he derides)—he stands for a poetry stripped bare of all that allies it either to philosophy or to common sense. His prophetic books adumbrate a grandiose poetic metaphysic, a world-system framed to the postulates of this denuded poetry. And Shelley's *Apology* enthrones imagination as the creator and upholder of all civilization.

Secondly, the poetic shifting of the stress, within the domain of the autocratic soul, from reason to imagination and feeling, told power-

fully upon the ethical ideals proclaimed by this group of poets It added fresh impetus to that disposition to override or transcend external standards of morality which is inherent in all vivid inner consciousness. Moral distinctions fade in the inner illumination of the mystic. We have seen hints of such a 'transvaluation of ethical values' disarranging the iron categories of Dante's Hell. Applied to Hamlet or Othello, the traditional categories of good and evil break in our hands. Milton's heroic devil, and the lovers whom Browning scorns for being saved by their sloth from crime, still perplex the moralist. But the poets of the Revolution are openly sceptical of morality. Of Shelley I need not speak. Even Wordsworth makes a hero of a murderer. And Blake first proclaimed explicitly, a century before Nietzsche, a good 'beyond good and evil', and figured the inauguration of this transcendent ethic in the colossal symbolism of his Marriage of Heaven and Hell.

In all these writers, it is true, their attitude to morality was in part derived from the bias towards emancipation then current in all departments of ethical, social, and political life, and had no relation to specifically poetic apprehension. 'Freedom' was an ideal for Godwin and for Robespierre, as well as for Shelley and for Kant, and was pursued by them with equal devotion in their several fashions. But they all, also, understood it in the light of their several preoccupations. With Godwin, as with Robespierre, it is mainly negative; with Shelley, as with Kant, it acquires positive substance and content. And this is because both philosopher and poet see it as the means to some perfection of the soul. The soul-autocracy of the age, extravagant as it might be, is seen at its noblest in the Kantian freedom won through duty, and in the Shelleyan freedom won through Love. The Kantian ideal of freedom interpreted in that last conclusion of Goethe's wisdom—'He alone is free who daily wins his freedom anew'—has passed into the very substance of the strenuous German mind. The Shelleyan ideal is of a rarer but also of a more perilous stuff, and has touched no such chords in the English character as his music has stirred in the English ear. But something of the genius of both ideals was gathered up and concentrated in Wordsworth's great affirmation, so recklessly impugned, so magnificently borne out to-day, of the meaning of national freedom.

Wordsworth's sense of law corrects what is anarchic in Shelley, as Shelley's flame-like ardour corrects what is prosaic and common in Wordsworth. Together they present more purely than any of their contemporaries the noble substance of a poetic ethic. In that poetic ethic the greatest word, rightly understood, is still the Shelleyan Love.

And it may be that if there is any ideal which, springing from poetic apprehension, is yet fit, rightly interpreted, for the common needs of men, it is that 'love of love' on which Tennyson, so far always from the revolutionary temper either in love or poetry, set his finger in his early prime, as the sovereign endowment of the poet. Only it must be love wide enough to include every kind of spiritual energy by which the soul, transcending itself, fulfils itself, and exerts, whether upon men or nations, its liberating and uplifting power. the love which creates, and the love which endures, the love which makes the hero or the artist, and that which spends itself inexhaustibly on a thankless cause; the impersonal ardour of the mind, which Spinoza called the 'intellectual love of God', and the impassioned union of souls, which to some has seemed a clue to the vision of reality, and to others the surest pledge of a future life; the love of country which distinguishes the true service of humanity from a shallow cosmopolitanism, and the love of our fellow men, which distinguishes true patriotism from national greed. To have had no mean share in sustaining this large ideal of the 'soul' which makes us free is an enduring glory of the poets.

Nor is this strange if, as I trust this partial survey may have served to suggest, the spiritual energy transcending itself, for which Love is the most adequate name, be the core of the World-view towards which, from their various religious or philosophic vantage-grounds, a number of poetic master-spirits have made an approach. Whether they have found it as a light kindling the universe, like Dante and Shelley; or as a creative power shadowed forth in the eternal new birth of all things, like Lucretius; or as the will and passion of the human soul, heroically shaping its fate, and divining its infinity most clearly when most aware of its limitations, like Goethe; in some form the faith that spiritual energy is the heart of reality was the centre towards which they knowingly or obscurely strove. Such a faith, I suggest, will be found to be a vital constituent of every view of the world reached by a poet through his poetic experience, and the main contribution of that rich, profound, and intense form of experience to man's ultimate interpretation of life

IS THERE A POETIC VIEW OF THE WORLD?

SUMMARY

View of the World, or 'World-view', defined Distinction of *religious* and *philosophical* World-views. The present essay attempts to define and describe a *poetic* World-view.—I. Character of poetic experience. Types of belief about Man and Nature to which it predisposes. Though rarely detached from religious or philosophical presumptions, it habitually modifies them, and the method here proposed is to study, in some salient examples, the character and direction of these modifications (p. 420).—II. (i) Modifications of *religious* World-views by the poetic inspirations of Personality and Love. HOMER. AESCHYLUS DANTE (p. 424).—III (ii) Modifications of *philosophical* World-views (*a*) Materialistic schools. Epicureanism and LUCRETIUS (p. 432).—IV. (*b*) 'Objective idealisms'. Stoic pantheism and VERGIL. WORDSWORTH. SHELLEY. Philosophic doctrine of 'Nature' in WORDSWORTH, and in GOETHE. SPINOZA and GOETHE (p. 439).—V. (*c*) 'Subjective idealisms' 'Mind' in the philosophers and in the poets of the age of WORDSWORTH. The poets subordinate (1) the rational to the emotional and imaginative factors of soul · WORDSWORTH, BLAKE, SHELLEY, and (2) moral categories to a good 'beyond good and evil'. Of this poetic ethic the most vital constituent is Love; and Love, comprehensively understood, will be an intrinsic element of every World-view won through poetic experience (p. 445).

PRIMITIVE MAN

By G. ELLIOT SMITH, F.R.S.

Read November 29, 1916

In accepting Lord Bryce's invitation to discuss certain aspects of the early history of the human family that do not fall within the usual scope of the Academy's deliberations, I may remind you of the opinion recently expressed by an American historian that 'the widening outlook of both anthropologists and historians, as well as the requirements of science, demands the co-ordination of these two phases of humanistic inquiry'[1]

Professor Teggart becomes more explicit when he claims that 'by insensible degrees the historian has come to see that there is no hard and fast boundary between "historic" and "prehistoric" times, between "historical" and "unhistorical" peoples; the history of Man includes man everywhere and at all times'.

Approaching the same question from the anthropological side, biologists who have examined the remains of early man, and studied the elements of culture found in association with them, have arrived at the same conclusion. For, as Professor Henry Fairfield Osborn has recently expressed it, such investigations reveal 'the great antiquity of the spirit of man and the fundamental similarity between the great steps of prehistory and history'.[2]

But the term 'prehistoric', and especially the unpardonable word 'prehistory', must be renounced, or used only in the most general sense, by all who value clearness of thought and precision of statement. When the adjective first came into use there was a vast break of unknown extent between the history of man that has been preserved in written documents and the complementary story that was recorded in what was then the less legible palimpsest of bones, implements, and potsherds. With the accumulation of further information and the acquisition of a fuller insight into the meaning of the latter kind of evidence, not only has the gap between the historical and the so-called 'prehistoric' been to a large extent bridged, and by evidence

[1] Frederick J. Teggart, *Prolegomena to History*, University of California Publications in History, vol. iv, No 3, 1916, p 124.

[2] *Men of the Old Stone Age*, 1915, p 501.

of contact between neighbouring peoples the two 'ages' been shown to overlap, but the unwritten records preserved in the bones and cultural remains have become more and more comprehensible, and have given us perhaps a fuller and more truthful history of certain phases of man's activities than the written documents, often coloured and distorted by the personal bias of their authors, which it has been the custom to regard as the only sources of real history.

One has only to recall the recently acquired knowledge of the archaeology of Crete and Nubia, for example, to realize the vastness and the accuracy of the body of history that has been recovered from sources other than literary records. Not only have such researches revealed a very extensive chapter of positive history, but they have shed a new light upon the hitherto accepted interpretation of the written documents and forced a considerable reorientation of the ideas which they had provided of the growth of civilization.

With the widening of outlook and the growth of the conception of continuity in history, the term 'prehistoric' has, in fact, lost much of its usefulness. It has now become a hindrance rather than a help to those who are striving to obtain a clear view and a right perspective of Man's history as a closely interrelated whole and of the essential unity of civilization Hence, except perhaps in the case of some small localized area, it would be a distinct advantage if the word 'prehistoric', and all the misleading and confusing glamour that has grown up in association with it,[1] were relegated to the oblivion of the past to which it naturally belongs.

Once these obstructions are cleared away we can get back to the view expressed by Diodorus and the Stoics, that 'all men living, or who once lived, belong to the common human family, though divided from one another by time and space' (Bury's translation), and regard history as including 'not alone every manifestation of political activity among men, but the entire range of human experience' (Teggart).

The term 'primitive', which I have ventured to use in the title of this address, is also open to grave objection, unless it is definitely

[1] The influence of this confusion is repeatedly shown in the writings of modern scholars, who are perfectly familiar with the fact that the so-called 'prehistoric' culture of Western Europe endured for several millennia after the inauguration of the 'historical' period in the Eastern Mediterranean. Yet the bias created by the employment of the word 'prehistoric' with reference to the former often leads writers to invert the course of history, and refer to crude elements of 'prehistoric' Western European culture that were unquestionably derived from the earlier and more perfect institutions of the 'historical' East as the parents instead of the offspring of the latter.

restricted to those classes of beings and events to which it can be applied without obvious ambiguity. While it is legitimate to employ it with reference to really early types of mankind and to survivals of practices and beliefs which have come down from the very childhood of the human race—and that is the sense which I had in mind when I selected 'primitive man' as the title of these remarks—it is necessary to protest against the common misuse of this expression, of which modern ethnologists in particular are guilty. For instance, it has become a practice to refer to all the customs and traditions of such peoples as the aboriginal Australians and the Bushmen of South Africa as 'primitive', although it is patent that many of these elements of culture, and especially those which are most often used as illustrations of 'primitive' beliefs and practices, and labelled as such, have been borrowed in relatively recent times from more advanced and alien civilizations.

It is very questionable whether any pure strains of mankind exist at the present time During its wanderings in past ages probably every people has come into more or less intimate contact with alien races and mingled with them. But even though, so far as mere physical structure is concerned, several races may seem relatively uniform in type and appear to be really primitive and unmixed, their customs and beliefs reveal the more obstrusive influence of contact with and borrowing from other peoples.

But in this address I am concerned mainly with those earlier types of mankind which are really primitive, and I shall refer to modern man and his works only to emphasize the fact that the human spirit has ever remained the same. Even when it becomes encrusted with the influences, good and bad, of traditions which have been accumulating and affecting man's outlook ever since he first emerged from the simian stage of complete individualism, human nature is based upon the same primitive instincts and emotions.

The objection may be raised that the investigation of a few fragments of fossilized bone cannot shed any light upon human behaviour and history. But it must be remembered that these human remains have been found in association with evidence of man's handiwork. It has been necessary to study the two kinds of evidence in correlation the one with the other before it became possible to form an adequate conception either of the nature of the men themselves and the times in which they lived or of the real significance of their industries. Hence the investigation of these primitive men's motives and capabilities came to form a necessary and integral part of the task of interpreting the meaning of the bodily remains. In reading

such documents, even though they are seen darkly through the glass of untold ages, the inquirer is really reading historical records. Moreover they are records of real facts, uncoloured by the emotions and the prejudices of a partisan interpreter. For the actions and the motives of these primitive men are known by their works, and not merely second-hand from the often ill-founded scribblings of some partial scribe, who may have had some conscious reason for distorting the facts, or in any case was not fully competent to escape the influence of those unconscious phenomena that warp the judgement of all men, however conscientious.

But even though only the smallest scraps of evidence have been preserved to illuminate the working of the mind of primitive man, they shed a very clear light upon the ways of mankind as a whole. For they reveal his manner of thought and action, stripped of much of the confusion which the accumulations of traditions and stereotyped ideas have created to obscure one's vision of modern men's motives.

. . . .

In spite of their obvious differences in physical structure and intellectual achievement, all the living races of mankind are regarded merely as varieties of one species, *Homo sapiens*. It is less than seventy years since there first came to light the remains of a type of mankind so vastly older than and so different in structure from all the then-known varieties of men, living or extinct, as to be regarded by many recent writers as the representative of another species, for which Falconer, in 1868, suggested the name *Homo calficus*, in reference to Gibraltar, the ancient Calphe. But the real significance of the Gibraltar skull was not appreciated at the time of its discovery. In fact it is only during the last decade that scientists have begun to realize how momentous was the new era in our knowledge of man which was inaugurated when Lieutenant Flint found this fossilized skull near the Forbes Quarry at Gibraltar in 1848.

But before this specimen had come to the knowledge of any one capable of appreciating the fact that it was an important discovery, the remains of another individual, possibly of the same race, but certainly of the same species, came to light in a Neanderthal cave near Düsseldorf in 1856. These fragments included the upper part of a human skull, the more obtrusive features of which (for it was a man's, while the Gibraltar specimen was a woman's skull), no less than the fact that it came at once into the hands of a competent anatomist (Professor Schaafhausen), at once riveted attention upon it as the relic of a hitherto unknown type of the human family, which

afterward received the name *Homo neanderthalensis.* As this designation was suggested by Professor King of Galway in 1864, some years before Dr. Falconer proposed the specific name *calficus* for the Gibraltar skull, the former takes precedence to and excludes the latter, if it be admitted that the Neanderthal and Gibraltar remains belong to the same group, and that the latter is really of specific rank. It is a difficult question to decide whether or not there is sufficient justification for the creation of this new species of the genus *Homo*: but on the whole I think the balance of evidence is slightly in favour of such a course.

But whether or not the Neanderthal race represents a distinct species which was succeeded in Europe by the species *sapiens*, there can be no doubt that the advent of the latter more modern race of men in Europe represents on the cultural side the most momentous event in its history.

One of my chief aims in this address will be to consider the significance of this great step forward in the history of mankind, when there are revealed for the first time men of essentially the same type as ourselves, endowed with the same intellectual qualities and artistic aptitude.

When the Neanderthal skeleton came into the hands of Professor Schaafhausen he claimed that 'the extraordinary form of the skull was due to a natural conformation hitherto not known to exist, even in the most barbarous races', and that the 'human relics were traceable to a period at which the latest animals of the diluvium still existed'. Subsequent research and the discovery of much more material bearing upon the points at issue have proved beyond all possibility of error the soundness of these conclusions. But for years after these statements were made a lively controversy raged around this skull, and in course of time, with the addition of the inflammable material supplied by Charles Darwin's classical works, a great conflagration developed. As Huxley remarked, many years afterward: 'It was suggested that the Neanderthal skeleton was that of a stray idiot: that the characters of the skull were the result of early synostosis or of late gout: and, in fact, any stick was good enough to beat the dog withal'

Since then many more remains of a variety of early types of mankind have come to light, as well as a great deal of information relating to the handiwork and achievements of these primitive men, the animals they hunted, and the conditions under which they lived.

But as this mass of facts has gradually increased there has also grown up in connexion with them a body of theory which has become

so systematized as to make it extremely difficult to view the results impartially. Part of my aim is to strip away much of this speculative obstruction. In the days when only a very few fragments of bone and chipped flint provided all the information available for the study of primitive man, a scaffolding of hypothesis was necessary in order to make any sort of edifice of such broken and scanty débris. But now that so much more material is available it is possible to build up a structure capable of standing by itself. Hence this scaffolding is not only no longer necessary, but it interferes with the view of the building

Almost every new discovery has started afresh such disputes as followed the finding of the Neanderthal skull, and history has repeated itself with remarkable consistency. The recent disputes concerning the significance of the fossil skull found by the late Mr. Charles Dawson near Piltdown in 1912 are quite true to type.

It has been said of the fossil jaw found in the Mauer sands near Heidelberg in 1908 that it was remarkable in many respects, and not least because it was the only fossilized fragment of a human being the discovery of which had not excited a violent controversy.

But fortunately many further instances can be recorded since 1908 of the calm and dispassionate discussion of the problems arising out of fresh discoveries.

Long before the discovery of these actual fragments of the man of the Old Stone Age, archaeologists had become aware of his former existence by finding implements of human workmanship in caves and in ancient gravels, often in association with the bones of extinct mammals. But it was not until the year 1887 that the Belgian scientists, Fraipont and Lohest, made the discovery, one of the most important and fundamental in the whole history of the growth of our knowledge of early man, that the Neanderthal people were the makers of the type of stone implements which are now called Mousterian, and that they were contemporaneous with the woolly mammoth, the woolly rhinoceros, the cave bear, and the cave hyaena in Western Europe.

This clearer vision of Mousterian man (*Homo neanderthalensis*) in his natural surroundings stimulated further inquiries; and as the result of a long series of remarkable discoveries, no less than of the intensive investigation of the known material, especially by Schwalbe and Boule among many others, one has gained a surprisingly full view of the physical characters and the achievements of this peculiarly distinctive type of mankind, which occupied Europe many thousands of years ago.

The information that has been accumulating has illuminated not merely the Mousterian phase of industry and Neanderthal man, but has revealed also a long succession of later cultural phases and waves of varied types of mankind, all of which, however, differ from the men of the so-called 'Lower Palaeolithic Age' in conforming much more nearly to the modern type.

In fact, however much uncertainty there may be as to whether or not the Neanderthal race really represents a distinct species, every one is agreed that all the races of the so-called 'Upper Palaeolithic' phase were merely varieties of the species *Homo sapiens*. In France there was a series of phases of culture associated with at least three successive waves of immigration into Western Europe during this period. These have been distinguished by the names of the places where the particular industries were first recognized. Aurignacian (from the small grotto of Aurignac, Haute-Garonne), Solutrean (from the station of Solutré, Saône-et-Loire), and Magdalenian[1] (from the rock-shelter of La Madeleine, on the bank of the Vézère). Although the racial characters of these successive waves of immigrants were probably quite distinct the one from the other, it is often convenient to refer to them collectively, for the purpose of contrast with the races of men who went before or came after them. In such cases some writers refer to these people of the so-called 'Upper Palaeolithic' period as Crô-Magnon men, from the place-name given to the first known representative of one of these races. In using this expression, however, the reservation must always be borne in mind that it covers a variety of racial types, of which the real Crô-Magnon man is only one.

The last quarter of a century has also brought to light the fragments of three divergent and much more primitive members of the human family. the genus *Pithecanthropus*, found in Java in 1894 by Dr. Eugen Dubois, the Heidelberg jaw, found in the Mauer sands by Dr. Schoetensack in 1908, which I am inclined to follow Bonarelli in regarding as the remains of a special genus, *Palaeanthropus*, and the genus *Eoanthropus*, found by the late Mr. Charles Dawson near Piltdown in Sussex in 1912.

The small fragments of these three most primitive members of the human family afford us tantalizingly imperfect glimpses of man in the making, and have not unnaturally supplied the material for some of the most lively controversies in the whole history of anthropology.

[1] There is great variety in the spelling of these three terms in English books. In this article I have adopted the spelling of those writers from whom I have had occasion to quote

There are still wide divergences of opinion in respect to almost every aspect of the problems raised for discussion by these relics.

Recent years have witnessed the extinction of the bitter animosities which, in the sixties and seventies of last century, were inevitably excited by the mere suggestion that man was descended from the apes. The fact of man's descent is no longer questioned; but the intense theological emotions of fifty years ago have now given place to profound differences of opinion concerning the interpretation of the details of the technical evidence as to how man and human institutions were evolved. Every human fragment and scrap of man's handiwork that has been preserved to us from the Old Stone Age has become a nucleus around which the liveliest discussions have centred. The anatomist who investigates the features of the human remains, the archaeologist who explains the significance of the implements and culture, the zoologist and palaeontologist who deal with the associated fauna, and the geologist who interprets the circumstances under which the remains are found, all take their share in these discussions: and as the conclusion arrived at by each of these investigators has an intimate bearing upon the results obtained by workers in the other fields, there is ample scope for differences of opinion to arise. Perhaps the most difficult problems of all are those which have been raised by the attempts to determine the changes of temperature and climate and the comings and goings of the various mammals, and to associate them with man in the different stages of his chequered career in Europe

This is not the place for the discussion of these technical controversies. What I propose to do is to set forth in general terms such conclusions as, I think, most scientists would be willing to admit, and then consider their wider bearing upon some of the fundamental problems of human history

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No human remains have yet come to light that can be referred with certainty to a time earlier than the Pleistocene. There are very definite reasons for including the Javan fossil *Pithecanthropus* within the human family, and also for regarding it as the most primitive member of that family, though probably not on the direct line of ancestry of the higher races of men. In making this statement I should add that several leading palaeontologists, such as Professors Boule and Obermaier, still maintain that *Pithecanthropus* was really an ape. Dr. Smith Woodward, who has recently examined their arguments,[1] comes to the conclusion that 'there is thus some reason

[1] 'Early Man', *Geological Magazine*, January, 1917.

to suspect that man himself lived in Java with *Pithecanthropus*, and that the latter was really a gigantic and precocious gibbon'.

But in 1898[1] Professor Dubois clearly demonstrated that for a gibbon to acquire a cranial capacity such as is found in the Java skull, it would indeed require, if it remained a true gibbon, to be truly gigantic. For to attain a cranial capacity of 855 c.c it would need to be four times the stature of a man. So far from this estimate of size being realized, the femur of *Pithecanthropus* indicates that the creature was not quite so big as an average man. But it is not only the mere capacity of the brain-case, but also the form of its interior that reveals the right of *Pithecanthropus* to be included within the human family. For the cranial cast reveals a special expansion of that area in the temporal region of the brain which recent research has led physicians to associate with the distinctively human faculty of speech. For these and other reasons I think that *Pithecanthropus* is really a member, if a very lowly one, of the human family.

Most authorities now assign its age to the Early Pleistocene, but some recent writers, without definitely denying this possibility, are inclined to agree with Dubois' original claim that it belongs to the Uppermost Pliocene. One of the reasons for this view is that the fossil elephants which occur in Java along with *Pithecanthropus* are also found twenty-five hundred miles away in the foothills of the Himalayas of India, where they are regarded as of the Uppermost Pliocene Age But, as allied species did not arrive in Europe until Early Pleistocene times, there is the possibility that the animals whose remains have been found in Java may also not have wandered east before then. Thus it can be said, without the possibility of contradiction, that the earliest known representative of the human family can be referred approximately to the commencement of the Pleistocene period, with the possibility that it may have been a little earlier. It is so ape-like that, as I have already remarked, some leading authorities still maintain that it is an ape. Hence it is necessary to assume, until more precise evidence is forthcoming to invalidate the conclusion, that at the close of the Pliocene period man was still 'in the making'. The claim that real men were in existence in Pliocene and Miocene times must be regarded as a mere hypothesis unsupported as yet by any tangible evidence.

In making this statement I have not forgotten the extremely interesting fragments of jaw and teeth recently found in the Siwalik Hills by Dr. G. E. Pilgrim, who has created the new genus and

[1] 'Remarks on the Brain-cast of *Pithecanthropus erectus*', *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Zoology*, Cambridge, 1898, p. 91

species *Sivapithecus indicus* for its reception.[1] Although Dr. Pilgrim regards this Miocene creature as a member of the human family, I agree with the opinion expressed by Professor Boule[2] that the evidence afforded by these fragments is altogether inadequate to justify such far-reaching conclusions. The distinctive features of the human family can be provided only by the brain-case and the limb-bones, which underwent the characteristic changes long before the jaws and face and the rest of the body lost their simian characters. For in the process of the evolution of man it was the brain which first acquired what can be called the human status. The earliest members of the human family must have been merely apes with an overgrown brain, and probably the first bodily changes that occurred were the modifications of the legs for the new methods of progression, which were in the main the outcome of this higher development of brain. The simian features of the skin and hair, teeth and face, and the general configuration of the body, no doubt persisted for long ages after the changes in the brain and the legs had been established. It is possible that the cultivation of the aesthetic sense, which the heightened powers of discrimination made possible, may have played some part, by sexual selection, in the process of refinement of the bodily characteristics, and by this means the uncouthness and ungracefulness of the ape were gradually eliminated.

Thus it cannot be claimed that the characters of the teeth of any Miocene ape reveal the existence of the human family at so remote a period of time. For the distinctive criteria of the earliest types of the human family can be provided only by the brain-case. The teeth and jaws can, however, give indications of human affinities Anatomical peculiarities may point to the fact that certain Miocene apes were more nearly related than other apes by direct affiliation to man's ancestors. But this does not convert the former into members of the Hominidae, even if they are on the direct line of ancestry.

In his admirable review of Dr. Pilgrim's memoir Professor Boule refers to the fact of first importance that is revealed by the new discoveries in India. During Miocene times Asia was inhabited by very numerous anthropoid apes exhibiting characters diverging in all kinds of directions, and even, as in *Sivapithecus*, in the direction of man.

[1] 'New Siwalik Primates and their Bearing on the question of the Evolution of Man and the Anthropoidea', *Records of the Geological Survey of India*, vol. xlv, part I, 1915.

[2] 'Les Singes fossiles de l'Inde d'après M. Pilgrim', *L'Anthropologie*, t xxvi, 1915, p. 409

'Il y a là un mouvement de vie chez les Primates tout à fait extraordinaire, et l'on a, pour la première fois, la sensation que l'Asie était, à ce moment, le laboratoire où devait s'élaborer la différenciation des ancêtres des Hominiens.' (*Op. cit.*, p. 410.)

In the foothills of the Himalayas in Miocene times were found apes akin to the orangs and the chimpanzees, to the gorillas and man, as well as many other phyla which afterwards became extinct, after wandering east and west. The domain of the anthropoid apes extended as far west as Spain and Africa and as far east as Borneo. Within this widespread area these apes, including man's ancestors, roamed about for vast ages before man himself appeared upon the scene. And the wanderings did not cease when real men appeared. Man's heightened powers of discrimination and adaptation made it possible for him to extend his wanderings into all kinds of country and climate, whereas the apes were tied down to forests and tropical temperatures. When or where the human family came into existence is quite unknown. Man's nearest simian kindred are represented probably by the gorillas and chimpanzees, now restricted to Africa. But their allies ranged in Miocene and Early Pliocene times also from Europe to India.

The earliest known member of the Hominidae is *Pithecanthropus*, whose ancestors wandered east to Java as the orangs and gibbons had probably done before them. But a review of all the facts suggests as the more probable interpretation that this ape-man was not the original parent of the Hominidae nor Java their home, but that it was aberrant alike in structure and habitat.

The earliest fossilized remains of an anthropoid ape, *Propliopithecus*, were found in Oligocene beds in the Egyptian Fayum [1]

But in virtue of those changes which converted the ape into man, his powers of adaptation to changes of country, climate, and food were enormously increased, so that he was able to spread abroad more quickly and roam into climates and into lands which were closed to the tropical forest-dwelling anthropoid apes. Thus man was able to make his way into every region of the earth. It is important not to forget that man has been a wanderer ever since he came into existence, and that a diffusion of culture has been effected by this means ever since he set out from his original tropical home.

I have already insisted upon the fact that the primary and fundamental distinction between man and the apes was due to the growth

[1] I have discussed the problems of man's evolution in my presidential address to the anthropological section of the British Association (see *Nature*, September 26, 1912)

of the brain. If one analyses the nature of the changes which the brain has undergone in its passage from the stage represented in the chimpanzee and gorilla to the most primitive human condition, the outstanding factor will be found to be primarily a great expansion of the region of the cerebral cortex that is interposed between the areas into which impulses from the visual, auditory, and tactile organs are poured.

This means presumably that a greatly enhanced power of recording the impressions of these senses and of profiting by experience—in other words, an enormous expansion of the powers of discrimination based upon acquired knowledge—is the fundamental distinction between primitive man and the apes. If we test this assumption by comparing with the behaviour of chimpanzees the actions of those small isolated groups of primitive men who for one reason or another have been shielded from the effects of contact with the more progressive peoples, it becomes clear that, so far as his instincts and emotions are concerned, there is little essential difference between man and the apes. But in virtue of his enormously heightened powers of discrimination and his ability to profit by experience, man has learned to control his instincts and the expressions of his emotions to a greater degree than the rest of the mammals.

So far as one can judge, there has been no far-reaching and progressive modification of the instincts and emotions since man came into existence, beyond the acquisition of the necessary innate power of using the more complex cerebral apparatus which he has to employ.

Perhaps the most significant result of man's enhanced powers of discrimination was the realization of his ability to communicate with his fellows by means of speech. While still in the simian stage of development man's ancestors were already equipped with all the specialized muscles needed for articulate speech and the cerebral apparatus for controlling their movements, and for acquiring the skill to learn new methods of action. All that was needed to put this complicated machinery to the new purpose was man's enhanced powers of discrimination to appreciate the usefulness of communicating more intimately with his fellows and to devise the necessary symbolism. That this is not wholly idle speculation is revealed by the fact that even in the primitive and aberrant *Pithecanthropus* there was already a noteworthy and highly significant overgrowth of the area of its cerebral cortex corresponding to the part of the modern human brain, interference with which leads to a disturbance or a loss of the power of interpreting the meaning of the arbitrary

auditory symbols of spoken language. The same feature is revealed in a more pronounced form in the Piltdown endocranial cast, as also in those obtained from skulls of the Neanderthal race. But its presence in the earliest and most primitive member of the human family implies that it was one of the factors which played a significant part in the early development of man. In fact, I think it not unlikely that the acquisition of such fuller means of communication with his fellows by vocal symbols may have been one of the essential factors in converting man's ultimate simian ancestor into a real man. The outstanding distinctive feature of mankind is, in fact, this enormously enhanced power of conveying information to and learning from his fellows, and especially of handing on the accumulated products of the experience of one generation to those who succeed them. But it is not only the results of actual experience that are thus transmitted, but also the outcome of the attempts to explain and interpret such experiences. Thus during the long history of mankind there has grown up a cloud of traditions and beliefs, to the influence of which every human being is exposed from the day of his birth and throughout his life. It is this almost wholly artificial intellectual and moral atmosphere which colours his outlook on life and provides him with the ready-made apparatus for interpreting his own real experiences. The range of true judgement is in fact extremely limited in the vast majority of human beings. Emotions and the unconscious influence of the environment in which an individual has grown up play an enormous part in all his decisions, even though he may give a rational explanation of the motives for many of his actions without realizing that they were inspired by causes utterly alien to those which he has given—and given without any intention of dishonesty—in explanation of them.[1]

I have discussed these elementary psychological principles for the purpose of emphasizing the fact that man's mental and moral attitude is, in a large measure, determined by those primitive instincts and emotions which he shares with his simian ancestors, but also by the influence, conscious and unconscious, of the atmosphere of traditions amidst which he has grown up. At no stage of his career has he acquired highly complex and specialized instincts which impelled him, without any prompting from other peoples, to build megalithic monuments or to invent the story of the deluge, independently of other people who do the same arbitrary things, as modern speculations would have us believe.

[1] A fuller discussion of this fundamental question will be found in Elliot Smith and Pear's *Shell Shock and its Lessons*, 1917, chap. iii.

It would ill become me as a biologist to attempt to minimize the vast rôle played by heredity in determining the physical structure and the mental and moral aptitudes of every individual, and the variations in the average levels of attainment to which these hereditary qualities are subject in different races. But it is necessary to emphasize the fact that, so far as innate mental and moral characteristics are concerned, it is merely a vaguely defined and more or less generalized aptitude that is inherited, and not any special kind of ability or congenital propensity towards good or evil behaviour.

The musical genius, however great his aptitude may be to appreciate the subtle symbolism of sound and to acquire the mechanical skill in giving appropriate expression to his knowledge and feelings, could not become a musician unless he was provided with the opportunities for learning the arbitrary conventions of music which obtain in the community where he happens to live.

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The discovery of the remains of the Piltdown man is perhaps the most remarkable episode in the whole history of anthropology. For it is a very singular coincidence that this wonderful skull should have come to light in the county of Sussex, within a few miles of the place where Huxley spent the last days of a life which was largely devoted to the task of convincing his fellows that some such creature must have existed in the distant past. It represents the most primitive member of the human family, excepting only the ape-like Javan fossil *Pithecanthropus*, which, as I have already mentioned, some leading palaeontologists still regard, not as one of the Hominidae, but as a giant ape. But, for the reasons which I have explained above, *Pithecanthropus* was truly a member of our family. It was provided with a brain of very small dimensions, which nevertheless was much too large to have been an ape's.

The 'Dawn Man' of Piltdown, however, was provided with a brain that, though small, comes definitely within the range of variation in size found in modern man. But there are clear indications that mere volume of brain is not the only criterion of mental superiority. Those parts of the organ which develop latest in ourselves were singularly defective in *Eoanthropus.* Associated with the essentially human brain-case was a jaw which at first sight seemed to be as definitely simian. In fact certain palaeontologists still persist in claiming that the jaw is a chimpanzee's and did not belong to the human skull with which it was found. But this claim ignores, not merely the improbability of such a chance association on the same spot of the remains

of a hitherto unknown man-like ape and equally unknown ape-like man, one of which left his skull without the jaw and the other the jaw without the skull, but also the large series of anatomical peculiarities of the jaw and teeth which, as Mr. Pycraft has clearly demonstrated,[1] prove the jaw to be, not a chimpanzee's, but that of a primitive human being—no doubt a part of the same individual whose skull was deposited alongside it. The outstanding interest of the Piltdown skull is the confirmation it affords of the view that in the evolution of man the brain led the way. It is the veriest truism that man has emerged from the simian state in virtue of the enrichment of the structure of his mind. It is singular that so much biological speculation has neglected to give adequate recognition to this cardinal fact. The brain attained what may be termed the human rank at a time when the jaws and face, and no doubt the body also, still retained much of the uncouthness of man's simian ancestors. In other words, man at first, so far as his general appearance and 'build' are concerned, was merely an ape with an overgrown brain. The importance of the Piltdown skull lies in the fact that it affords tangible confirmation of these inferences.

Not long after the Piltdown race made its way into England—or according to some writers even before it did so—another genus of the Hominidae, *Palaeanthropus*, invaded Germany. All that is known of it is the massive brutal jaw found in the Mauer Sands near Heidelberg. In spite of its antiquity and its large proportions, the form of this mandible, and especially the teeth lodged in it, approximate much more closely to the recognized human standard than do those of *Eoanthropus*.

For a vast span of time after these two divergent human genera left their bodily remains respectively near Piltdown and Heidelberg nothing whatever is known of the history of mankind, except the evidence supplied by innumerable flint implements. When the curtain is rung up again we find Europe in the occupation of the genus *Homo*, though not of our species. For Neanderthal man was now in possession. What was the fate of the genera *Eoanthropus* and *Palaeanthropus* is quite unknown. It is claimed by some writers that Neanderthal man is merely the modified descendant of Heidelberg man (*Palaeanthropus*), but the reasons given for this belief are unsubstantial and unconvincing.

It is highly probable that the Neanderthal race entered Europe from Africa by way of the Iberian peninsula.

Somewhere in Africa or Asia it was evolved from the common

[1] 'The Jaw of the Piltdown Man', *Science Progress*, January, 1917, p. 389

stock which also gave birth to the men of Piltdown and Heidelberg at a much earlier period.

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The large series of skeletal remains that have now been recovered, and in particular the skeleton[1] found in 1908 in a grotto near La Chapelle-aux-Saints by the Abbés A. and J. Bouyssonnie, affords a clear-cut picture of the uncouth and repellent Neanderthal man His short, thick-set, and coarsely built body was carried in a half-stooping slouch upon short, powerful, and half-flexed legs of peculiarly ungraceful form. His thick neck sloped forward from the broad shoulders to support the massive flattened head, which protruded forward, so as to form an unbroken curve of neck and back, in place of the alternation of curves which is one of the graces of the truly erect *Homo sapiens.* The heavy overhanging eyebrow-ridges, and retreating forehead, the great coarse face with its large eye-sockets, broad nose, and receding chin, combined to complete the picture of unattractiveness, which it is more probable than not was still further emphasized by a shaggy covering of hair over most of the body. The arms were relatively short, and the exceptionally large hands lacked the delicacy and the nicely balanced co-operation of thumb and fingers which is regarded as one of the most distinctive of human characteristics.

The contemplation of all these features emphasizes the reality of the fact that the Neanderthal man belongs to some other species than *Homo sapiens.*

Many recent writers have been puzzled to account for the great size of his brain, seeing that the average capacity of the Neanderthal cranium exceeds that of modern Europeans. But, as I shall have occasion to point out later on, the development of the brain of Neanderthal man was partial and unequal. That part of the organ which plays the outstanding part in determining mental superiority was not only relatively, but actually much smaller than it is in *Homo sapiens.* The large size of the Neanderthal brain was due to a great development of that region which was probably concerned primarily with the mere recording of the fruits of experience, rather than with the acquisition of great skill in the use of the hand and the attainment of the sort of knowledge that comes from manual experiment.

The discovery of this species thus revealed the former existence of a type of mankind which, in spite of its great size of brain, is clearly

[1] A masterly account of these remains and their significance has been given by Professor Marcellin Boule in the *Annales de Paléontologie,* 1911, 1912, and 1913

on a lower plane than its successors whom it is customary to include within the genus *sapiens*.

But although the actual bony remains of these people were unknown before 1848, their handiwork—the rough implements of stone made by these men and their predecessors—had been the subject of much discussion before then. As long ago as the year 1690 a flint implement was found along with a mammoth's tooth in the course of excavations in Gray's Inn Lane in London. Many other implements associated with the bones of extinct mammals and men were found between then and 1847, when M. Boucher de Perthes published an account of the rude flint implements found by him in the ancient river gravels of the Somme, which claimed that these weapons had been fashioned by men who were contemporaries of the mammoth in France and Britain.

But it was only after ten years of vigorous controversy, and in the face of the most strenuous opposition, that M. Boucher de Perthes gained recognition for the claim for which earlier pioneers, from the closing years of the eighteenth century onwards, had been unable to gain acceptance. In course of time the flint implements were classified: and in 1869 they were arranged by Gabriel de Mortillet into a chronological sequence, the different groups of which were named from the places where the representatives of each were first found and defined—from Chelles, near Paris, Saint-Acheul, at Amiens, and Le Moustier, near the Vézère, just as those of the Upper Palaeolithic, as has already been pointed out, received their distinctive titles from the grotto of Aurignac, from Solutré, the rock-shelter of La Madeleine, and finally the cavern of Mas-d'Azil in Ariège. However, the so-called Azilian period, named after the latter place, is, I think, merely the first stage of the Neolithic culture-epoch.

After Édouard Lartet had laid the foundations of the classification of the stone implements of the Quaternary period, Sir John Lubbock (afterward Lord Avebury) in 1865[1] suggested the use of the term 'Palaeolithic Age' to distinguish the period when rough stone implements (*de la pierre taillée* of French writers) were made in Western Europe, and the term 'Neolithic Age' for the period when polished implements (*de la pierre polie*) were fashioned.

These terms were suggested at a time when little was known of the early history of man except such evidence as his stone implements provided, and for half a century they have been of considerable service. Since then a great deal of information has been acquired of the remains of the actual makers of such implements and of their achievements other than mere flint-knapping. As the result of this

[1] *Prehistoric Times*, p 60.

fuller knowledge it is coming to be recognized that the use of the terms 'Palaeolithic Age' and 'Neolithic Age' is fruitful of misunderstanding. If these expressions were used merely with reference to the stone implements themselves and to Western Europe the objection to their use would still be misleading, though perhaps not so serious as it has become. But even if the confusing chronological implication and the obvious disadvantage of defining stages of culture by one class of local evidence alone be put upon one side, there is the still more fundamental objection that the great cultural break in Western Europe itself (and even in its flint work) did not fall between the so-called Palaeolithic and Neolithic Ages, but between the Lower and the Upper Palaeolithic periods.

There is a much closer kinship between the flint-work of the so-called Upper Palaeolithic and the Neolithic Ages than there is between the former and that of the Lower Palaeolithic period.

Not only so, but a whole series of other industries of the Upper Palaeolithic period, new methods of stone work, modelling, painting, and other kinds of artistic work, reveal the modern spirit of man in a manner which is unknown in the Lower Palaeolithic. But what is more important still, men of the modern type, undoubted members of our own species, *Homo sapiens*, came upon the scene in the Aurignacian period (the commencement of the Upper Palaeolithic), and replaced *Homo neanderthalensis* of the Mousterian period.

Thus the new spirit of man and modern man himself are revealed in the Upper Palaeolithic period. This *Neoanthropic phase*, as I have called it [1], thus begins in the Aurignacian period and includes all the subsequent epochs of man's history.

The term 'Palaeolithic' has become so ambiguous and misleading that it would make for clearness and accuracy if it were wholly discarded. The various subdivisions of mankind who lived in the so-called 'Lower Palaeolithic Age' have their own distinctive names, *Eoanthropus*, *Palaeanthropus*, and *Homo neanderthalensis*, as also have the different categories of implements, Chellean, Acheulean, and Mousterian.[2] The latter might be referred to collectively by the term 'Protolithic', suggested by Mr. A. G. Thatcher [3], or the whole group of men and their phase of culture as 'Palaeanthropic'.

Much of the ambiguity that results from the application of the

[1] 'Men of the Old Stone Age', *American Museum Journal*, vol. xvi, May, 1916, p. 325.

[2] It must not be supposed, however, that, except in the case of Neanderthal man, who made Mousterian implements, there is any close relationship between the other two human varieties and the two industries

[3] *Science Progress*, January, 1917, p. 477.

term 'Palaeolithic' to the Aurignacian, Solutrean, and Magdalenian phases of culture is avoided by French writers, who often speak of these three periods in French history as the *Âge* or *Époque du Renne*. The confusion that is introduced into the consideration of these problems, especially by English writers, is nowhere revealed so emphatically as in the discussion of the question whether or not 'Palaeolithic man' is still in existence. Such references are intended, as a rule, to mean only men of the Reindeer epoch, but many people, not excluding even scientific writers, often become confused and interpret the term 'Palaeolithic' as a reference to Neanderthal man, whose extinction is not in question.

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There are many indications that the phases of culture of the Reindeer period in Europe which are distinguished respectively by the terms Aurignacian, Solutrean, and Magdalenian, cannot be regarded, as so many writers make the mistake of tacitly assuming, as epochs in the history of mankind as a whole Even in Europe itself the limitations to the application of these terms are clearly shown. Into Italy, Southern Spain, and the greater part of the Mediterranean area it is now generally admitted that the Solutrean and Magdalenian industries did not make their way. Hence these regions remained in the Aurignacian phase, while Western and Central Europe were passing successively through the Solutrean and Magdalenian stages of culture. Thus the Mediterranean lands as a whole passed directly from the Aurignacian stage to the Neolithic, or to its inaugural phase, which is now known as Azilian.

These facts serve to emphasize how confusing is this use of the word 'Age'. They also reveal how devoid of foundation is the misnamed 'evolutionary' theory that claims all these phases of culture as so many natural stages through which every people has passed in virtue of the operation of the blind forces of an arbitrary and inevitable process of evolution. The fact that the greater part of the Mediterranean area seems to have escaped typical Solutrean and Magdalenian stages becomes all the more significant when it is recalled that the industries which attained such a remarkable pitch of excellence in Predynastic Egypt were essentially Solutrean[1] in character.

The Solutrean industry is generally believed to have made its way into Europe from the neighbourhood of the Black Sea. After a short time, it was driven out of Europe again by the Magdalenian culture,

[1] See L. Capitan, 'Origine et mode de fabrication des principaux types d'armes et outils en pierre', *Revue Anthropologique*, January, 1917, also Sollas, *op. cit.*, and Déchelette, *op. cit.*

which shows no affinity to the Solutrean, but is apparently related to the Aurignacian culture. We know nothing of the physical characteristics of the people who introduced the Solutrean industry into Europe. But although their methods of stonework endured only for a very brief time in the west, they spread in other directions to the uttermost parts of the earth, to South Africa, Australia, and America (Capitan, *op. cit.*, Sollas, p. 437), where they have persisted with remarkable constancy and attained to a pitch of excellence which is exceeded only by that of Predynastic Egypt.

Wherever the home of this industry may have been it is quite clear that it must have been the source of the inspiration of Egypt's early industry.

Remembering the fact that the climate of Europe, which in the 'Reindeer Age' had been very cold, became more genial toward the end of the Magdalenian, and in fact settled down to the sort of conditions that have prevailed ever since, it is important to bear in mind that there was also a great change of climate in Egypt[1] not long before the settlement of the Predynastic people in the valley of the Nile. No doubt the people who dwelt in the forests which then existed east of the Nile were making implements of Solutrean type. Egypt and East and South Africa must have acquired this industry from the same source. It is equally certain that in the Neolithic implements of Europe is revealed still further evidence of the influence exerted by the Solutrean industry, not locally in Europe, but in some other region where the new development was in more or less intimate relationship with the phase represented in Predynastic Egypt.

The terms 'Neolithic Age' and 'Neolithic phase of culture' cannot be used without ambiguity except with reference to Western Europe. But if the adjective Neolithic be interpreted as defining a particular method of chipping and polishing stone, it can legitimately be used in the wider sense in which so many writers erroneously employ the phrases to which I have just objected.

It must be remembered that the term 'Neolithic Age' is usually interpreted as meaning a definite period in history when men first began (*a*) to shape their stone weapons by polishing them, without however giving up the practice of chipping; (*b*) to domesticate animals; (*c*) to cultivate cereals and fruit trees; (*d*) to erect megalithic monuments; (*e*) to make pottery; (*f*) to weave linen; and (*g*) to give definite evidence of religious beliefs and a funerary cult.[2]

[1] This information was given me some years ago by Dr. Hume, Director of the Egyptian Geological Survey.

[2] Déchelette, *Archéologie préhistorique*, p 311

Many writers divide the so-called 'Neolithic Age' into a series of stages of which the 'Megalithic' is the last, and the earliest that of the 'Kitchen-middens', when most, if not all, of the distinctively Neolithic features were absent. Now it is generally recognized that, except in Western and Northern Europe, megalithic monuments are found in association with the 'Ages of Metal', Copper, Bronze, or Iron, in different areas. Hence their inclusion within the Neolithic culture-complex is not only confined to Western Europe, but also implies that the latter part of the so-called Neolithic 'Age' there is at least as late as the Bronze Age in the East. Nor is the domestication of animals and the practice of agriculture necessarily connected with the manufacture of flint implements of Neolithic type. In fact, polished flints are found in use among many peoples who have no domesticated animals, except the dog, and do not cultivate cereals. In other words, the Neolithic culture in Europe is compounded of a number of elements which are found in other parts of the world dissociated the one from the other, and each of them linked on to other culture-complexes which belong to totally different 'Ages' in Europe.

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During the last half-century there has been a vast amount of discussion as to whether or not there was a hiatus between the so-called 'Palaeolithic' and 'Neolithic' Ages. But if the whole of the evidence that is now available is viewed in proper perspective it is clear that this question has loomed so large mainly because Lubbock's terminology was responsible for magnifying into a vast revolution what is really a relatively insignificant incident in the history of man in comparison with the real revolution in Europe when the more nimble-witted *Homo sapiens* replaced the inferior type of *Homo neanderthalensis*, whose mere brute-strength was not sufficient to protect him from extinction. In the later stages of the so-called 'Palaeolithic Age' there were many movements of varied peoples in Europe presenting in greater or less degree affinities to the populations of the so-called 'Neolithic Age', both in physical structure and in their industries. Whereas they were succeeded by another series of peoples, some or all of which are included by various authorities in the 'Neolithic Age', although they had not yet acquired many, or indeed most, of the arts that are regarded as distinctive of Neolithic culture. Thus the much-discussed 'hiatus' disappears. If the Neolithic and later phases of the whole of the so-called 'Upper Palaeolithic Epoch' are linked together so as to include the whole of the history of *Homo sapiens* in a Neoanthropic Age, it will then be

possible to examine the great events of the history of our own type of mankind without prejudice and bias.

From the time of the advent in Europe of men of the Crô-Magnon type, bringing with them (probably via the North African littoral from the East) the germs of the culture now called Aurignacian, there has been a series of waves of immigrants reaching Western Europe by the most varied routes, and introducing from time to time new elements of culture. The study of the history of this early civilization of Europe reveals incidents which, though the merest commonplaces of more recent history, have been a never ending source of difficulty to many who have discussed the Reindeer Age in Europe. I refer to the decadence and replacement of arts and industries. It has been clearly demonstrated in the case of ancient Egypt that, with the development of the art of making stone vases, there was a pronounced falling-off in the potter's skill, and with the introduction of the use of metals an equally marked decadence in the working of flint. No doubt this was due partly to the fact that the most skilled artists and artisans devoted themselves to the new crafts and that their patrons wanted the more fashionable and the more durable objects. But the same principle is witnessed at every stage in the early history of Europe. In the Magdalenian phase, during which a multitude of new arts came into being, and the skill of the fresco-painter and modeller attained to a pitch of excellence far surpassing that of his predecessors, there was a most pronounced decadence in the workmanship of the flint-knapper, who in the Solutrean phase had become so deft an artist. So again in the Neolithic phase, when the crafts of the potter, the agriculturist, the weaver, and the cattle-breeder were first introduced, there seemed no longer to be any demand for high art, nor indeed any evidence that there was any of the feeling that prompted the masterpieces of the Magdalenian painters. But these fluctuations of skill and interest must not be attributed wholly to the reasons suggested by the Egyptian analogies. In Western Europe, not only did the centre of interest change from time to time, but also the people themselves. In Magdalenian times new immigrants came in with their own interests to cultivate. They had no reasons for acquiring these arts in which their Solutrean predecessors were pre-eminent. So again in the Neolithic Age a succession of new waves of population intruded from time to time, each bringing some new contribution to the growing civilization, some newest fashion upon which the attention of the community would for a season be concentrated. Thus the early history of Europe becomes intelligible if we bear in mind what is happening to-day.

This is one more illustration of the fact that the spirit of man is the same in every age, and that much of the difficulty in interpreting the 'Stone Age' disappears if it be remembered that changes were brought about then in much the same way as is happening now.

So far as I am aware, no one entertains the view that man was evolved in Europe. Moreover, in the opinion of most serious investigators, the evidence in support of the view that all the known early races of men, those of Piltdown, Heidelberg, Neanderthal, and Crô-Magnon, and the various peoples who intruded into Europe until the Neolithic phase of industry came into existence, were each of them immigrants who had acquired their distinctive features and the germs of their culture elsewhere. In other words, there is nothing to suggest that the evolution of one type from another occurred in Europe.[1] But although most scholars do not hesitate to accept this conclusion when the question is put to them categorically, nevertheless few writers wholly rid themselves of the bias or the tacit assumption that the successive series of races and industries revealed in Europe represent an orderly procession of evolutionary changes. It is of the utmost importance deliberately to set aside this assumption, which in the past has been so fruitful of ambiguity and confusion

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The profound contrast between the physical characters and technical achievements of the Neanderthal and Crô-Magnon peoples, and the sudden appearance of the latter in Europe, justify the conclusion that the newcomers were not evolved there from their predecessors. The two species represent divergent offshoots from the common stock of the genus *Homo*, which acquired their distinctive features and their initial cultural equipment somewhere beyond the limits of Europe.

It must not be supposed that, when the Crô-Magnon race came into existence and wandered west into Europe, it was the only representative of the species *sapiens* then alive. It is not only probable, but quite certain, that before then many other varieties must also have been budded off the common stem of this species and scattered in other directions. For there is a large series of other types, some of them definitely more primitive than the men of Crô-Magnon, which never came into Europe. Others again did not reach Europe until the commencement of the Neolithic phase of culture had developed. The ancestors of the aboriginal Australians, while conforming in certain essential respects to the type of modern man and being

[1] M. Déchelette is one of the few serious upholders of the local evolution theory; or, perhaps it would be more correct to say, of the refusal to admit a series of waves of immigrants. *Archéologie préhistorique*, p. 312

unquestionably members of the species *sapiens*, also present a number of primitive structural features that suggest affinities with the species *neanderthalensis*. I venture to suggest that these facts can be explained only by the assumption of the early origin of the Australian. At a time when the species *neanderthalensis* and *sapiens* had recently become specialized along their distinctive lines, no doubt both retained a good many features in common that were also shared by the parent stock from which both had sprung. In course of time many members of both phyla became profoundly modified. The great expansion and specialization of the brain of Neanderthal man, and the far-reaching transformations in the structure of most members of the species *sapiens*, afford ample evidence of this. But the retention of so many primitive features in association with Neanderthal characters as the aboriginal Australian presents can only mean that in that race is revealed the persistence of the earliest features of the species *sapiens*, with certain relatively unimportant specializations which have since been acquired.

The hypothesis which is involved in the application of the unfortunate term 'Caucasian' to the Australians shows a lamentable lack of perspective on the part of those anthropologists who use this expression.

When the easterly migration of these most primitive representatives of our own species began is quite unknown. The recent discovery at Talgai, in Queensland, of the fossilized remains of a human skull reveals the fact that the earliest known Australian, who probably reached the island continent when the great extinct marsupials were still living, presents the distinctive traits of the modern Australian, in association with even more primitive features in the teeth and jaws than his modern successors. But the fact that he was probably accompanied by his dogs suggests that his easterly migration set out from Asia approximately at the same time as the westerly movement of the much more favoured branch of the species *sapiens* which introduced the Neolithic culture into Europe. Of course the movement may have begun long before this and for some reason the arrival of the domesticated dog in Europe may have been delayed. If the practice of mutilating the hands and recording impressions of them upon rocks was introduced into Australia by the earliest immigrants—which of course there is no warrant for assuming—it is important to remember that this curious procedure was brought to Europe by its earliest colonists of the species *sapiens*, the men of the Aurignacian phase of culture.

The fossil skull recently discovered at Boskop in the Transvaal

is an example of another diversely specialized, but probably much later, branch of the species *sapiens*, which wandered as far as South Africa. It is much more nearly akin to the Crô-Magnon group than the Australians are, but it also presents certain features (not those, however, to which I have referred in the case of the Australians) that are distantly reminiscent of the Neanderthal race.

When and how the diversely specialized Negro and Mongolian races came into existence is quite unknown.

Two of the races of which the modern population of Europe is compounded—the Brown Race of the Mediterranean Area and the western Littoral, and the Blond Race of the Baltic—reveal evidence of affinities with the earlier Crô-Magnon series of waves of immigrants, more especially those of the Magdalenian phase, although there are no grounds for assuming that they were derived from the latter. They probably originated further east and began to filter into Europe at the time when the Magdalenian art was at its height

But the third of the principal components of Europe's population—the broad-headed so-called Alpine race—certainly arrived later, and came from a more distant area of characterization, the centre of which was probably somewhere in the area between the Caspian Sea and the Altai. This race is much less closely akin to the Crô-Magnon people than the Brown and the Blond races are. In some respects, such for example as the form of the skull, it is highly specialized. In other respects, such as the robustness of build, the prominence of the eye-brow-ridges, and the abundant development of hair, it is more primitive. It certainly acquired its distinctive characters in some domain which for a long period was shut off from contact with the territories of the other white-skinned races (in Western Asia, Europe, and North Africa), to which no doubt it is distantly akin, and those of the yellow race further east, from which it is more widely differentiated. The unlocking of these areas of characterization by the great thaw during the Magdalenian Age in Europe probably opened the way for the great movements of the human family which closely followed this momentous event.

Little is known of the early history of man in America. Fossilized human remains[1] have been found, but as they were associated with pottery, which even in Europe is unknown before the Neolithic phase of culture, no great age can be assigned to them. So far as his physical structure is concerned the American Indian reveals evidence

[1] See, for example, the series of articles in the *Journal of Geology*, vol xxv, January-February, 1917, under the heading 'Symposium on the Age and Relations of the Fossil Human Remains found at Vero, Florida'

of distant kinship with the Mongolian race. But there are many points of difference. In both respects there is a remarkable similarity to, and probably a racial identity with, certain races which still survive near the head waters of the Yenesei and elsewhere in North-eastern Asia[1]. Presumably these represent outlying and less highly specialized members of the Mongolian family, who have survived as persistent witnesses of the source of the main element in the composite stock of the original American population.

Beyond the limits of Europe practically nothing is known of the early history of the human family, except a few hints as to its ancestry, and such information as the finding of flint implements provides. But the lack of direct evidence ought not tacitly to be assumed to mean that the great events which must have been happening in Asia, Africa, and, later, in America, can be left wholly out of account. The mere fact that such diversely specialized races exist and have each of them wandered in certain definite directions must be given due weight in discussing primitive human history. That all of these races belong to the species *sapiens* is presumptive evidence that the dispersal of the members of this species, which, as has been seen, was unknown in Europe before the Aurignacian phase of culture, was relatively recent in the geological sense. The validity of such chronological inferences is strengthened when it is realized that the methods of flint-working of practically every race conform essentially to the same types as those which are revealed in Europe. And such arguments acquire still further cogency when it is realized that in South Africa, Australia, and America, methods of flint-working which appeared in Europe in succession, and with very long intervals of time between the different phases, may be found in association the one with the other. In other words, some movement of population must have begun after the introduction of the most recent of the series of industries thus represented, and as it advanced other more ancient methods that had lagged behind in more backward areas were added to the equipment of the wanderers so that a collection of methods distinctive of widely different periods in the respective homes of their invention may simultaneously be introduced into some new region.

It must not be assumed that the Aurignacian culture was necessarily invented by the same people who introduced it into Europe and whose remains are associated with it there; nor, if on the other hand proof should some day be forthcoming that people of the Crô-Magnon race were responsible for this great progress in civilization, should we

[1] A. Hrdlička, *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution* for 1913.

expect to find this physical type invariably associated with it elsewhere. For any culture can be transmitted to an alien people, even when it has not been adopted by many branches of the race which was responsible for its invention, just as gas-illumination, oil lamps and even candles are still in current use by the people who invented the electric light, which has been widely adopted by many foreign peoples. This elementary consideration is so often ignored that it is necessary thus to emphasize it, because it is essential for any proper understanding of the history of civilization.

If, for the moment, we assume that the distinctive elements of the Aurignacian industry were invented by people of the Crô-Magnon type—who of course are the only people known to be exclusively associated with that particular phase of culture—such an assumption implies that the Crô-Magnon people originally—i.e. before their most significant inventions were made—were using implements of another type, not necessarily Mousterian, though possibly akin to it. When the new inventions were made no doubt the history of their adoption was essentially identical with that of every similar occurrence since the world began.

In the early history of the gropings after new knowledge and skill in arts and crafts human nature was probably not very different from what it is to-day. When, after countless thousands of years' experience of the use of stones as implements, some man of clearer insight learned to appreciate the fact that an edge could be given to the stone by deliberately chipping it in a particular way, no doubt he was regarded as a foolish visionary, whose pretensions were resented by his staider and duller companions. Perhaps he was even reproved with the palaeolithic argument that his predecessors found unchipped stones good enough for them, and it was therefore supremely foolish to attempt to supersede methods which experience had shown to be so thoroughly efficient. However, in course of time, the momentous invention was adopted: but although there are scores of ways of chipping a stone implement[1] the one original method was meticulously followed for many centuries to the exclusion of all others. Not only so, but it became stereotyped and adopted far and wide

[1] It has been claimed that the different methods of chipping flint implements form a natural series, passing from the crude to the more highly finished technique, representing the stages through which the process of evolution would have passed independently among any people. But consideration of the actual facts lends no support to this view. Moreover, it is at least as simple, if not definitely easier, to shape an implement by rubbing and polishing. Yet this was not attempted until many thousands of years after flint-knapping had been practised

as one people after another learned the technique of this particular method. After this process had been going on for many centuries some new genius arose, and although no Samuel Smiles has put on record the history of the difficulties he had to overcome before he could persuade his generation to adopt a slightly different method of chipping flint, there can be no reasonable doubt that his experience was similar to Galileo's, Watt's, and Lister's. He had to fight against the forces of cultivated prejudice and inherent stupidity. In time, however, the new technique became the fashion; and in the course of centuries it slowly percolated to the ends of the earth. So, age after age, new methods of flint-working were successively devised, and, persisting among living men in various localities, or buried in the soil in many parts of the world, they have left indelible records of these earliest migrations of culture.

The influence of the fashionable doctrines of ethnology has made itself felt among archaeologists, certain of whom refuse to accept the clear significance of the evidence provided by flint implements.

It is admitted that flint implements made in accordance with a distinctive method, say Chellean, may be found in places as far apart as France, South Africa, India, and America. The details of the arbitrary technique may be so closely identical that all of these implements, collected from the ends of the earth, might have been made by the same workman. Yet many writers are still willing to believe that this result has been achieved by the blind operation of some process of evolution; and that these identities of technique afford evidence, not of the diffusion abroad of an arbitrary procedure from the centre of its invention, but of the perfection and precision of the mysterious 'psychic unity' that leads men independently the one of the other to arrive at the same destination.

In the recently-published report of a course of lectures entitled 'Origine et mode de fabrication des principaux types d'armes et outils en pierre'[1], Professor L. Capitan discusses these problems with all the authority of his wide knowledge and experience. It is a remarkable circumstance, he says, that in whatever part of the world Chellean and Acheulean implements are found, they invariably present the same form, whether they came from the banks of the Thames or from the Cape of Good Hope, or such intervening regions as Tunis or Egypt, Timbuctoo or Somaliland, or from the banks of the Delaware or from India. Their general shape is so definite and presents such an individuality that one is tempted to regard them, not as sporadic creations of the human intellect working

[1] *Revue anthropologique*, January, 1917.

simultaneously and independently in different parts of the world, but rather as a tradition handed on from one place to another.

But what other interpretation of the facts is credible? The implements in question were in Europe the handiwork of the predecessors of *Homo sapiens*. America, India, and South Africa are populated with varieties of *Homo sapiens* They must, therefore, have left the original home of the species when such implements were in use, or at some subsequent period. Is it credible that, after carrying with them in their migrations weapons of these or later types, they should, on arriving at their destination, have thrown them away, and then immediately have set to work again and invented the same arbitrary forms as they had just discarded and devised an identical technique? Surely no serious inquirer can deny the reality of the ancient migrations of culture of which these implements provide such clear and unimpeachable evidence!

Yet Dr Capitan does show signs of weakening. For, after referring to the extension of the use of such implements in time (from the beginning of the Chellean to the middle Aurignacian) as well as in geographical range, he expresses the opinion that 'it is very probable that this evolution, which is apparent in Europe, and especially in France, must have followed a similar course throughout the world' But if each type of implement was spread abroad from the centre where it was invented, can one speak of the occurrence of a series of these types in some outlying area as evidence of local evolution? In many places several forms of implements which made their appearance in Europe successively at long intervals seem to have been introduced elsewhere simultaneously and many centuries after their use in Europe had been completely abandoned.

Leaving the Palaeanthropic peoples and passing to the Neoanthropic group, Capitan says that in the technology of the implements, the transformations introduced by the Aurignacian people were radical.

There was in fact the great break between the men and the industries of the now extinct species and the advent of our own species and its distinctive innovations. The latter are displayed especially in two features, first, the invention of the technique that made it possible to obtain long, narrow and fine blades, and secondly, the utilization of bone, horn, and ivory, which had been almost completely ignored by the Mousterian people and wholly[1] by their predecessors. 'A côté des lames-couteaux des Aurignaciens, on trouve

[1] Capitan's statement is not literally correct, because Dr Smith Woodward and the late Mr. Charles Dawson have described an implement made of an elephant's femur by a Piltdown man.

dans leurs foyers une série d'outils nouveaux, les grattoirs, perçoirs, burins, totalement ignorés des Moustériens'.

In his memoir Dr. Capitan tells us further that, just as the Acheulean technique was spread abroad throughout the world, so also was that of the Solutrean period, which is all the more remarkable in that this phase of culture lasted only a very brief time in Europe. Yet elsewhere in outlying places in the world it not only was adopted, but in some cases has persisted even to the present time, as, for example, the aboriginal people of Central Australia, who still make exquisite implements of Solutrean type from broken soda-water bottles and telegraph insulators.

'The sacrificial knife with which the Aztecs used to cut into the bodies of their human victims for the purpose of tearing out the heart was a Solutrean blade'

'In the middle of the fourth [Capitan erroneously says the fifth or sixth] millennium B.C. the Egyptians manufactured admirable implements of this kind (the most beautiful on record), and so also in Japan, the United States, Australia and Africa, this industrial type was extremely widespread and is still used for ritual purposes.'

The problems arising out of these discussions have been further confused by the assumptions made by some writers that the finding of implements of some definitive Palaeolithic type implies the existence of a Palaeolithic 'Age' throughout the world. The fact that such implements are still being made to-day in certain localities ought to be sufficient to put this matter in its right perspective. But there is the further fact that in some places implements representing a series of cultural phases in Europe, which were separated the one from the other by vast intervals of time, may be found under circumstances which suggest that they were all manufactured at the same time. Illustrations of this are provided in South Africa[1], Australia, and America.

No fact is more notorious than the reluctance on the part of any people to give up methods or ideas to which long usage had familiarized them. I have already suggested that there cannot be any doubt that the Chellean inventor was probably regarded by his fellow men as a crazy visionary and that he had to struggle against their ridicule and practical opposition before he was able to convince them that his method of chipping flint was a real advance upon their Eolithic crudities. And even when it was adopted it is highly probable, to judge from the history of other inventions which is known to us, that it spread abroad only with extreme slowness. In fact, although it

[1] See, for example, L. Péringuey, 'The Stone Ages of South Africa, &c.', *Annals of the South African Museum*, vol. viii, 1911.

was many centuries before some conspicuous genius discovered that there were other ways of chipping flint and invented the technique which we call Acheulean, it is not unlikely that the Chellean method had not yet reached the outlying parts of the world, when perhaps the Acheulean or even the Mousterian or Aurignacian methods had been adopted in turn near the progressive centre of invention. Thus if some great movement took place, such as that which led to the first peopling of South Africa or America, it is quite possible that wanderers from the centre, say at the time of the Neolithic phase, in passing outwards to the periphery, may have passed through a series of zones in which successively they might have found the Magdalenian, Solutrean, Aurignacian, Mousterian, Acheulean, and Chellean methods as severally the latest fashions in stone-working; and, though themselves the pioneers of the Neolithic phase, they may have attracted to their wandering band representatives of these other zones who were accustomed to make use of more ancient procedures. Thus it was possible for people contemporaneous with the Neolithic phase in Europe to have introduced, say into America, an alien culture which was a jumble of a variety of phases definitely associated with different times and places in the Old World.

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Within the limits of an address upon so vast a subject as the history of primitive man it has been possible merely to glance at certain facets of the mass of problems presented for discussion. Fortunately many books[1] are now available to give full information to the reader who is not familiar with the rich harvest of knowledge that has been garnered in this field of investigation during the last decade. But the aspect of the problems to which I have devoted chief attention has been almost entirely neglected by most writers. In fact, Professor Sollas is the only one, so far as I am aware, who has attempted to discuss the wider question of the relationship of the information derived from the early remains of man in Europe to the worldwide history of the human race. His book *Ancient Hunters* gives an excellent survey of the results of recent investigations, and it will be convenient to refer the reader to it for fuller information on most of the topics raised for discussion in this lecture.

Unlike most writers Professor Sollas has not been content merely to study the succession of races and industries that made their appearance in Europe, but he has endeavoured to discover whence they

[1] Such, for example, as J. Déchelette's *Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique Celtique et Gallo-Romaine*, tome 1, *Archéologie préhistorique'*, Paris, 1908, and Henry Fairfield Osborn's *Men of the Old Stone Age*, among many others

came and whither they went. In the course of such inquiries he has made use of the evidence afforded by peculiar and distinctive elements of culture in substantiation of the reality of these early movements of peoples and the diffusion of customs and beliefs.

The peculiar custom of mutilating the fingers and silhouetting upon the walls of caves the evidence of the damage so inflicted has preserved the record of one of the earliest examples of such a blazing of the pathways of diffusion of early culture. Concerning this custom Professor Sollas says

'We have another instance of a singular practice which is common to a great number of peoples who are isolated, and have long been isolated, from one another by great distances and other geographical conditions.

'There is room, no doubt, for more than one explanation, but the simplest and most satisfactory would seem to be that which is based on the great antiquity of the custom, for . . . it was already in existence when the forefathers of these now widely separated races were probably in direct or indirect communication with one another. If, as may well be the case, they once occupied the old world, that cradle of the human race, and have since been dispersed to their existing homes, carrying their ancient customs with them, our problem would be solved.'[1]

In considering the fact that peoples so remote in space as the North-American Indians, the Bushmen of South Africa, and the Aboriginal Australians

'all possess the same curious custom of mutilating the fingers, it is scarcely likely that so strange a proceeding was evolved in response to the environment. The motives alleged are various, but probably the idea of sacrifice is the most fundamental. It would be not a little remarkable, however, if this idea found independent expression in the same extraordinary fashion in three several instances. I cannot help thinking that it is far more likely we have here a case of borrowing from a common source' (p. 487)[2].

In view of the fact that this particular custom was already being practised in Europe at the time when men of the modern type first became known, there is a strong element of probability in Professor Sollas's view that when the different varieties of *Homo sapiens* radiated out from the common home they may have carried this primitive custom with them. But I must enter the most emphatic protest

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 351, 352.

[2] For an exposition of the other point of view see Déchelette, *op. cit. supra*, pp 263 *et seq* and especially p. 313.—'Quel préhistorien serait assez hardi pour expliquer par une théorie monogéniste les mains rouges des cavernes australiennes et les mains rouges des grottes pyrénéennes?'

against one link in his chain of argument, the weakness of which is more fully revealed when Professor Sollas applies it to cases in which it cannot support the strain put upon it. For example, in his discussion of the practice of totemism, he says: 'When a custom is thus widely, but discontinuously, distributed we may conclude that it must be very ancient' (p. 233).

But the customs of using steam engines and wax matches, and in fact practically all the elements of modern civilization, are 'widely, but discontinuously, distributed', yet many of them are modern. Nor is it improbable that totemism is a relatively modern invention, which was spread abroad many centuries after the primary dispersal of *Homo sapiens*.

Professor Sollas ignores the means by which rapid diffusion of practices has been taking place throughout the history of mankind. Hence he is not justified in assuming that 'If it [totemism] originated once for all at a single centre ... it must on any hypothesis have taken a long time to reach places so remote from one another as North America, Africa and Australia' (p. 233). On the contrary I think it will soon become possible to establish the proof of the fact that totemism was practised in the neighbourhood of North-eastern Africa for many centuries before it spread far afield, and then suddenly it was diffused along definite routes to the ends of the earth.

But I am in complete agreement with Professor Sollas in his exposure of the fallacy underlying the modern ethnological dogma of the independent evolution of such arbitrary customs.

'If it is difficult to conceive how such ideas as are involved in totemism originated at all, it is still more difficult to understand how they should have arisen repeatedly and have developed in much the same way among races evolving independently in different environments. It is at least simpler to suppose that all totemic beliefs have a common source ... and may have since been carried by migrating races' (it would have been more exact if Professor Sollas had said by small groups of wanderers by land and sea) 'to remote parts of the world' (pp. 234 and 235).

The issue raised in these quotations has of late years intruded itself into almost every branch of humanistic study, ethnology and archaeology, sociology and politics, psychology and educational theory. The divergence of opinion between the so-called 'historical' and the misnamed 'evolutionary' school is fundamental. It extends as a deep chasm between the two possibilities in interpretation. The 'historical' attitude is based upon the solid foundation of the known facts of history and human behaviour. When identities are found between complex and arbitrary customs and beliefs in different parts

of the world, these are explained in accordance with the analogy of similar incidents of which the history is known. The American Indian's belief that a dragon equipped with wings and deer's antlers is a power controlling water is assumed to have been derived from Asia, where the same complexly-eccentric belief is entertained. Even though no official records have been preserved of the flight of this Asiatic wonder-beast across the Pacific Ocean, the 'historical' school of ethnologists is convinced that it got to America in very much the same way as the Spaniards' guns or the Englishmen's steam engines. In other words, the arbitrary nature of such beliefs or contrivances affords the most definite and conclusive evidence of contact and diffusion of culture in the past.

The other school, which has appropriated[1] to itself the wholly misleading legend 'evolutionary', starts out with the large demand that man is endowed with extensive powers of originality, which, however, are held in check and guided into certain definite channels by some mysterious force, quite unknown to psychologists, which the ethnologists, following the lead of Bastian and Tylor, call 'psychic unity'. It is not the psychic unity which I am insisting upon in this lecture, but some blind force, a sort of mechanically working destiny, which drives men to restrain their inventive genius in all directions but those which fall into the scheme of these idle speculations. But in these it leads mankind with the precision and definiteness of aim with which instinct guides the bee to build its honeycomb and to fill it with honey. These 'evolutionary' ethnologists indignantly protest[2] if a critic insists that the working of their brand of 'psychic unity' is indistinguishable from what the psychologist calls instinct. But if people upon the two sides of the Pacific independently the one of the other invent a winged dragon with deer's horns to look after the weather and provide this wonder-beast with an extensive repertory of identical fantastic tricks, how can this be explained except by postulating a highly specialized human instinct to dream dragons. The only other possible escape is to drop all this puerile speculation and admit the patent fact that the American dragon came from Asia. There is hardly any element in the Pre-Columbian civilizations of America the source of the inspiration of which cannot be identified and referred to its proper epoch and place in the history of the Old World.

Such idle speculations as I have just been discussing have sterilized

[1] Under the misapprehension that it is applying to ethnology and sociology the principles of biological evolution

[2] See *Science*, October 13, 1916, Dr. Goldenweiser's letter.

a vast amount of laborious research during the last half century, and prevented the reaping of the rich harvest of knowledge of ancient history awaiting those who refuse to be blinded by such sophistry.

Lest I be accused of exaggerating the far-reaching significance of these factors I shall quote again from the treatise of that noble man, M. Joseph Déchelette, whose loss we all deplore as deeply as we admire his devotion and heroism. The fullness of his survey of the facts and the care and sobriety of the statement of his opinions serve to emphasize the profound influence of the so-called 'evolutionary' doctrines. While frankly admitting that Western Asia and Egypt exerted some indirect influence upon Neolithic Europe he says:—

'Nous ne saurions souscrire aux doctrines intransigeantes des orientalistes et des archéologues de l'école de M. Sophus Muller, . . . , et expliquer toutes les ressemblances des formes industrielles, toutes les similitudes ethnographiques par des rapports de filiation. Comme on l'a fait observer avec justesse, on pourrait, en se servant de cette méthode, établir l'origine égyptienne des civilisations de l'Amérique précolombienne et de tous les pays du monde' (*op. cit.*, p. 313).

This argument was the sole one adduced against the recognition of the Egyptian origin of the conception of constructing megalithic monuments. The late M. Déchelette does not seem to have realized that in referring to the American civilization he was using a boomerang which would hit and demolish the foundations of his case. He proceeds.—

'Il suffit de parcourir les galeries d'un musée d'ethnographie comparée, pour constater que la période initiale de la civilisation chez tous les peuples du globe terrestre présente partout sinon un facies uniforme, du moins bien des traits fondamentaux identiques. Partout une même industrie correspond à une même phase de culture. Plus on avance dans la connaissance des civilisations primitives, plus on reconnaît les effets constants du déterminisme qui régit le développement de l'industrie humaine. Quel préhistorien serait assez hardi pour expliquer par une théorie monogéniste les mains rouges des cavernes australiennes et les mains rouges des grottes pyrénéennes, les momies du Pérou et les momies d'Égypte, les sépultures en jarres du Nouveau Monde et celles de la Péninsule ibérique, l'attitude repliée des squelettes dans les sépultures de l'Europe préhistorique et de l'Amérique, le culte superstitieux des pierres à cupule apparaissant tout à la fois au delà de l'Atlantique et dans tant de régions de l'Europe et de l'Asie? Et cependant la plupart de ces analogies sembleraient offrir un critérium plus net et plus caractéristique que le polissage des instruments de pierre ou la forme circulaire d'une hutte' (*op. cit.*, pp. 313, 314).

I have quoted this passage as evidence that the views I am attacking are widely maintained. for M. Déchelette in his memoir is scrupulously

careful to present what he believes to be the opinions approved by the general body of archaeologists. The quotation is additionally interesting to me because the particular series of analogies selected by him for his argument by *reductio ad absurdum* is composed of precisely those items which I have studied in detail for the purpose of demonstrating that these diffusions of culture, the mere possibility of which M. Déchelette considered to be manifestly absurd, did actually occur.[1] I need not refer to this matter further here, except to make one comment. It is commonly assumed that the earliest population of America was derived from the Old World 'during the Neolithic Age'. Why then is it absurd to suggest that so distinctively Neolithic a practice as burial in the flexed position is due to the Old World influence? The alternative assumption is that the original immigrants into America, who in Asia were accustomed to bury their dead in the flexed position, abandoned this custom, with all their stone weapons, as soon as they arrived in America, and then immediately set to work to devise precisely the same burial customs and methods of making flint implements as those which, according to this hypothesis, they had just discarded. Surely such speculations as this are unworthy of serious consideration, revealing as they do a complete absence of any attempt really to picture what is involved in statements so lightly made and so flippantly used. I should not like it to be thought that in making these criticisms I am referring to M. Déchelette. I have chosen his statement out of a very large series, from any of which I might have quoted, simply because he has set forth with exceptional fullness, but with strict impartiality, what he regarded as the accepted doctrines of modern archaeology and ethnology. I have attempted to show that if one scratches the foundations of this elaborate edifice of speculation there will be found only shifting sand, wholly inadequate to support the weight of theory put upon it.

. . . .

Modern sociological and ethnological speculations have been led into grave errors through undue neglect of the consideration that members of any civilized society acquire from it some share in its intellectual heritage and moral outlook. For most individuals practically the whole of their knowledge and beliefs have been obtained from this source; and not from the working of some innate and highly specialized instinct. By emphasizing, and rightly emphasizing, the far-reaching influence of heredity, the enthusiastic energy of Eugenic Societies has unintentionally had the effect of obscuring the factors of

[1] *Migrations of Early Culture*, Manchester University Press, 1915.

environment and education. No one who has studied the problems of genetics is likely to deny the vast potency of heredity in determining the structure of the body and in conferring upon the individual certain generalized aptitudes of mind and temperament. But the direction in which these aptitudes find specific expression is determined by the individual's personal experience and by his environment. And on the moral side any child's character can be debased and brutalized if subjected to sufficiently intense and prolonged evil influence But this is not affected by the consideration that some individuals and some races are more apt than others to be affected by such influences These statements are all of them obvious truisms. Yet at the present moment they are constantly being ignored or unduly minimized in the discussion of the problems of sociology, education, politics, and the wider sphere of ethnology. This neglect to appreciate the far-reaching influence of individual experience is distorting the vision of scholars in almost every domain of humanistic study, with the exception of philology.

So far as I am aware, no one has ever had the temerity to claim that the peoples of India, Greece, Spain, and Scandinavia had wholly independently the one of the other invented the Indo-European language that is common to all of them. Yet many, if not most, of the scholars who would regard the merest suggestion of such a view as utterly ridiculous and preposterous, do not hesitate to accept the opinion that the no less complex, arbitrary, and artificial structure of many of the identical myths and folk-tales of these same peoples, even when preserved in the language which is admitted to be common in origin to them all, have been invented quite independently. This kind of inconsistency permeates the whole tissue of modern scholarship. The criteria upon which the archaeologist confidently relies as the basis of his identifications of cultural contact are precisely those which the ethnologist rejects as evidence of such influence, and interprets as proofs of the 'psychic unity' of mankind. By this is meant some mysterious force, quite unknown to psychologists, which has led men in separate localities and quite independently one of the other to do quite arbitrary, bizarre and complicated things in the same way. When challenged to cite any instance in history or principle in psychology in justification of such large demands upon one's credulity, the only relevant reply given is the absence of any written historical records in substantiation of the contact between the peoples who have these similar beliefs and customs. One of my aims in this address is to protest against the practice of ignoring the vast mass of unimpeachable evidence supplied by human structure and institutions in

proof of the reality of the movements of people and the diffusions of culture in the unrecorded past simply because the 'bills of lading' of the ancient shippers who carried these cargoes have not been preserved.

There is a continuity in the stream of civilization: but it is not by any such 'psychic unity' as the ethnologists have invented that men's efforts have been linked together in a common purpose. The intellectual progress of the world in general has been brought about by the handing on from one people to another of discoveries and inventions, as well as ideas and beliefs, each of which originated in one definite locality.

There is no innate tendency in man to be progressive. To the untutored savage most of the elements of our civilization are uninteresting, unattractive, and irrelevant. Not only has he no impulse to devise such things, but he fails to take any interest in many of them even when they are presented to him ready made. And even when he is driven to adopt any of the elements of civilization, in most cases there is no progressive development of them. A gradual degeneration sets in until in course of time many of them are permitted to lapse completely. Why is it then that so many human societies are unprogressive and so few really progressive? The correct answer to this question, which has so often been discussed by historians, is of fundamental importance in this argument.

Primitive man no doubt continued to spend his time much in the same way as his simian ancestors were wont to do, mainly in the search for food and the avoidance of danger. but he brought to these tasks greatly enhanced abilities and attained amazing skill in such observations and inferences as affected his vital welfare. The modern fallacy of supposing that he spent his time in contemplation of the world around him, speculating upon the nature of the stars above him, or devising theories of the soul, is probably as far from the truth as it would be to assume that the average modern Englishman is absorbed in the problems of zoology, astronomy, and metaphysics.

Such speculations fail to take into consideration the outstanding feature of human thought. Man does not concentrate his attention upon specific problems until some definite and explicit circumstance compels him to do so. The sun and the moon were not regarded by primitive man as objects of scientific curiosity until a very special train of reasoning, excited probably by certain circumstances in the early practice of agriculture, compelled him to give some thought to matters which seemed to affect his means of livelihood. He did not instinctively bow down and worship the sun and adore it as the source

of all heat and fertility. These are merely the anachronisms of the ethnologist clutching for evidence of 'psychic unity'. Primitive man looked upon the sun in much the same way as the average modern Englishman does, when he has forgotten the scraps of astronomical knowledge he may have learnt at school.

What the ethnologist usually fails to recognize is that among primitive men, as amongst modern scholars, before attempting to solve a problem it is essential to recognize that there is a problem to solve. The sun to the primitive man was as much a matter of course as the air is to many of us. Unless definite instruction in physics and chemistry were provided, how many people would realize that there was anything to discover about the air? In the early days of man's existence, when his whole attention was concentrated in the satisfying of his immediate appetites, he became the most expert tracker and the most acute observer of certain aspects of natural phenomena around him. In other words, he was possessed of the powers of pursuit and cunning with which all the higher mammals are endowed, but in an immeasurably keener and subtler degree. In the pursuit of his quarry and in the avoidance of danger the hunter was forced to be an observer of certain particular things, and was quite oblivious of others which did not affect, or did not seem to him to affect, his occupation.

Illustrations of this without number might be quoted from Africa and Asia, and especially from America and Australia. Where a European can discover no indication whatever, primitive natives will point out the footsteps of any number of people, enumerating men, women, and children, and even their racial peculiarities and personal idiosyncrasies, and will state the day or even the hour at which they passed. To the European who can detect nothing at all, or, at most, faint and confused marks, such powers seem to be almost magical. But it must ever be remembered that the acquisition of precisely these powers of observation and inference occupy the whole time and attention of primitive man. As Palgrave says, even of a branch of mankind so far removed from the primitive stage as the Arab: 'he judges of things as he sees them present before him, not in their causes or consequences'. While the children of civilized man are engaged in absorbing the fruits of their people's conventions and traditions, those of the untutored savage are acquiring the more vital knowledge of the untamed world of nature. Each of them, and especially the latter, gives little or no thought to the contemplation of the real significance of natural phenomena. Only a very rare genius amongst either group appreciates the fact that there may be something

behind the obvious veil which the majority of his fellows is accustomed to regard as the real world.

The marvellous skill as a tracker which is displayed by all men in uncivilized communities is a really primitive human trait. But it was acquired by every individual under the pressure of the conditions of life that necessarily obtained before other means of securing a livelihood and protection were devised by man. It illustrates the biological usefulness of man's large brain and the advantage conferred by it upon the earliest human beings. For it made possible those powers of observation and skilful interpretation of events which enabled man successfully to compete with and overcome the mere brute-strength of the creatures with whom he had to deal during the infancy of the human family.

The germs of civilization were planted when man's attention first became fixed upon specific problems, which he was able to deal with in an experimental manner and, in co-operation with other men, to solve in a way more or less satisfying to him and his contemporaries, and to hand on his solutions of them to those who came after them.

Once this process began, a new era in the manifestation of the human spirit was inaugurated. Every serious research, in whatever department of inquiry, leads to unforeseen results: it opens up new lines of investigation and suggests new trains of thought So that once this method of groping into the unknown secrets of Nature was inaugurated, the human mind entered a new and ever expanding world of ideas; and with many vicissitudes and fluctuations of zeal and insight, it has pursued this new direction, and has ever striven to attain the goal of new desires.

The point that I specially want to emphasize is that man's mental equipment was in the past, as it is at present, derived almost entirely from the members of the community amongst which he grew up, and such insignificant crumbs of knowledge as he was able to pick up from his own experience of a life at first not essentially different from that of an anthropoid ape

The jumble of new arts and practices which afterwards came to occupy more and more of his attention, and gradually relegated into the background those occupations of the tracker in which he had until then been so pre-eminently skilful, gave him a new aim in life—the pursuit of the elusive attractions of civilization.[1] It is not my

[1] Many writers assume that uncivilized man's abilities as a tracker are due to his keener sense-perception. But this view completely overlooks the fact that his skill is the result of an exclusive devotion to and training in the art of tracking from his earliest youth. Any human being could acquire a similar

purpose here to discuss the origin of the constituent elements of civilization. But it is essential that I should impress upon you its artificial character, and the arbitary nature of its composition. It bears the impress of its wholly accidental origin: it is equally alien to the instinctive tendencies of human beings. Such being the case, and recognizing that this complex confection was built up laboriously and exceedingly slowly, the acquisition of such arbitrary practices must be assigned to the category of knowledge that is adopted from the community in which one is born or by intimate contact with some other community which is addicted to such procedures. There is no natural impulse in man to invent such customs or ability to do so independently in one generation. In other words the possession of the arts of civilization by any population is positive evidence of the most definite kind of contact, directly or indirectly, with the people who actually invented their particular arts.

. . . .

The records left behind by the earlier races of the Neoanthropic Age throw some light upon the development of beliefs which ever since have exerted a profound, if not a dominating, influence upon the working of the human mind. The representation[1] upon the walls of the Magdalenian Salon noir de Niaux of a bison with four arrows stuck in its flank, pointing towards the heart, proves that the early hunters recognized that the flank was a peculiarly vital spot in the bison's anatomy. But it was not merely the flank as a whole, but the heart in particular that was regarded as the centre of vitality. This is shown by the still earlier (Aurignacian) picture[2] of an elephant from the cave of Pindal in Asturias.

The survival of this remarkable manner of depicting the vital node of wild animals among the Ojibwa Indians of North America[3] and the aboriginal Australians[4] still further emphasizes its significance.

The heart thus came to be regarded as a centre of life, feeling, volition, and knowledge. There are also indications that the contents of the heart were regarded as sharing these attributes. The custom of mutilating the fingers, to which I have already referred, was probably the outcome of this belief, as also were the later practices of circumcision, of perforating the ears and lips, and of scarring the body. These are amongst the most ancient ceremonial practices

efficiency, if his attention were not concentrated on the attainment of other kinds of knowledge.

[1] Sollas, *op cit*, fig. 163, p. 326, after Cartailhac and Breuil.

[2] *Op. cit*, fig. 171, p 333, after Breuil [3] *Op cit.*, p. 361, after Hoffman.

[4] Baldwin Spencer, *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia*, 1914, fig. 86

invented by man, and, so far as one can judge from the scraps of evidence that have survived, the underlying idea was the transmission of knowledge and feeling from one individual to another and the union of the members of a group of people one with the other in this common understanding. At a much later time, when man devised deities, who at first were wholly dependent upon him for their sustenance, the offering of blood was the means adopted to restore consciousness to the deity so that he (or at first it was usually 'she') could hear the supplicant's appeals.

The widespread association of all of these practices with the rites of initiation into manhood or womanhood, with death ceremonies, and at a much later time with acts of worship of deities,[1] find a natural explanation if we regard these beliefs as man's earliest attempt to solve the great physiological and psychological problems of the nature of life, of the will and knowledge.

At this stage of his history man was still a hunter and had not learned to domesticate any animal, so far as the evidence goes, not even the dog. The earliest indication of the domestication of the dog in Europe is supplied by the Danish kitchen-middens, which are referred to the commencement of the Neolithic phase of culture in Europe. M. Salomon Reinach[2] has hastily jumped to the conclusion that these early Danish ichthyophagi were the tamers of the wolf. 'Common sense inclines one to suppose that the dog is a descendant, domesticated by totemism, of some species of wolf which inhabited the dense forest of Europe.' But 'common sense' once taught men that the earth was flat and that the sun went round the earth, and I think that it has led M. Reinach equally astray in his view on dogs and totemism. For the earliest known inhabitants of Australia, whose fossilized remains have been found[3] in association with extinct marsupials, were accompanied by their dogs when they first made their way into the great Southern continent. I do not think they obtained their dogs from the coasts of Denmark, nor do I attach any importance to the other claim made so light-heartedly by M. Reinach, that 'the gradual evolution of certain wolves and jackals into domestic dogs might have taken place in several parts of the world at the same or different times'.

[1] Zelia Nuttall, 'A Penitential Rite of the Ancient Mexicans', *Archaeological and Ethnological Papers of the Peabody Museum*, Harvard University, vol. i, No 7, 1904.

[2] *Cults, Myths and Religions*, London, 1912, p. 90.

[3] Richard Etheridge, Junior, 'Teeth of the Dingo from the Breccia of the Wellington caves' (British Association Meeting, 1914): published in *Memoirs of the Australian Museum*, 1916.

The evidence all points to the conclusion that the dog was domesticated somewhere in Asia; and that, if the dogs of the Danish kitchen-middens and of the Australian cave breccias were not derived from the same stock, the idea of taming wild animals, whether wolves or jackals, must have come from the place where the first dogs were domesticated. When this was accomplished is not known, nor how long it took for the custom to spread either to the west of Europe or to Australia. But until further evidence is forthcoming it supplies a hint vaguely suggesting that the fossil man whose remains were found at Talgai in Queensland may possibly have been migrated to Australia approximately in the same age when the kitchen-middens of Denmark were made.

The theory of the domestication of animals expounded by M. Reinach was, he says, 'first broached by Mr. (now Sir James) Frazer; later it was taken up by Galton, and finally developed by Mr. Jevons'.[1] But I think it likely that, instead of the phenomena of totemism being at the root of the domestication of animals, future research will prove that totemism was really an outcome of man's intimate association with animals which was incidental to the pastoral life.

In seeking for the explanation of the relatively simple matter of the domestication of animals, it is surely topsy-turvy to assume the previous development of the complex business of totemism, of the composition of which the close association with tame animals is an integral part.

Long after the dog was domesticated, one by one a series of other animals, the ox, the sheep, the goat, the pig, and (probably much later) the horse were tamed. It was not until the Neolithic culture was well established in Europe that this new stage of civilization made its appearance there: but in Asia and possibly also in East Africa it probably began at some earlier time. One result of this innovation was in some measure to restrain the roving of men, because their movements would now be hampered by the tending of their flocks and the selection of grazing places for them.

It is important to remember that there are not a few populations still living who, apart from the dog, have no domesticated animals, and possibly never had any. In other words, the date of their migration from the original home of the custom of taming animals may have been before the ox was domesticated. In support of this suggestion there is the fact that one of the great physiological discoveries which could not fail to have been made by the early breeders

[1] *Op. cit*, p. 91.

of cattle is still unknown to some of these peoples. I refer to the knowledge that sexual intercourse is essential for propagation Many primitive people are still unacquainted with this biological fact[1] and probably a vast number of other peoples have only learned it within relatively recent times. Before some pre-eminent physiologist among the early pastoralists made this great discovery all ideas of relationship were based upon the fact of motherhood. But when the new theory was established that the male was the fertilizing agent and that relationship was not by 'blood' but by 'seed', as Hebrew writers many centuries afterwards came to express it, opinion veered too far in the other direction. The female became the mere 'matrix' in which the seed germinated and the male came to be regarded as the real parent. One of the most curious products of this revulsion of opinion was the custom which developed—and persists among many simple people in outlying corners of the world even until the present time—of subjecting the father, on the occasion of the birth of a child, to the discipline which before then necessity had imposed upon the mother during the puerperium. This fantastic practice, now known as *couvade*, can be regarded as the stereotyping of the ideas which not unnaturally arose when the significance of the meaning of the physical process of fertilization first dawned upon men's minds.

But the event which wrought the greatest and most far-reaching influence in the development of civilization was the acquisition of the art of agriculture. This probably occurred some time after the earliest domestication of animals, at a time not long before the settlement of the Predynastic Egyptians in the Nile Valley. When and where the first attempts were made to cultivate cereals is not known Nor is there any evidence to suggest how so momentous a discovery was made. The late Mr. Grant Allen put forward the hypothesis that the germination of offerings of wild fruits and seeds placed upon the upturned soil of newly made graves supplied the idea. But, although plausible, this is a mere conjecture unsupported by any evidence. Another novelist, Mr. H. G. Wells, suggests that when man first acquired sufficient forethought to store up food for the cold season during which his favourite wild cereals would otherwise be unobtainable, the germination of the supply if it became damp would have forced him to learn the lesson.

Many writers claim that the earliest cultivation of cereals was

[1] Bronislaw Malinowski, 'Baloma: the Spirits of the Dead in the Trobriand Islands', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol xlvi, 1916, p 415

attempted in Mesopotamia. The evidence in support of this, according to de Candolle, is suggestive, but unfortunately quite inconclusive.

But wherever the arts of agriculture were first invented, it is certain that not long afterwards they were put into practice on the banks of the Nile, the Tigris, and Euphrates Among the immediate effects of the adoption of an agricultural mode of life were the adoption of a really fixed mode of existence, and the possibility of a large population subsisting in settled communities upon the produce of a very much more restricted area of land than had been necessary hitherto when men were herdsmen or hunters. This alone transformed man's methods of existence and laid the foundation upon which the fabric of his material prosperity was built up. But it was even more fruitful in the realm of ideas.

Cultivation of the soil first led men to appreciate the significance of water, which was interpreted as the great fertilizing and vitalizing element The train of thoughts thus started developed into a luxuriant crop of philosophical beliefs which dominated men's minds for many centuries afterwards. By a not unnatural syncretism these ideas of the fertilizing power of water became merged with the older conceptions of animal fertilization, which, as I have already hinted, probably came into existence when men became cattle-breeders. At this stage in man's history there arose the germs of the biological ideas which subsequently became personified in the stories of Osiris, of Tammuz, and of Ea, and their legions of offspring. These stories were no doubt originally founded upon the historical incidents of kings who introduced into their respective dominions a knowledge of agriculture and the value of irrigation. But as they grew and became embellished, these myths, and the dragon-beliefs that developed out of them, came to include within their scope all the innermost beliefs of mankind at the time when the foundations of the thoughts and hopes of civilized man for all time were being established

But the introduction of agriculture had other far-reaching effects. It made it incumbent on man to watch the seasons and to determine the appropriate times for planting This directed man's attention to the moon as the measurer of time, and as the power controlling water and the periodicity of womankind. And the inferences which had already been made about the life-giving property of water and the processes of human reproduction served not only to reinforce these ideas of the moon's powers, but also incidentally to bind together into a consistent and rationalized body of scientific doctrines all the ideas as to the nature of life and matter that had already grown up.

Thus the foundations of human knowledge came to be established;

and it is important to remember that in these first attempts to interpret the phenomena in himself and the world around him, man was not merely formulating explanations of the facts of physics, biology, astronomy and mathematics that his own needs and the force of circumstances compelled him to try to understand, but also that he was framing the whole of his beliefs. Many of the problems of physiology to which he addressed himself were matters which in these days would be regarded rather as theological questions. But at this stage of man's history, when the attempt was being made frankly to interpret natural phenomena and to construct a rational scientific explanation of the events taking place around him it would be misleading to brand any of these working hypotheses as religious or magical. They were all frankly rationalistic, and none of them more emphatically so than those which ultimately became the basis of religious beliefs.

Such was the mental ferment that was beginning to act when the great civilization of Egypt and Western Asia germinated. I use the singular and not the plural because I think it certain that the earliest cultures of Egypt and Sumer, and of Crete and possibly of other centres in Western Asia and North-eastern Africa, were merely so many local manifestations of the influence of the same leaven that was at work throughout this area.

But these vague gropings after explanations of natural phenomena assumed a more definite form when the Predynastic Egyptians' thoughts were directed in a more specific manner toward the contemplation of the problems of life and death by the discovery that the bodies of their dead did not always suffer corruption in the grave but were often preserved as the result of desiccation by natural forces. In attempting to solve the new problems thus set them and to determine what was lacking in the dead body, and the life-like portrait statues which they were prompted to make of it, they were guided by the system of philosophy to which I have already referred. The body lacked the breath of life, the vitalizing fluids, and the sweat and odour of the living. In response to this conviction there developed the ritual for restoring to the mummy or its portrait-statue these vitalizing properties by the ceremonies of 'opening the mouth', of offering libations and burning incense. As the new conceptions were added to the body of scientific theory they became intimately rationalized into a very complex system. The breath of life came to be the vital 'soul' of the body: the functions of the blood and the heart were then restricted to being the vehicles of feeling, knowledge, and volition. The conception of the possibility of the

body continuing its existence if it was provided with the vital elements which it lacked grew more and more definite and insistent. but it was recognized that such a continuation of existence was entirely at the mercy of the survivors, without whose help in supplying food and drink and the other needs of the dead such existence was impossible. Even when the dead were deified, they were still wholly dependent upon living mortals for their means of sustenance.

The influence of these early conceptions of man's first system of biology has continued to mould human thought ever since, not merely in the valley of the Nile and in Mesopotamia, but wherever civilization has manifested itself in any part of the world. Its effects are seen not only in the ritual practices of every religion, but also in the direction of the innermost thoughts of all peoples and their expression in every language.

It is important to remember that the whole of this system of philosophy came into being long before the construction of megalithic monuments or in fact any use of stone for building had yet been attempted.

In setting forth this crude and tentative sketch of the mode of origin and development of ideas that lie at the very root of all human beliefs I have been attempting to combat the sterilizing speculation which has grown up mainly during the last half-century and has rapidly extended its blighting influence into most spheres of humanistic inquiry.[1] I refer to the claim that the human mind has been undergoing some process of mechanical and automatic evolution in virtue of which it has passed through a series of 'culture epochs', not as the result of the accumulation of knowledge and experience, but as the outcome of some blind and intangible change in the structure of the mind. It is difficult to regard seriously a claim which even on the most cursory examination seems to be so utterly devoid of foundation. Yet many of the foremost scholars of recent years have accepted it as an explanation of the data of their investigations; and certain branches of inquiry have been permeated by the paralysing effects of this palpably false doctrine. Though ethnology has been most seriously affected by it, hardly any field of investigation has wholly escaped.

This insidious doctrine is usually expressed in a superficially plausible guise. It is claimed that to meet similar needs men in a similar stage of culture will invent identical appliances and devise

[1] It would lead me too far afield to examine the misleading assumptions involved in the late Sir Edward Tylor's theory of 'animism': but I shall deal with this question elsewhere

similar explanations of their experience. But since this specious claim has been made in these general terms it never seems to occur to those who argue in this way to inquire whether in the cases where such cultural identities are found the circumstances, the needs or the stages of culture were really similar, for such inquiries would at once prick this bubble of speculation. Nor does such theorizing offer any suggestion in explanation of the fact that of kindred peoples living under precisely similar circumstances and in close proximity the one to the other, for instance in Indonesia and Melanesia, one may have been in possession of the complex culture that is associated with the practices of sun-worship and megalith-building whereas the other may not have a single item of the scores of peculiar customs and beliefs of which this 'heliolithic' civilization is compounded.

The careful analysis of all the available evidence seems to point clearly to the conclusion that until the invention of the methods of agriculture and irrigation on the large scale practised in Egypt and Babylonia the world really enjoyed some such Golden Age of peace as Hesiod has described.[1] Man was not driven into warfare by his instinct of pugnacity, but by the greed for wealth and power which the development of civilization itself was responsible for creating. Upon the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates extensive irrigation works had to be undertaken. This taught man to organize labour and prompted the idea of exploiting his fellow-men in vast works of personal aggrandisement such as the pyramids. The trouble began when one community tried to enslave its neighbours, not only for these great industrial works and boastful monuments, but for sacrificial purposes also, when the idea developed that a man's standing in the world of the dead depended upon the number of his retinue of attendants. The earliest warfare consisted in slave-raiding and head-hunting; and the motive that prompted it was the common human desire to secure ease and luxury, both in this world and the next, at the expense of one's fellow-men. The exploits of this military aristocracy, the 'children of the sun', during the last forty centuries make up the greater part of what usually passes for 'history'. They have been so widespread as to have misled most sociologists into the belief that warfare was a manifestation of the primitive instinct of pugnacity, instead of merely a by-product of civilization itself. The whole question is now being illuminated by the researches of my friend Mr. W. J. Perry, so that I need not follow it further, except to note one point. The coincidence in the geographical distribution of habits

[1] W. J. Perry, 'An Ethnological Study of Warfare', *Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, vol. 61, Part II, June, 1917.

of warfare and certain elements of culture has been erroneously interpreted by many writers as evidence that certain peoples were more highly endowed with the instinct of pugnacity, in virtue of which they were able to overcome their more peaceful neighbours and attain a higher stage of civilization by surmounting difficulties. But the large assumptions involved in such speculations can be proved to be wholly unwarranted. Such theories of 'survival of the fittest' are as inappropriate as Bernhardi's misuse of this biological phrase. The association of customs cannot be explained in this way, nor can the possession of the higher culture be attributed to any exceptional development of the instinct of pugnacity. For Perry has shown how both the culture and the habits and methods of warfare were introduced by the same people into most of the places where they are found. Both alike were the outcome of the development of civilization: and so far from the culture being a manifestation of survival of a race superior in fighting qualities, it would be nearer the truth to say that the aims and methods of warfare were the results of the cultural developments, and not the cause.

. . . .

In these remarks I have roamed over a very wide field of research; and perhaps the reader may think that I have devoted an undue amount of attention to the business of emphasizing perfectly obvious and commonplace facts. But those who are familiar with the recent literature of anthropology will realize that these matters are precisely those which hitherto have been overlooked in the discussion of man's early history. The attention of most anthropologists has been so concentrated upon technical matters of controversy that the wider bearings of the knowledge gained have not received the consideration they deserve.

But the point that I want especially to emphasize is the conclusion which emerges from the investigation of every one of the many aspects of man's achievements. The explanation of the intellectual and moral outlook of every individual and community is to be sought mainly in his or its history, and not in some blind mechanically working force of evolution. Throughout the course of human history men's attitude has been determined not by the alteration of the structure of the mind, but by the intellectual and moral influences which have been impressed upon each individual's mind by the community in which he lived. Whatever the inborn mental and moral aptitudes of any individual, whatever his race and antecedents, it is safe to say that if he were born and brought up in Germany during the present genera-

tion he would have learned, not merely to converse in the German language, but in all probability to practise methods of frightfulness. The fact that his skull was long or broad, or his hair blond or dark, or the matter of his ancestry, whether he belonged to the Alpine, the Nordic, or the Mediterranean races, would count for little in this process in comparison with the potent moulding force of the atmosphere of the family and the society in which he grew up during the years of his mental plasticity.

The great factor in all human history has been determined by the consideration that each individual has not really had to work out his own salvation. There has gradually been accumulating throughout the ages a body of arts and crafts, and customs and beliefs, from which each group of human beings has adopted its social equipment. For every human being there has been provided a ready-made supply of opinions and ways of thinking and acting; and in the vast majority of cases these have been accepted without question as proper and natural to accept at their face value. There has been no general or even widespread tendency on the part of human societies to strive after what by Europeans is regarded as intellectual or material progress. Progressive societies are rare because it requires a very complex series of factors to compel men to embark upon the hazardous process of striving after such artificial advancement.

The history of man will be truly interpreted, not by means of hazardous and mistaken analogies with biological evolution, but by the application of the true historical method. The causes of the modern actions of mankind are deeply rooted in the past. But the spirit of man has ever been the same and the course of ancient history can only be properly appreciated when it is realized that the same human motives whose nature can be studied in our fellow-men to-day actuated the men of old also.[1]

[1] In the address as delivered I quoted some further illustrations of this general principle as it affects the problems of nationality and character: but I propose to deal more fully with these matters elsewhere

The statement on p. 461 (lines 8 and 9) that 'everyone is agreed, &c', should have been qualified by the phrase 'except Sergi and certain other Italian anthropologists'.

GREEK CIVILIZATION AS A STUDY FOR THE PEOPLE

By Professor W. RHYS ROBERTS

Read December 13, 1916

A.

The subject to which I propose to address myself is ancient Greek Civilization as a study for the people,—a study open to, and made attractive to, our people generally without distinction of rank or class. Speaking throughout as a teacher of Greek, I shall first glance at certain things that have been done in recent years to make the ancient Greek world more widely known to British readers and hearers, and shall then ask in what directions fresh efforts can and should be made, in order more especially to reach some among the many gifted children of the poor.

Thanks to the broad sympathies which the national universities of Oxford and Cambridge have shown during the last two generations, Greek literature and history and life are in some measure a popular study already. Through translations and other aids prepared by some of the best scholars of the time, they have been brought within the ken of readers who are unacquainted with the Greek language. Oxford and Cambridge have also done much to diffuse an interest in the ancient world by means of Extension Courses, in many of which the material remains of Greece and Rome are brought before the modern eye by means of lantern slides, casts, models, and so on. The Classical Association, too, which was founded in 1903 by Oxford and Cambridge men, has been active in many popular ways. The Association is to hold its Annual Meeting at Leeds in the first week of January, and we look with great hopefulness to the results of this humanist demonstration in our industrial, scientific, and technological region. Our juvenile Leeds and District Branch of the Association has tried, like its seniors at Manchester and elsewhere, to interest its members and still larger audiences by means of public lectures, school lectures, library lectures, educational discussions, reading circles, summer excursions, Greek plays, Roman excavations. It may perhaps not unfairly be claimed that the Branch is proving itself, within its limits, a popular agency for the spread of Greek and Latin study.

It works in close connexion with another popular body, the University of Leeds. At Leeds, Latin and Greek, so far from being in the position of time-honoured owners of the ground, have had to make their way into a stronghold of Science and Technology. It is a pleasure to add that our conflicts, when they have occurred, have left no sting behind them At Leeds, as earlier at Bangor, men of science have been among my own best friends. I have had many things to learn from them. What I wrote at Bangor twenty-four years ago, when describing in imperfectly acquired Welsh the essentials of a true University, I feel still, and particularly in regard to the indirect influence which the Royal Society has had on learning generally:

'Ac am y gwyddorau, heblaw gwneyd eu gwaith eu hunain, rhoddant, trwy eu dull o weithio a'u hegni, symbyliad i ymdrechion mewn canghennau ereill o wybodaeth.'

'And as regards the sciences, besides doing their own work, they will, through their manner of working and their energy, lend an impetus to efforts in other branches of knowledge.'

Since the time when I was invited to Leeds a dozen years back in order to help in forming an Honours School of Classics, a good deal has been attempted there on the classical side. The Honours School is in full working order; the Library has been strengthened greatly in its classical section; advanced study has been encouraged by means of M.A. dissertations, Research Fellowships, and the Bodington Memorial Fund. Grants from the Bodington Fund have enabled one of our earliest Honours graduates to do good work on Clement of Alexandria, the first-fruits of which have already appeared in various learned journals or are about to appear immediately in the Loeb Classical Library. In this way something is being done, incidentally, to keep alive the memory of Sir Nathan Bodington, one of those many Oxford humanists whose supple minds and conspicuous energy have done much, in the strange atmosphere and unfamiliar surroundings of our new universities, to commend the studies of their youth. May I add that both in Wales and in Yorkshire my pupils have, almost without exception, been the sons (or daughters) of poor parents, and have not had the chance of an Oxford or Cambridge training?[1]

[1] It is all the more pleasant to reflect that Mr. Butterworth is, as indicated above, making good headway with his study of Clement, and that my pupil and successor at Bangor, Professor T. Hudson-Williams, is continuing his editorial work on the Greek elegiac poets. That Mr. Hudson-Williams's already published *Theognis* is regarded as sound and useful may perhaps be inferred from the fact that it finds, I notice, a place on the Reference shelves of the British Museum Reading Room.

B.

So far I have been speaking mainly of universities, and in a fairly cheerful strain. In the rest of the paper I shall be thinking largely of our northern schools and of the provision which they make at present for the poor boy or girl who wishes to begin the study of the Greek language. It is to the secondary schools, and not to university classes for beginners, that we must look if we are to have, as we mean to have, more and better students of Greek in our new universities Here I must call attention to some discouraging facts, though not without an effort to see the brighter side. This is no time for whining, and I am convinced that things are not past remedy if only we know our own minds and do our best to enlighten public opinion. In Leeds there are eleven secondary schools. Both Greek and Latin are taught in two of these (the Grammar School and the Girls' High School), Latin without Greek in seven, neither Greek nor Latin in two. Now, in order to indicate a barrier which should be removed, I will take at some little length a definite case of a youth —I will call him Z—who came to Leeds University from one of these schools, and did well in our Classical Honours Course. He was the son of a workman earning a weekly wage, and had held an entrance scholarship at his school,—a good school of its kind, in which Latin and French are taught, though Science predominates. I believe that he did well in school science, but he did still better in languages and literature; and all his heart was in these. But he could get no help within the school for Greek; and had he not found a way of obtaining private Greek lessons in the evening, he would have been unable to offer Greek at the University. When he came to us, his aptitude for classical study was so obvious that we admitted him to our Honours Course on his scanty Greek acquirements. Once admitted, he read widely and carefully; for example, the whole of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, almost the whole of Plato, much of Aristotle, and most, if not all, of Herodotus and Thucydides. I do not like talking in terms of examinations, but, as a mere basis of comparison, I may say that on completing the Honours Course he was recommended unhesitatingly for a First Class by the two distinguished Oxford scholars who took part in the examination, and that his prose composition was regarded as of unusual excellence. Next he read for a year, under my guidance, for the India Civil Service and Higher Home Civil Service Examination, which he took in the earlier of the two years open to him. In his unprepared Greek translation he gained the first place in the list, although many first-class Oxford and Cambridge men were

candidates at the same time. He had a pleasant habit, rare in my experience, of sending me interesting Greek and Latin letters about the English and foreign books he was reading at the moment or about the ordinary incidents of his daily life. He would also take an active part in the Greek conversations which I encourage in my classes so far as time permits. His French was good, and at my instance he made it still better by means of a give-and-take arrangement with a cultivated Belgian teacher living in exile in Leeds, who was anxious to master English in order to add it to his other school-subjects on his repatriation. At my suggestion he also applied himself to German, and so whole-heartedly that in a year when other candidates would have been thinking of nothing but the examination in front of them, he read, in a scholarly way, much of German literature, including both parts of *Faust*, although he was not offering German as one of his subjects. I well remember the grief he felt when the inheritors of such a literature burnt the Library of Louvain and murdered so many of its helpless citizens.

Such an instance seems enough to prove that the Greek door should be kept open for the poor boy of special aptitude. Charles Darwin's words about Shrewsbury School are well known:

'Nothing could have been worse for the development of my mind than Dr. Butler's school, as it was strictly classical, nothing else being taught, except a little ancient geography and history. . . . I was once publicly rebuked by Dr. Butler for wasting my time on such useless subjects (as chemistry), and he called me very unjustly a *poco curante*, and as I did not understand what he meant, it seemed to me a fearful reproach.'[1]

A narrow curriculum, and a narrow headmaster! Yes, and thrice lucky was it for the cause of science and truth that Darwin had the means and the resolution to follow his own bent. But in the North of England the danger to-day is that of compulsory science; of compulsory No-Greek, not of compulsory Greek. Z is no prodigy; he is no Darwin of the Classics. But his individual gift was, I make no doubt, best brought out by a classical course, and I can only regret that in our industrial centres other poor boys, with equal or greater talent for this particular study, are wholly debarred from entering upon it.

What are the remedies for this ban upon Greek? I will attempt a brief answer to the question, in the hope that it may be supplemented and corrected in the discussion after the paper. To me the matter seems to be largely one of organization. That word is, I know,

[1] *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, by Francis Darwin, i. 31, 35.

suspect; but surely there is an organization that gives, as well as an organization that cripples, freedom. Of the precise changes needed I have not that intimate knowledge which falls more naturally to an inspector of schools or an officer of the Board of Education. Probably more care should be taken at the start in passing on the right boys from elementary to secondary schools, and in assigning each boy to his proper type of school. But if a boy who deliberately wants Greek finds himself in a secondary school with a strong modern and scientific bias where he cannot get it, ought he not to be transferred to a classical school; and ought not boys in a classical school, who want scientific teaching and cannot get it, to be transferred to a school more suited to *their* needs?[1] Might not also some use be made of 'peripatetic' teachers, sadly though that term's repute has declined in modern times? And might not classical graduates of Oxford and Cambridge who have a seat on school governing bodies and county educational authorities see to it that Greek is taught more generally than at present, even though the provision of teachers where there are few pupils seems costly in proportion? A serious difficulty in Yorkshire has been that the Latin teachers in secondary schools have often known no Greek, it was so, I believe, in Z's school, and that was one reason why he had to seek another teacher on his own account. The Yorkshire College did, I am sorry to say, supply some twenty years ago many teachers of Latin who knew no Greek to our municipal schools, and here the creation of our Honours School of Classics, in which Greek must be studied on at least the same level as Latin, has been of great service locally. It is hard to see how a teacher who knows no Greek can be a finished Latin scholar. Certainly he cannot lead his pupils back to the 'distant springs'. And the boy of active mind will always hanker after these, and will, I believe, find further that the older languages *grip* him more strongly than the new. It has perhaps been unfortunate (as severing the link between past and present) that, in recent years, school teachers have often confined themselves to a single subject, and that the classical teacher has too rarely given lessons in English, or a modern continental language, or history, or geography, in addition to Latin and Greek. Entrance scholarships at the Universities may be partly to blame for this narrowness, though the effect of scholarship and other examinations is too large a topic for treatment now. English literature might, I should suppose, be taken more often than it is by a teacher of

[1] By a 'classical school' here is simply meant a secondary school which offers Greek as well as Latin. Such schools almost invariably teach physical science, this being a condition of State aid.

Greek, who (if he were a right-judging man) would not disparage our own glorious literature or regard it as merely derivative, but would find in the past of Greece, as in the past of Britain, an inspiration for fresh classics yet to be.

The recent joint action of the Classical, English, Geographical, Historical, and Modern Language Associations promises well for the future of humane studies in our secondary schools. Such studies have much in common: 'etenim omnes artes quae ad humanitatem pertinent habent quoddam commune vinculum et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur.'[1] Till now our house has been too much divided against itself. At length it is recognized that the attack on Greek, as developed by its more extreme opponents, is in principle an attack on all the humanities, ancient and modern alike. I do not for a moment believe that these extreme views are entertained by any large number of scientific men: on the Classical Association we remember well that a past President of the Royal Society, Sir Archibald Geikie, has been one of our own annual Presidents. As regards the practical question of the school time-table, it is much to be desired that representatives of the various Humanistic Associations and of similar Scientific Societies should meet together and agree, if they can, on a rough apportionment of time as between the scientific (including mathematical) and humanistic studies in different types of schools. And as regards ourselves, let not the teachers of Greek and Latin try to draw away all the ablest boys from the more modern subjects: let there be a real freedom of choice. Let us, for many vital reasons, see to it that the study of German in particular is maintained within our schools. Let us give their due welcome to great languages, such as Russian and Spanish, which have hitherto found little or no place in our educational system. Speaking for myself, I can truly say that nothing has caused me greater pleasure than the recent foundation of Russian and Spanish Chairs at Leeds. They fill two of those many gaps in our provision for European and Oriental languages which I have never lost a reasonable chance of naming as discreditable to a self-respecting university. Alike in Wales and in Leeds, I have further always felt and said that English is the true starting-point for all our language studies: English, and next (to my thinking) French. I hope that we do not forget, in Yorkshire at any rate, that the first of English poets to sing the creation of all things was the herdsman Cædmon, who found a learned home at Whitby. But neither do we forget the Norman element in our composite national strain: the many Norman remains in our

[1] Cicero, *pro Archia*, 1. 2

broad county keep that fresh in mind. The present European conflict will tend to confirm the position of French in our schools, and so to keep open the special pathway that leads back through Rome to Greece.

Our traditional love for the classic lands will, when the war is over, take many British travellers to Greece and Italy. Distant travel is hardly within the reach of the wage-earner; but it should be open to his son, if he has special gifts and special industry. At Leeds, as elsewhere, it would be open. Given a candidate whom I could conscientiously recommend for a Travelling Scholarship tenable at Athens or Rome, I feel confident that the University and the City of Leeds would together provide one for him. I believe thoroughly in the training given at the two British Schools of Archaeology it is scientific training of a high order. Nor need it injure purely literary study. Must not 'he who would the poet understand' pass within 'the poet's land'? Will not also the knowledge he gains of Italian and of Modern Greek be of great help to him when he returns? For our classical lecturers at Leeds we shall usually choose young archaeologists · one trained at Athens, the other at Rome. It is worthy of notice, in this connexion, that in the new universities a large number of classical posts have been created in recent years. At Bangor, when the College started, I was the only classical teacher; before I left, there were three. Twelve years ago there were two of us at Leeds where now there are four. These facts have their practical bearings. The gifted schoolboy we have had in mind will probably value knowledge for its own sake, but his parents usually look ahead and want to see the assurance of a competency. Hence the need of showing, from time to time, that the mere bread-and-butter outlook is not so bad as it may sometimes appear. There are many new university posts to be filled, and also (I hope) additional posts in secondary schools.

In pressing for the fresh funds needed to develop secondary and other education and to secure that Greek shall be provided by Government authority in an adequate number of schools open to the children of the poor, the new Council of Humanistic Studies will have at its back the five Associations which it represents. It will also have the goodwill of such organizations as the National Home Reading Union and the Workers' Educational Association. The latter, I am glad to say, has taken great interest in our Roman excavations near Huddersfield, and has asked for and received lectures on them at many Yorkshire towns. One of my dreams for the future is that a workman's son who has done well in our Leeds Honours School

of Classics, and has afterwards studied at Athens or Rome or both, should, if he is of the right stamp—full of sympathy, that is, for his own class, and free from that intellectual arrogance which is not confined to any class whether rich or poor—fill with missionary ardour and scholarly thoroughness the exacting post of a Workers' Educational Association Tutor. This Association, and the 'workers' generally (if one must accept that exclusive and invidious term), clearly mean to claim large educational opportunity for their children. In this they seem to me to be doing good service to the State. The only danger would be if they sought to retain indefinitely at school boys or girls who were not rising to their opportunity, but were simply wasting time. Of such a mistaken wish I have, however, seen no sign on the part of the workmen's representatives with whom I serve on the governing body of a small secondary school in Yorkshire. That, again, our workmen would of their own accord desire to crowd in science to the exclusion of the humanities, I have no reason to believe. Nor yet is it at all likely that our gallant soldiers will, when they return, be all for natural science and entirely without interest in the long tale of man's other struggles, defeats, victories, and unquenchable aspirations. Many (and among them not a few Leeds students of Greek) will not now come back. But the bulk of our citizen soldiers will be with us once more. They are no dregs of the population as in some past conflicts, but the very pick and flower of our manhood; and from their chivalrous crusade they will bring back little liking for the misapplied science, and the inhumanities, of war. Rather we may expect to find them filled with a great love for all humane strivings, and for those strict and accurate methods which we must needs employ, not in natural science only but in every field of serious work, if we are to reach the ideals at which we aim. There is surely an underlying unity of learning, knowledge, education; and of such humane science, of such scientific humanism, we can never have too much, for they are the handmaids of Life.

C.

I have mentioned various ways in which help may come to the always threatened, but never vanquished, cause of Greek. One way remains, and it may be touched on briefly in conclusion. *We who teach Greek must try to be better in ourselves and in our methods.* We must ourselves show more of that pure and disinterested love of knowledge which we like to see in our pupils, and which is found pre-eminently in the Socrates we profess to admire; we must be simple in our lives, and think less of material gain or the world's

esteem. With regard to methods, many fruitful suggestions have been made by the Classical Association during the thirteen years of its existence; and the modern illustrated editions, beginners' books, and other aids to the young learner are altogether beyond anything known in my own school-days.[1]

(1) Especially noteworthy is the *direct method* of teaching Greek and Latin, as practised at the Perse School, Cambridge. In the school world of to-day there are few things more interesting than to go some morning, as any one may do if he asks, to the Perse School, and see Dr. Rouse holding one of his classes. I happened to be there some years ago, on no show day, but one taken quite at a venture. An upper form was reading, in the Fifth Odyssey, the account of the making of the raft, or flat-bottomed boat, by Odysseus. Everything, and not simply the occasional quotations from the ancient Greek commentators, was spoken in carefully pronounced and accented Greek: not a word of English, though Latin was once used when a Latin book was named. Some details linger in the memory; I made no notes at the time, but I do not think I am far out. The teacher wanted to make sure that the meaning of the adjective *οἰσύινος* ('of osier') was grasped by the boy who was reading over the lines; and the boy promptly *touched wood*, in the shape of some wicker chairs which chanced to be at hand. Subject-matter was discussed no less than points of language. There seemed to be a clear inconsistency between two parallel passages of Homer which had been brought together. Various solutions are offered by the boys, but none gives satisfaction. At last a lad of dark complexion—'the shadow'd livery of the burnish'd sun' (a West Indian sun, I should guess)—suggests in well-modulated Latin that it is one of those cases in which 'bonus dormitat Homerus'. 'What poet wrote that?' quickly asks the teacher in Greek: *τίς ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖνα;* or something of the sort. As quickly comes the answer, '*Ὁράτιος ἐν βιβλίῳ* de Arte Poetica.' 'What line?' again in Greek. *πόστον ἔπος;* or *πόστος στίχος;* Down comes Horace from a reference shelf, and the line [359] is given in correct Greek without a moment's hesitation. The master sits there quiet but vigilant; and you feel that you have before you no unworthy successor of Manuel Chrysoloras, or Piero Vettori, or Vittorino da Feltre.

It is sometimes said that, in teaching, every method is right except the dull one. The Perse method may possibly bear hard on the shy

[1] And, further, much beyond what was usual twenty years ago, when I contributed (in 1897) a chapter on the Teaching of Greek to Dr Frederic Spencer's *Aims and Practice of Teaching*.

and unready boy: I do not know. But even he, one would think, would be carried out of himself, and borne happily along, by the liveliness of it all. These are living learners who use living languages; and you cannot imagine on their faces, bright alike at lessons and at play, that wooden look which sometimes marks boys who have been years at a classical school and are either the wrong boys for Greek or the victims of a wrong method. The Perse boys read with speed, and they enjoy every word; they sail along with the much-enduring Odysseus, and share his adventures, his trials, his all-conquering courage.[1]

(2) The method thus pursued by Dr. Rouse is essentially *literary* and *humane* not simply philological, linguistic, grammatical, though on this side also, including written compositions in prose and verse, the Perse School has remarkable results to show in various published reports.[2] The power of rapid and accurate reading in the original must somehow be obtained, if Greek literary masterpieces are to be known as artistic wholes and as part of that universal literature which reflects the higher mind of man. The time given to Greek to-day is less than in the past, and that which once took years to do must now take months. Yet, given proper teaching, the right boys and girls should in six months be able to read easy Greek literature with pleasure and appreciation. Let French and Latin rather than Greek bear the grammatical brunt; they come first, and more time can be spent on them.

(3) Again. our methods must not only be more direct and literary; they must also be more *historical* than they have often been. We must try, to the best of our power, to present Greek Civilization, or the mind and surroundings of the Ancient Greeks, in its true setting, with a background on which much new light has been thrown in our own time, and with a foreground which includes the struggling Civilizations of to-day. We must not interpret Greek scholarship in so narrow a sense as to forget that the written records of Greek Civilization are not confined to a single century or a single dialect. We must not restrain our pupils from reading Homer or Herodotus lest their Attic composition should thereby be injured, nor must it,

[1] In teaching Pass Degree students, I have found that lectures on the cunning Plot, or Structure, of the *Odyssey*, with rapid translations of the chief episodes and central passages in the twenty-four books, are an incentive to the reading of the poem as a whole. It is too seldom that such students see Odysseus reach Ithaca (in Book xiii) at all.

[2] See, for example, the Pamphlets of the Board of Education on Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, numbered as follows i. Teaching of Latin at the Perse School (1910); iii. Teaching of Greek at the Perse School (1914).

with equal pedantry, be reckoned an offence if, among later writings, they sometimes read the Old and New Greek Testament (the easiest, perhaps, of all Greek for English readers who are already familiar with the subject-matter), or Plutarch, Polybius, and Procopius, or the vigorous orations of Venizelos in the Greece of our own day. Geography has, happily, enrolled itself on the humanistic side in our present controversies; and what more humane introduction to historical geography could there be than the alluring narrative of the curious, shrewd, and chatty traveller whose birthplace was Halicarnassus? And how different is the *Anabasis* of Xenophon when the learner does not give all his time to discovering how many words and phrases the 'Attic Bee' gathers from non-Attic flowers, but thinks of Xenophon the writer as a man who had seen adventures in his day, and who, as a retired country gentleman, fond of field-sports and the writing of miscellaneous books, recalls those selfsame adventures and would desire his readers (young or old, ancient or modern) not to follow him slowly, grammatical parasang by grammatical parasang, but by rapid stages, till at last the sea is descried and Trebizond is reached.

It is in order to awaken, in some fractional measure, this broad historical view, not simply of the ancient literatures but of the ancient peoples, that I have done my best to make our School Lecture Scheme at Leeds a success. Even a single lecture of that kind, if thorough and comprehensive, is, I am persuaded, of the utmost value to boys in day schools, who have no tutorial help and do not spring from learned homes. To this day I remember with gratitude an hour's talk, proceeding from a well-stored mind and playing around a well-known movement in Roman History, which was given to the Sixth Form at the City of London School, on a dark afternoon some forty years ago, by a Balliol man not long since dead, Dr. John Marshall, who in his later days was Rector of the Royal High School at Edinburgh. It is the thought of the teaching I then had (thanks to the efforts of my father, a man of scanty means) from Dr. Abbott, Mr. Rushbrooke, Mr. Marshall, and others, and afterwards from the lecturers and tutors of my own College at Cambridge, that has made it always seem a bounden duty to attempt, in however small a degree, to repay the debt by handing on to others the light thus given to me. I have tried, to the best of my power, to bear always in mind the fine fraternal motto which at the City of London School preserves the memory of its founder, John Carpenter: 'Let carpenter help carpenter' (*Faber fabrum adiuvet*).[1]

[1] How much finer a spirit than that of the proverb 'Two of a trade', the Hesiodic *καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων.*

(4) . . . καὶ ὅλως δὴ περὶ πολιτείας, ὅπως εἰς δύναμιν ἡ περὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια φιλοσοφία τελειωθῇ.

Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.*, conclusion.

And, finally, I will not shrink from saying that our methods should be *political*, not in any narrow or partisan sense, but in the spirit which makes Plato in his *Πολιτεία*, or *Commonwealth*, criticize freely all the chief varieties of constitution, to the end that something better and more ideal may emerge for the good of men. In England we have never thought of Greek and Roman civilization as simply a study for antiquarians, a Science of Antiquity, an *Altertumswissenschaft*, but as a study and a training for modern citizens. This study has come down to us as part of a great and living tradition in Europe; conservative, in the broad and noble sense of that term; linking the past with the present and the future; full of warning and full of inspiration; breathing at once the purest patriotism and the most enlarged humanity. Greek civilization is our parent civilization; and we as its heirs are not unaware that Greek political systems were, at many points, different from our own. But we believe that, in statesmanship as in literature and other fields, the best minds learn much from comparison and contrast; and we can wish for nothing better than that the political and intellectual leaders who will arise from the ranks of the poor should gain, through these studies, long views as well as broad, and should practise patience and a belief in natural growth rather than in any violent wrench. The decay of great peoples in the past they should study without in the least relinquishing their faith that Britain holds within herself seeds of freedom, which she desires to plant in other lands no less than in her own, and from which there yet may spring a various but harmonious family of mankind.

Enshrined in Greek literature we have great precepts and examples of patriotism, humanity, and every other noble quality, and the gifted sons of the poor should have their chance of laying these to heart in the radiant words with which they are immortally united,—of reading in Homer how Odysseus saw the cities of men and learnt their mind; in Herodotus how excellent a thing is the right of equal speech; in Thucydides how like is human nature in every age, and how the best men look on courage as freedom and freedom as happiness; in Plato how the all-questioning and yet self-governed Socrates, with that face as of a Marsyas, never fails to entrance the young by the music and the beauty of his words and deeds. It is, above all, the teaching of Plato and Socrates (to us the two are one, in their common passion for goodness, truth, and beauty, and as the joint inspirers of such

idealism as is left to us in lacerated Europe to-day) that we must claim as the rightful heirloom of all, without distinction, who have the power to make it their own by 'long study and great love'. Our modern democracy has more than earned for its sons this free entry to the true treasures of the world,—to the best among life's good things During the war there have been, here and there, momentary outbursts at home which we cannot but regret, though these may be the price necessarily paid for that high degree of personal freedom which is the special attribute of democracy. But, viewed by the impartial eye of history, the British *demus* which has furnished our New Armies will one day be seen to make a glorious picture in the annals of our race. Justice has been its watchword, and it is to the best Greek and Roman sense of justice, uplifted and extended to all men by that feeling for human brotherhood which it is the function of religion to cherish, that we must look for re-established harmony between man and man, between State and State. It was a lofty instinct that led Socrates to maintain, through thick and thin and against overwhelming worldly arguments, that it is better to be wronged than to wrong; and this divine paradox finds its illustration not only in the even course pursued by the just man Socrates himself, when threatened in turn by the Athenian populace and by the Thirty Tyrants, but in the wrong suffered by Belgium at the hands of Germany to-day. Justice, too, is the keystone of Plato's Ideal State; and we can only hope and pray that those who should be the moral and intellectual guides of the future, whether they be found among the poor or among the rich, will not, like Plato's faint-hearted philosopher,[1] stand aside amid the storm of dust and sleet, but will help in bringing the Ideal State to pass. And as regards our national duty towards the rank and file of our returning Armies, let us not forget that, while Plato expects justice to be pursued for its own sake, he speaks (towards the end of the *Republic*) of the 'wages' that men on earth pay to the good and just.[2] It is surely not too much to ask that every British soldier who has fought bravely in a righteous cause should afterwards enjoy his just recompense for valour. And are there not many who would count it the best of all rewards to watch a son, whose mind has turned towards these perennial studies, reading about that idea of justice, upon the right understanding of which the future of mankind so largely rests, in some of the most sacred books that have been written in the Greek of any age, the undying voices of the Academy?

[1] Plato, *Republic*, vi. 496 D   [2] Ib. x. 614 A.

OBITUARY NOTICES

INGRAM BYWATER

1840–1914

INGRAM BYWATER was born in London in the parish of Islington on June 27, 1840. His father, John Ingram Bywater, a clerk in H.M. Customs, was a man of considerable intellectual gifts and distinction of character, a good German and French scholar, with some knowledge of Greek and Latin, and a lover of English Literature. Bywater was his only child, and he devoted himself to the formation of his son's mind. To the end of his life Bywater retained the deepest veneration for his father, and the liveliest gratitude for the training he had received from him.

At thirteen years of age Bywater was sent to University College School, of which Key was then head master, a good classic and mathematician and a skilful administrator. At the age of sixteen he was transferred to King's College School. This transfer was not due to any theological reason, but to the regulation enforced at University College School requiring boys to be removed on the completion of their sixteenth year. It is worth remarking that Bywater did not begin the study of Greek at school until that age. During his earlier school life the study of a modern language, and certain branches of mathematics, had been substituted for that of Greek.

In 1858 he went into residence at Oxford at Queen's College, where he had gained a scholarship by open competition a few months before. Thomson, afterwards Archbishop of York, was then President. W. W. Capes, afterwards the first University Reader in Ancient History, and Lewis Campbell, afterwards Professor of Greek at the University of St. Andrews, were amongst his College tutors. Bywater also attended the lectures of Conington, Professor of Latin, and of Jowett. To the former he brought copies of Latin verse, and availed himself of Jowett's invitation to bring essays to the latter. His essays specially attracted Jowett's commendation. Thanks to his father's self-denying liberality, Bywater also enjoyed the advantage of private tuition from T. H. Green, afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy; from James Bryce, Fellow of Trinity, now Viscount Bryce, O.M.; and from Robinson Ellis, afterwards Professor of Latin. His most intimate College friend was Walter H. Pater, who matricu-

lated as a commoner at Queen's in the same Term as that in which Bywater entered as a scholar. Their tastes and pursuits were at that time thoroughly congenial, although they afterwards diverged. Bywater had also a number of friends outside his own College. A Society, quaintly termed 'The Old Mortality' on account of the precarious health of some of its early members, had been founded by some undergraduates of Balliol College, though not limited exclusively to that College; and is still remembered on account of the distinction afterwards achieved by many of those who belonged to it. Several of them, such as Edward Caird, became known as thinkers and students. Algernon Swinburne and Viscount Bryce are names familiar to all. Swinburne maintained his intercourse with Bywater for some years after he had quitted the University.

Bywater was also a regular attendant on the debates of the Union Society, in which he occasionally took part. His election to the Librarianship of the Union shortly after his degree is a sufficient proof that his reputation as an undergraduate was not confined to the members of his own College. In 1860 he had obtained a First Class in Honour Classical Moderations, and a First Class in the School of Literae Humaniores in the Michaelmas Term of 1862. In the summer of 1863 he was elected to a Fellowship at Exeter College. The Long Vacation of 1864 was spent at Hanover for the purpose of acquiring a thorough knowledge of German. At the end of the Long Vacation his father died. This event was not only a great sorrow to his son, but finally decided his course in life. It threw upon him the responsibility of providing for his mother; and College teaching enabled him at once to earn a sufficient income for his needs. He continued to maintain a home for his mother until her death in 1893, spending the greater part of his Vacations with her till his marriage in 1885.

The life of a Fellow and Tutor of a College in 1863 was thoroughly congenial to him. There was a special feeling of *camaraderie* about it in those days of celibacy, when the College was regarded as a permanent home, which was necessarily weakened when Fellowships became terminable offices and married life the rule. But, before referring to the friendships he formed both with English and foreign scholars, special mention must be made of the intimacy which grew up between him and Mark Pattison, the Rector of Lincoln College.

Pattison's house was the centre of a small group of scholars who conceived that one of the main objects for which a University existed, or ought to exist, was the promotion of learning and research as well as of education, and set themselves both by precept and prac-

tice to convert the University to their views. The rise of such a body of scholars was due to various causes which need not be here analysed; but certainly the example of Germany was not the least potent among them. They would have pursued their aim even without Pattison's encouragement, but his learning and position as well as his powerful pen were of great service to them. Pattison found in Bywater a thoroughly congenial spirit, and treated him with almost paternal kindness, introducing him to many of the persons distinguished in the world of letters who visited his house at Oxford. Several of these—such as Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff, Mr. Cartwright of Aynho, Mr. J. Copley Christie, the author of *Etienne Dolet, a Protestant Martyr*, and Professor Westlake—became Bywater's lifelong friends. His recent bereavement made Pattison's friendship specially valuable to him. Pattison's own ideals were more ambitious and less clearly defined than Bywater's. Bywater had a more practical spirit, and while deriving great advantage from his intercourse with Pattison formulated his own views and plans for life. Both men recognized that one of the chief needs of the Oxford of that day was a clearer conception of the nature of scientific scholarship. Pattison himself expected too much from the raising of intellectual ideals, and in his advocacy of them he ignored the limitations imposed by practical considerations. Bywater and some of the ablest of his brother scholars paid far more attention than Pattison to the claims of education. Hence Bywater, though deeply indebted to the older scholar, defined his own course. The highest perfection of Greek Scholarship was his ideal, and within that wide domain he concentrated his studies on the language and literature of Greek philosophy.

There were two other points in which Bywater readily followed Pattison's lead, viz. in regarding learning not as insular or even national, but as a matter of world-wide concern, and the passion for collecting rare and valuable books in his own department. One of Pattison's most intimate friends was Jacob Bernays, who, although a Jew, and technically disqualified for a professorship according to Prussian law, had been appointed Librarian to Bonn University, and filled the professorship specially created for him. Bywater was introduced to Bernays by Pattison in 1867, and soon became almost as intimate with Bernays as Pattison himself had been. The high opinion which Bernays formed of him was communicated to other scholars, and no doubt in some cases served to obtain an earlier recognition of Bywater in Germany than his own unaided merits would have secured for him. On Bywater's collection of books something will be said later.

The social life of a College common-room, which in those days gave almost all the resident teachers in the University some acquaintance with each other, enabled Bywater to become known to men of various tastes and standing. There was no public smoking-room in those days, and many of those who had dined in the Hall adjourned for a while to Bywater's rooms, and carried away the recollection of his brilliant and genial talk In a short time there were few genuine students in Oxford in any department of knowledge who might not in a special sense be called Bywater's friends, even among those who seldom went into general society, such as H. W. Chandler, who succeeded Mansel as Professor of Moral Philosophy, and H. A Pottinger of Worcester College. Among the members of his own College he found in H. F. Tozer and C. W. Boase companions whose attainments placed them high among their contemporaries. After 1871 the colleague whose ideals were in most complete accordance with his own was H. F. Pelham, afterwards Camden Professor of Ancient History and President of Trinity College. Pelham, unlike Bywater, was not only a genuine student but a man of affairs. Bywater on principle abstained from spending time over University business, but indirectly through Pelham he exercised a considerable influence upon all the measures affecting University studies which came before the Hebdomadal Council when Pelham was a member of that body.

Very early in his career Bywater became regarded as one of the media of communication between English and foreign scholars. Bernays, as was said just now, was no doubt of service to him in Germany, and Neubauer, the eminent Semitic scholar, who had come from Paris to Oxford and had been admitted a member of Exeter College, helped to introduce him to his French friends. Before 1870 Bywater was intimate both with Taine and with Renan, and showed hospitality to both these eminent savants in Oxford in 1871. Among Germans, Mommsen had corresponded with him in reply to an address from English scholars after the loss of his library by fire. This acquaintance soon ripened into friendship, and Mommsen stayed with Bywater in Exeter College. With Zeller Bywater had formed a friendship in 1866, when he spent some weeks at Heidelberg for the purpose of attending Zeller's lectures. With Dr. Diels, secretary of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, he became very intimate after that body had invited him to share in completing their work on Aristotle. The French and German scholars to whose notice Bywater was brought by his writings, especially on Heraclitus and on Aristotle, are too numerous to be mentioned here. But there was one

characteristic of Bywater's friendships which was equally marked, whether those friendships were formed at home or abroad. He had a strong sense of brotherhood with all who shared his scholarly tastes. His friendship with them was not a mere intellectual tie. Their common intellectual interest laid the foundation for a closer relation of personal regard and mutual goodwill. Where he met with a congenial spirit, Bywater made no distinction between Englishman, Frenchman, or German. He fully acknowledged the great services which German scholars had rendered to learning, but the French spirit was more akin to his own. At the time of the Franco-German War most people in Oxford sympathized with Germany. They were to some extent the victims of the deception which Bismarck afterwards frankly acknowledged that he had palmed off on the world. Bywater even in 1870 maintained that the German military and political leaders were exploiting the patriotism and devotion of their countrymen in order to promote the aggrandizement of Prussia He lived long enough to express a very decided opinion on the attitude of the German men of letters and science in the present crisis, and to lament the interruption, if not the final dissolution, of those cordial relations between German and English scholars which he had striven to promote.

A word may be said as to his share in University and College business and the events of his personal history until his nomination to the Greek Chair in 1893. He became Tutor of his College, and took a prominent part in framing a new body of Statutes for the Commission of 1877, on which he acted as one of the three representatives of his College. He was Junior Proctor in 1873–4, and Examiner in the School of Literae Humaniores in 1871–2 and again in 1881. In 1879–80 he was for some months Sub-librarian of the Bodleian ; but he accepted the office at first only as an experiment, in order to ascertain what the duties were, before finally deciding to accept it. It was generally understood that if he were finally appointed he would establish a strong claim to succeed to the Chief Librarianship whenever it might fall vacant. After a few months' trial, he came to the conclusion that if he undertook the duties incumbent on a Sub-librarian at that juncture he would have to give up his literary work, and that he could not make this sacrifice. After the Statutes of the Commission of 1877 had been ratified in 1882, he was appointed University Reader in Greek. In 1885 he married Mrs. Sotheby, the widow of Hans Sotheby, formerly Fellow of Exeter College, a man of considerable literary gifts and attainments. No union was ever cemented by stronger ties of mutual affec-

tion and similarity of tastes and pursuits. Mrs. Bywater was a lady of great refinement and cultivation of mind, a good Greek scholar, proficient in Modern Greek and Italian, and in later years in Spanish language and literature. She left a considerable bequest to Oxford University associated with the name of her first husband, for encouraging the study of Byzantine and Modern Greek, and her name will go down to posterity with that of Bywater as not the least of the benefactors of the University. By this marriage he forfeited his Fellowship at Exeter, but was re-elected and continued to hold his Fellowship until his appointment to the Regius Professorship of Greek on the death of Jowett in 1893.

The nomination of Bywater to the Greek Chair marks a stage in the history of Oxford scholarship. It was welcomed by him and his friends as a sign that the policy in matters of learning and research advocated by them had won general approval. The contrast in this respect between him and Jowett will serve to introduce the account of Bywater's literary work and of his conception of the requirements of scientific scholarship. Jowett had always wished his labours to bear fruit as rapidly and as widely as possible. Thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Platonic Socrates, he applied it to Theology and to the criticism of ideas generally. He was essentially a popularizer, in the best sense of the word. He appealed to a large and cultivated audience, but not exclusively or primarily to an audience of scholars. Hence the importance which he attached to translation. His translation of Plato was his greatest work in this department, and it has taken its place among English classics. It is impossible to belittle Jowett's achievements. His reading in Greek literature had been very wide, and extended far beyond the usual curriculum. He was a stimulating and devoted teacher; and, notwithstanding the exacting nature of his administrative duties as head of a College and Vice-Chancellor, he never relaxed his studies, although some of his most cherished designs were left unfulfilled.

The importance of that aspect of classical study on which Jowett insisted can never be ignored; but for all that he could not be called a scientific scholar. No one could deserve this epithet who did not make exact scholarship his primary aim. Bywater and his friends clearly saw that if Oxford was to retain its position among learned Universities, the conception of what constituted scientific scholarship must be raised. The perfection of learning, not the popularization of the Classics, was their chief aim. Jowett was indifferent to textual criticism. Bywater considered that all accurate knowledge of the ancient writers must start with a sound text, otherwise the record

will be falsified and it will be impossible to know exactly what an ancient writer meant to say. Jowett was quite willing to master the whole of such a voluminous author as Plato, and to recognize the development of his ideas, but something more than that was necessary for perfect knowledge. The writer's contemporaries must be known in order to determine the linguistic usages of his age. All allusions and references to him in contemporary and succeeding literature must be studied together with the comments of those who had been the ablest interpreters of his writings in after ages. If sound criticism was the basis of scientific scholarship, this comprehensive knowledge was essential for the superstructure. Bywater himself in his English version of the *Poetics* used paraphrase as a means of interpreting the treatise. He objected to Jowett's use of translation not merely because it was translation, but because purity of English style and charm of expression became the chief aim of the translator, and the exact comprehension and interpretation of the author was treated as a secondary matter.

In all his literary work Bywater strove to illustrate in his own practice that conception of learning in the highest sense of the word which has just been stated. About the end of 1864 he settled down to his life's work. He applied himself to master not only the principal writings of Greek philosophers of various schools and the principal commentaries on them, but also to read through those of the Greek Fathers who came under the influence of Aristotle, Plato, and their successors. He also practised himself in the decipherment and criticism of manuscripts, and became familiar with the use of this art, before availing himself of the help of expert assistants. Shortly before his death Bywater drew up a list of the books and articles to which he gave the stamp of his final approval. A large number of the items in this list consist of monographs which appeared chiefly in the *Journal of Philology*, though a few were printed in other journals, including the *Hermes* and the *Rheinisches Museum*. It is much to be desired that some of them should be collected in a volume and edited by a competent scholar. One of the most brilliant of these short essays was published as early as 1869. He there struck new ground in comparing the *Protrepticus* of Iamblichus with Cicero's *Hortensius*, and thus unearthed many hitherto undiscovered fragments of the *Protrepticus* of Aristotle. The course of his reading is further indicated by his review of Dindorf's edition of Clemens Alexandrinus published in *The Academy* in 1870, and containing a scathing commentary on what he termed a literary scandal. He had already recognized the expediency of bringing out a separate work which

would enable European scholars to judge whether the new aspirant to honour was capable of realizing his literary ambitions. Many scholars, especially in Germany, had turned their attention to Heraclitus, 'the obscure'. Among these was Bernays himself. Bywater set himself to revise the list of fragments, to place them in what he conceived to be their historical order, and to publish all the references to them in Greek literature. He was able by his own researches to add two or three new fragments and various *testimonia*, and the result of his labours was generally acclaimed by scholars as the definitive edition. He had consulted Bernays at every step, and had finally submitted the work to him in proof for criticism and advice. Bywater, in his preface to the book, pays the handsomest possible tribute to his friend. Bywater's Heraclitus, modest in size as it is, established his reputation among those best qualified to judge, and brought him letters from several of the great scholars of an older generation. His Heraclitus, published in 1877, was followed by his *Gnomologium Baroccianum*, printed from a manuscript in the collection of that name in the Bodleian Library. It may be described as a chip from his workshop, and was worthy of the author of Heraclitus. He had already begun to work on the text of Diogenes Laertius, upon which something more will shortly be said, but for some years to come his most fruitful labour was expended on Aristotle. In 1882 he had been asked on behalf of the Berlin Academy of Sciences to edit the writings of Priscianus Lydus for the third and concluding portion of the great edition of Aristotle and his Commentators undertaken by the Academy. Bywater completed the task in a little more than two years, visiting Rome, Naples, and Florence in search of manuscripts, and obtaining skilled assistance in the work of collation. The highest praise was awarded to Bywater's work by the late Professer Usener (in the *Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, no 26), who justly says of it that Priscian is here given to us for the first time in this edition.

Bywater was in after life the recipient of various distinctions, including honorary degrees at the Universities of Cambridge, Dublin, and Durham; but no tribute of this kind gave him more pleasure than his nomination, after the publication of his edition of Priscianus Lydus, as Corresponding Member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences. After his appointment to the Readership of Greek in 1883 and to the Professorship in 1903 Bywater lectured chiefly on Aristotle, choosing such portions as suited those students who were devoting themselves to mature study. The influence which he exercised over them was gained to some extent through the Aristotelian Society

which was established under his presidency after he had become Reader in Greek.

In 1890 he published a revised text of Aristotle's *Ethics*, and in 1898 a similar text of the *Poetics*. His English edition of the *Poetics* was not published until 1909, the year after he resigned the Professorship of Greek. His distinguished successor in the Regius Professorship of Greek, when referring to his predecessor in his inaugural lecture, lays special emphasis on two points, viz. the slightness of the change, often a mere alteration of the punctuation, involved in some of Bywater's most brilliant emendations, and the impression of great unsounded depths of learning left by him on the minds of other scholars. Bywater indeed exhibited a rare combination of caution and boldness. His first business was to understand the text and to make the most of it. Reconstruction was called for only where a text was manifestly and demonstrably corrupt. In dealing with a text of this kind his great stores of accumulated knowledge were called into play. In this way respect for authority was combined with depth of insight and sureness of touch in restoring a lost original, which carried conviction with them. He expended immense labour on details, such as drawing up the indices to the Greek of both the treatises of Aristotle which he edited. In the English edition of the *Poetics* he made no attempt to construct a general theory of Poetry by the aid of the *Poetics*, still less to found on the *Poetics* a general theory of Art. 'You must not expect from me anything about fine art,' he once said to a friend, 'for I don't think that Aristotle said anything about it.' In his preface to the *Poetics* he remarks that 'Aristotelian theories of Art constructed in this way are not unlike the Aristotelian systems of logic of which we have seen so many; the parts are Aristotle's, but the synthesis is always to some extent our work, not his'. The whole of this preface should be read by any one who wishes to understand Bywater's own view of the proper method of handling the text of an ancient writer. 'Dry light', exact and comprehensive knowledge, not brilliant hypotheses, were his aims.

Among his minor writings there are three which have a certain autobiographical interest. His account of Henry Nettleship in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is highly instructive. What he says of Nettleship applies equally to himself. His letter to the Rev. John Wordsworth, printed in 1880, marks the only occasion in which Bywater intervened in a controversy of the day. The last public lecture he delivered in 1907, on 'The Erasmian pronunciation of Greek and its Precursors', one of the most brilliant of his shorter

studies, also throws light on his own preferences and tastes. Antonio of Lebrixa, whose work as a scholar is the main subject of the lecture, was a man after Bywater's own heart, who, though a Catholic, was in the days of the Counter-Reformation in his way a champion of free thought, detached from the prejudices of his countrymen, and, as a scholar, worthy to be compared to Erasmus.

It is a misfortune for English scholarship that Bywater's contemplated edition of Diogenes Laertius was never completed, or indeed advanced within measurable distance of completion. He had intended to bring out an edition of this author somewhat similar to the English edition of the *Poetics*. References to his design occur in his correspondence both with Pattison and Bernays, and he visited various continental libraries for the purpose of collating manuscripts or procuring collations of them. Pattison considered that seven or eight years' close application would be required for such a work. Bywater never had the time at his disposal, first through the distractions of various other work, and, in his later years, through ill health. In 1876 he visited Leyden in order to assure himself that Cobet had no intention of bringing out a final text, and also to obtain the use of Cobet's materials; but that great scholar, though very friendly and sympathetic, was so unmethodical that neither then nor after his death could Bywater gain possession of them. In 1879 and 1880 he published the Life of Aristotle by Diogenes Laertius, and a specimen of his projected text, and a few years afterwards he received and copied a collation made by his friend Dr. Diels. The various collations, including the last, made by him from time to time, have been carefully preserved, and may, it is hoped, be used by some competent scholar hereafter.

In estimating Bywater's influence and literary activity generally, account must be taken of the great quantity of work done by him in editing or supervising learned periodicals and publications. He expended much time and labour on the *Journal of Philology* after becoming one of the editors on the retirement of J. W. Clark and J. E. B. Mayor in 1878. His work as editor brought him into close relation with leading Cambridge scholars, especially Dr. Henry Jackson, afterwards Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge. The *Journal of Philology* has exercised a powerful influence on English scholarship through the careful supervision exercised over all articles offered to the editors and the advice and direction given by them to younger scholars. The lasting effect which Bywater has produced was largely due to his constant kindness to all those younger scholars whom he inspired by his example, and who entertained the warmest feelings

of gratitude and admiration for him. He was keenly interested in the Hellenic Society from its inception; and when consulted, as he often was, by the editors of Classical journals, never grudged time or trouble in complying with their requests.

Some of his greatest services to literature were unostentatiously rendered in his capacity of Delegate of the Oxford University Press. At the time of his death he had served either as nominated or as perpetual Delegate for some thirty-five years, and had done as much for that great publishing business as most of the literary advisers of the largest private firms are wont to do on their behalf. No Delegate had more weight in selecting the books to be published, and few, if any, devoted so much time to the supervision of the work whilst it was in progress. It may be added that he also became a member of the Roxburghe Club and took an active part in its proceedings.

The mention of his collection of books as well as his connexion with the British Academy naturally falls into the account of his later years. Professor Gomperz, who was one of his closest friends, was the representative of Vienna at the meeting of the International Association of Academies in London in 1903, and had shown an interest in the foundation of the British Academy, of which Bywater was one of the first members. It is needless to speak of the esteem with which he was regarded by his colleagues. A warm tribute has been paid to him by Viscount Bryce, O.M., in his Presidential Address delivered on June 30, 1915. In 1907 he represented the Academy at Vienna in the unavoidable absence of the President, Lord Reay, and greatly enjoyed the courtesy and hospitality then extended to him, especially by Gomperz.

Bywater's collection of rare books had begun under Pattison's inspiration, as has already been mentioned, in his early days at Oxford. From the beginning he exercised the greatest care in their selection. Before his marriage he had amassed a considerable library. After his marriage it grew rapidly, and continued to grow until the end of his days. The list entitled 'Elenchus librorum vetustiorum apud * * hospitantium', which he printed for private circulation in 1911, is itself a treasure in the eyes of book collectors. It was dedicated to the memory (*piis Manibus*) of Émile Legrand, the author of the *Bibliographie hellénique*, in nine volumes, with whom he had been in constant correspondence since 1888. Another of his intimate friends with whom he frequently corresponded about rare books was Monsieur H. Omont, the eminent French savant and bibliophile. It was Bywater's favourite practice to give books from time to time to his friends or to public libraries. The Universities of

Cambridge and of Louvain received a tribute from him, and he gave a large number of books in 1904 to the University of Turin for the purpose of aiding that University in replacing a collection that had been destroyed by fire. His whole collection of rare books was left to the Bodleian, and has been described by Bodley's Librarian in the *Bodleian Record* of January, 1915. After his wife's death in 1907 Bywater resigned the Regius Professorship on the ground of failing health, though his strength had evidently been impaired even before his bereavement. He continued as far as possible to maintain his correspondence with scholars and fulfil his duties as editor of the *Journal of Philology* and Delegate of the Press. But about three years before his end symptoms of a fatal malady began to appear, and he died on December 17, 1914.

His life from his early days in Oxford to its close was essentially that of an Oxford scholar; but, as the mention of his friendships will already have indicated, he was by no means a recluse. He was as much admired and esteemed by those who knew him only in private life as by the learned world. He was conspicuously free all through his career from any suspicion of personal susceptibility which could warp his judgement or influence his conduct. His most prominent quality, and the foundation of his character, was, undoubtedly, the sensitiveness of his intellectual conscience and his unhesitating obedience to its dictates. The intellect is not the whole man, but in the sphere of conduct it is hardly less valuable than in its own proper province. He had in addition to his intellectual qualities a deep vein of sympathy in his nature, and a kindness of heart which made itself felt under the disguise in which he often veiled it. There was a manly reserve about him which imposed itself upon those with whom he associated. He preferred that sympathy should be understood, not expressed, and was averse from anything like pose or exaggeration. He enjoyed nothing so much as genial talk with those whom he knew and trusted. He was inflexibly resolute and outspoken, but at the same time transparently just, large-hearted, and considerate. To his personal qualities and the influence and esteem which they secured for him, almost as much as to his great intellectual gifts and attainments, is to be ascribed the permanent mark which he has left on the history of Classical study at Oxford.

W. W. JACKSON.

ROBERT YELVERTON TYRRELL

1844–1914

Robert Yelverton Tyrrell was born at Ballingarry, co. Tipperary, in 1844. His father was the Rev Henry Tyrrell, who afterwards was Rector of the pretty village of Kinnitty in the King's County. He was educated at a private school in Hume Street in Dublin. In 1860, when only sixteen, he entered Trinity College, obtaining First Entrance Prizes in Greek Verse, Latin Prose, and Latin Verse; and Second Prize in Greek Prose. In 1861 he obtained Classical Scholarships in his first year, a feat almost unheard of up to his time and certainly unheard of in a boy of seventeen. In 1864 he graduated as a double First (first of all in Classics and fourth in Logic and Ethics) In the same year he got the Vice-Chancellor's Prize in Greek Verse for a play on the subject of Hypatia, part of which he afterwards published. In 1868 he obtained Fellowship at the age of twenty-four on very brilliant answering in Classics In 1871 he became Professor of Latin; in 1880 Regius Professor of Greek; in 1899 Senior Tutor and Public Orator; in 1904 Senior Fellow and Registrar. He obtained Honorary Degrees from the Queen's University of Ireland, Edinburgh (1884), Cambridge (1892), Oxford (1893), St. Andrews (1906), and Durham (1907). In 1901 he was chosen one of the first fifty members of the British Academy.

The influence which Tyrrell exercised on classical studies in his University cannot be overestimated. That influence was due, not only to his great gifts and cultivated insight into the beauties of thought and expression of the classical authors, but also to the intensity of his conviction that classical studies were the best training to make men effective and attractive in whatever walk of life they might adopt. His lectures—which were seldom regular set prelections, but were nearly always of the nature of joint investigations with his pupils, guided by a commanding and penetrating mind—will not readily be forgotten by those who had the privilege of attending them His epigrammatic turn of mind and his independence of thought used to evolve criticisms on writers and commentators, which were at once pungent and illuminating. They used to pass from mouth to mouth, and led his hearers, or co-operators as he was fain to call them, to independence of thought and to avoid too overwhelming a subservience to the opinion of any scholar-hero of the moment. He had that most

excellent gift in a teacher of being able to put himself at the standpoint of his pupils; and he was always, when the present writer attended him, only too ready to give adequate words to any inchoate thought which any earnest pupil would advance, and, if it had anything in it, bring that out with commendation, and pass over in the kindest way possible its defective features. Such a teacher is of course more or less at the mercy of bores; but Tyrrell was able to suffer bores if not quite gladly, yet with urbanity (a quality which was a special note of his character), and he was generally able by some well-chosen but not unkindly word to prevent too much time being wasted on laborious and wholly useless argumentations. But with an interested and interesting pupil, such say as Ridgeway, he was ever ready for a discussion; and nothing could have been more instructive for the rest of us in the class, and indeed perhaps for the protagonists themselves, than such a clashing of independent minds. It can be gathered that Tyrrell's usual lectures (as distinguished from set prelections) were not by any means highly systematic performances; indeed, the present writer has sometimes wondered what would have been his fate if an education inspector of the present day had heard such desultory conversations (as they often might be termed) and discovered that perhaps not more than twenty lines had been got over in the day. But his influence on the minds of his pupils, fairly visible even in class, really came out in their private talks afterwards. For he created a real, not a mere examination, interest in the subjects he taught: and his clear, penetrating, and tersely-expressed criticisms and expositions struck home to us and became part and parcel of our own intellectual furniture. He arose in an age in Trinity College of somewhat ponderous learning: but along with his friends Dr. Ingram, Dr. Mahaffy, Dr. Dowden, and Mr. Arthur Palmer, he created a new spirit whereby a fresh and vivid feeling for literature in general and for classical antiquity in particular was awakened, even if some loss of old-world erudition was thereby sustained.

He first came to be known in England in 1867 by a little book of translations into Greek and Latin Verse which he called *Hesperidum Susurri*. He was twenty-three at the time and had not yet obtained Fellowship. It was the joint work of him and two friends, Mr. Brady and Mr. Cullinan. Tyrrell was the prime mover in the publication, and his translations in the volume are the more commanding and venturesome. His University had obtained no little fame across the water in Mathematics: and he was anxious to show that it had a Classical school also. The work was a small one, mere whispers beside the clear-toned music of the *Sabrinae Corolla* and the *Arundines Cami*:

but it was generously received and encouraged by English scholars; and a kindly recognition by Professor Jebb was, I believe, the beginning of a lifelong friendship which sprang up between those two congenial spirits. A short time after he had got Fellowship he started *Kottabos*, a College miscellany of Greek and Latin Verse, and of English pieces which were mostly light and graceful, parody being especially prominent. This miscellany flourished exceedingly during the twelve years of Tyrrell's editorship. One famous parody by Mr. R. F. Littledale called 'The Oxford Solar Myth' obtained world-wide reputation. But Tyrrell's own parodies of Herodotus ('Herodotus in Dublin'), of Aristotle ('On Smoking'), of Mommsen ('A monograph on the position of Balbus in Roman History'), and a series of notes supposed to have been written by eminent scholars of the seventies on the first line of the *Aeneid*, all brought the magazine and their author no little fame. The last indeed appear to have caused some temporary offence in some quarters—perhaps because the arrows had hit their mark. For as has been said (in the obituary notice in *Hermathena*) 'Tyrrell seems to have employed parody in the manner of Aristophanes, not only as something agreeable in itself, but as an effective instrument of criticism'. He believed implicitly that

Ridiculum acri
Fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res,

and small things too. On one occasion, during an epidemic of proposals for creating new, especially scientific, societies in the University, when Tyrrell had himself been somewhat afflicted with proses which contained the most subtle subjunctives imaginable, he declared with great solemnity that he was going to found a Society for the suppression of Geology and the encouragement of the Indicative Mood. He never parodied the work of modern writers unless he thought it extravagant or was unduly and insincerely worshipped. His especial aversion in this respect was Robert Browning: and he was never tired of parodying him. Courage and sincerity were cardinal features of Tyrrell's character, especially as regards literary work: and no matter how high any writer stood in popular veneration, he never would bow the knee unless he was convinced that the veneration was rightly placed and sincerely felt.

He was at his best in translation, whether into Greek and Latin, or from those languages into English. He could feel at once the way the idea in question would have been expressed by a writer in the other language, as in the story of a challenge made to him to translate into a Latin Verse 'But look through Nature up to Nature's God',

with sure instinct he felt that *res* was the word for 'Nature' (*At res contemplans auctorem collige rerum*). In the writing of Greek and Latin Verses of every style from that of Homer to Walter Map, he no doubt had some superiors, but they were few. A good specimen of his translations into English is the long passage of Petronius in his *Latin Poetry*, pp. 276 ff. And he was nearly, if not quite, as good at literary criticism. His lectures delivered in America in 1893 at the Johns Hopkins University, which he subsequently published under the title of *Latin Poetry*, are delightful in their freshness and clearness; and in them he proved himself a worthy follower in the school of Sellar. His was all a literary mind: it was literature and scholarship that captivated him. In the side-studies (if one may call them so), such as investigation of manuscripts, archaeology, history, comparative philology, all those subjects which in his young days used to be called 'collaterals', he had little interest. He was not what would be deemed in the present day a learned man: and he was the first to acknowledge it himself. The laborious accumulation of everything that had been said on a subject was useful, but outside his tastes. Not that he despised even mere erudition: but he feared it in his own case. He feared it would tend to quench his natural insight. He admired those who cultivated wide fields of classical learning—if they cultivated them well. but it was a comparatively small field that claimed his affection. However, that field was indeed well tilled. It comprised only real classics and he did most thoroughly know the text of his Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Plautus, Horace, Cicero's Epistles, and a very considerable amount of Shakespeare. They had become part of the very texture of his mind: and they were ever at hand for appropriate and delightful employment.

In 1871 he published his edition of the *Bacchae*, which was the result of three terms' lecturing to the First Year Honour Class in that play. It was subsequently incorporated in Macmillan's Classical Series. Euripides was at one time one of his favourite authors, and in 1881 he published an edition of the *Troades*, which reached a second edition three years later In 1873 he and his former teacher, Dr. Ingram, then Regius Professor of Greek, were the main instruments in inaugurating *Hermathena*, which still survives as a witness to their enterprise. In 1879 he planned his edition of Cicero's Correspondence and issued the first volume. That edition was the main work of his life; and he was so far happy in his death that he saw several of the volumes in second editions and the work as a whole not yet superseded. He was led to this edition by his duty

(as Professor of Latin) of lecturing for several years both the Honour Degree and the Second Year Honour men in portions of the Correspondence. In 1880 he was made Regius Professor of Greek: and from that time all his lecturing in College was in Greek. Report said his lectures on Aristotle's Politics, on Sophocles, on Aeschylus, and above all on Pindar, were even superior to his lectures on Latin authors. However, he never published editions of any of those authors except a text of Sophocles which would perhaps have been more successful if it had been printed in more usual type. But he wrote able and interesting essays on Pindar and Sophocles (reprinted in 1909 among his *Essays in Greek Literature*) in the *Quarterly Review*, to which, as well as to the *Fortnightly*, he was a constant contributor He also kept himself *au courant* with all the specially literary works which came to light from the papyri, and he contributed many emendations of difficult passages. He was a strong opponent of the view that the *Constitution of Athens* was the work of Aristotle. He greatly admired Bacchylides and wrote an attractive essay on that author with many felicitous translations of passages in his poems. Meanwhile he kept up his Latin studies. Greek and Latin studies should not be divorced even in a Professor of Greek was a view he always held. His work on Cicero was constant. and he kept running beside that no little work on Plautus, a writer in whom he took great delight. His edition of the *Miles Gloriosus* reached at least three editions and is a useful introduction to a special study of that author. In 1902 he edited Terence for the new series of Oxford Texts.

Tyrrell had a splendid constitution: but it is difficult to help feeling that he worked too hard when he was young, and lived too active and high-pitched an intellectual life, so that he was ill able to bear those periods which inevitably come when 'one's light is low, one's heart is sick and all the wheels of Being slow'. He used to play racquets and lawn-tennis, the latter till well over his fiftieth year, sometimes with too great vigour. It was in 1899 that, by a strain he suffered while playing lawn-tennis, he got thrombosis in one of his legs which spread to the other, with the result that he had a most tedious period of invalidism; and he never was quite himself again. He could not take his usual exercise, and it seemed as if he suddenly passed straight from being a young man to being an old one. He never seemed to the present writer to be able after that to keep up for a prolonged time his wonted high level of intellectual interest in any study; after an hour or two he would flag, but for short periods he was intellectually as vigorous as ever.

In 1899 he was made Senior Tutor, which necessitated his resigning the Professorship of Greek. He was also made Public Orator. He had officiated in the latter position seven years before with conspicuous success on the occasion of the Trinity College Tercentenary, the existing Public Orator at the time, Professor Arthur Palmer, being unable to act owing to illness in his family. In 1900 he succeeded Dr. Mahaffy (who had become a Senior Fellow) in the Chair of Ancient History, which he held till 1904, when he himself became a Senior Fellow. but the subject was not accordant with the especially literary bent of his genius. When he became a Senior Fellow in 1904 he was elected to the office of Registrar of the Board of the College, and for eight years he fulfilled efficiently the duties of that arduous post. He had one business habit of inestimable value: he never delayed answering ordinary business letters. As a member of the Board—indeed all through his life—he had the greatest sympathy with the Undergraduates and was almost invariably on their side in any dispute with the authorities, and he was deservedly most popular with them.

During the last few years of his life he was sorely tried. It was again his legs that troubled him, and a form of gangrene developed which not infrequently, as is stated by experts, attacks men of advancing years. For month upon month he used to be kept either in bed or sitting in a chair with his legs propped up: and whatever praise he deserved for his many other excellencies, no praise could be too great for the patience he displayed during all that dreary time. He did not suffer much actual pain: but the tedium of an inactive and wearying life to an active-minded man was very trying, though he was nursed with devoted care, which he never wearied of recognizing; as indeed he was always ready to recognize and show gratitude for any kindness. He died peacefully on the morning of September 19, 1914, in the seventy-first year of his age.

He took his fair share in the discussion of College business and in sitting on College Committees, especially when anything connected with the welfare of the Classical School was at stake. For a great number of years he was a representative of the Junior Fellows on the Academic Council. In public business outside College he took little part: but he was one of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland since 1881, and at the time of his death the senior member of that body. He did a good deal of examining for the Universities of London, Glasgow, New Zealand, and others, as well as for the Irish Intermediate Education Board: and for many years he was an examiner in Classics for the Indian Civil Service. He was a strong

Unionist, but did not take any active part in politics. He was a constant theatre-goer, and looked up to as a sound dramatic critic. He did not care at all for travelling: but he sometimes went to the near Continent, and once to America to lecture. His vacations he liked to spend at Greystones. When surprise was once expressed to him that a scholar so imbued with Greek feeling was not desirous of going to Greece, he said pleasantly, 'Well, you see, if I went there and found myself defrauded by a man called Aristides, it might spoil the illusion.'

He married in 1874 the eldest daughter of Dr. Shaw, one of his colleagues among the Fellows. He was singularly happy in his domestic life. He never worked after dinner: he liked to have that period of the day with his family. No household could have been brighter than his: and at no house was a visitor ever made more welcome. He had (as the saying is) a genius for friendship: his friends were many, perhaps the dearest of all was Henry Butcher. As a conversationalist Tyrrell had few compeers. People with literary tastes naturally gravitated to his house, where at times the arrows of discussion would fly about, until the master-bowman, he, would cleave the mark with some admirably terse saying, especially on any literary subject. For literature and scholarship were what he most valued and admired: ordinary worldly things, wealth and position, were good no doubt and he supposed necessary, but of less weight and not of the positive essence of life. This was his feeling to the very end. Last summer, at the wedding of one of his daughters, he said to a guest, 'I am certainly most fortunate in my sons-in-law. All three of them are fond of literature and very good scholars too.' They had other excellencies, on which he might have congratulated himself; but those in his eyes were the chief and the most essential.

LOUIS C. PURSER.

SAMUEL ROLLES DRIVER

1846–1914.

It may be said of Driver, as of many great scholars, that his life was uneventful. He was born (in 1846) of well-to-do parents, went to school at Winchester, thence gained a scholarship at New College, where he afterwards became a Fellow, and continued to live in Oxford till his death in 1914. He travelled little, had no very striking experiences, and was never much before the general public. His was in fact the usual academic career, though marked by unusual distinction. Yet from another point of view, and quite as truly, no man was ever more vividly, more acutely alive, more strenuously active in the work that he had to do, or (at least in his later years) more persistently exposed to the shocks of controversy in consequence of it. This keenness of interest has been well shewn in the portrait of him painted by Britton Rivière in 1909–10, and now hanging in the lodgings of the Regius Professor of Hebrew at Christ Church.

Most people, outside University circles, know of him as the champion of the higher criticism of the Pentateuch, but this was a development which was rather forced upon him, although it came to occupy most of his energies. It was not Driver's way to adopt a point of view and then set out to find reasons for doing so. His life was one of systematic preparation and progress. He was a great biblical critic because he was first a great Hebrew scholar, and he would not have been so great a Hebraist if he had not been a fine classical scholar. It was his early training in classical Moderations and Litterae Humaniores at Oxford which, combined with the natural straightforwardness of his mind, gave him precision in Hebrew Scholarship, enabled him to estimate evidence, and caused him to reject without hesitation theories which could not be supported by facts. This straightforwardness, accuracy, precision, he succeeded in communicating to others. He could not tolerate anything slovenly in the work of his pupils or fellow-scholars. If Driver read your proofs you had to be careful. Any rash conjecture, any over-statement, any loose argument would elicit the remark, 'Oh, you know, you can't quite say that,' and you altered it. His own proofs must often have been a sore trouble to printers. He would add or delete, correct or re-write

remorselessly again and again, until he was quite sure that he had expressed exactly the meaning he wished to convey.

It is perhaps not generally known that he came of a Quaker family, and many of his characteristics are such as one associates with the best members of that Society: his reverence and common sense, and even a certain shrewdness which made him a good man of business as well as a great scholar. His natural reserve may also be part of the same heritage. To most people he seemed cold, almost unfeeling, but this was very far from being the case. To his friends he was loyal and affectionate, to his family he was devoted, but feelings never prejudiced his sense of justice, any more than reverence interfered with biblical criticism.

It is not proposed to give here a bibliography of Driver's work. Indeed it would be impossible to do so, for much of it (and by no means the least valuable part) was done in helping others, and is only known, if at all, from a sentence in a preface. The amount of patient labour which he lavished in this way is almost incredible, for there has hardly been a book published in Oxford during the last twenty-five years on Hebrew or biblical subjects which does not owe something to his guidance. Apart from numerous contributions to periodicals and books of reference, the list of his independent publications is remarkable. A few only will be mentioned as being typical of the various sides of his activity.

After becoming Fellow of New College in 1870, he was for some years engaged in tutorial work, but found time to work at Hebrew, reading especially the mediaeval Jewish commentators with the help of the late Dr. Neubauer, who had recently settled in Oxford through the influence of Pusey. The chief result of their collaboration was a work on the 'Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah' according to Jewish commentators, to which Pusey contributed an introduction (1876–7). This literature, however, did not afford sufficient scope for his special qualities of mind, and he did not long continue to be interested in it. The work in which he shewed those qualities to the best effect is his 'Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew' (1874), undoubtedly his finest piece of scholarship, and a sure foundation of all Hebrew syntax. It put him at once in the front rank of Hebrew scholars, and it was largely owing to the reputation he gained by it that he was invited to join the Old Testament Revision Company (1876). He was still young enough (at the age of thirty) to be strongly influenced by another young member of the Company, W. Robertson Smith. The latter's boldness and originality, combined with great learning and breadth of view, were a valuable stimulus, and did much to deter-

mine the course of Driver's subsequent development. At the same time Driver himself had a very decisive influence on the work of the Company. Another member of it speaks of his 'great mental excitement at the meetings', and those who knew him can well imagine the keen earnestness he would display in the discussion of difficulties. The Revision continued till 1884, and it was this experience, together with his association with Robertson Smith, which more than anything else decided his exclusive devotion to biblical criticism. When Pusey died in 1884, Driver's work on the Revision, and his now famous 'Hebrew Tenses', chiefly accounted for his appointment as Regius Professor.

Important in another way was his 'Commentary on the Books of Samuel' (1890). This was valuable as a commentary, a style of work in which he excelled, but even more for the introduction in which he gave, for the first time in English, a compendious account of Hebrew palaeography. It was the first of a long series of commentaries—on Leviticus (1894), Deuteronomy (1895), Joel and Amos (1897), Daniel (1900), Genesis (1904), Job (1906), Minor Prophets (1906), Jeremiah (1906), Exodus (1911). In 1891 appeared his 'Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament', which for the first time made the results of criticism generally accessible even to those who are not specialists. His principle may be said to have been *quod ubique quod ab omnibus*. It was never his object to startle the world. Nothing could have been more distasteful to him. He aimed at sifting facts from theories, and presenting what was certain in the best form, content to under-state his case rather than to gain an effect by straining the evidence. In this sense the Introduction especially was a masterly summing-up, remarkable for its lucid treatment of obscure questions, and of permanent value as an example of sound method. That Pusey should have been succeeded in the professorship by Driver was indeed a sign that the old order had changed. Even those who could not accept the teaching of the modern school had begun to feel that there was a problem to be solved, and not a new one either, though Pusey put it aside. It was the first duty of his successor to deal with the problem, to shew that it is possible to treat the letter of the text as human literature without prejudice to belief in the divine spirit in it. Thus in biblical criticism, as in all enquiry, it was Driver's aim not to close discussion, but to open the way to it. He was precise in decision where the facts allowed, but always ready to consider the bearing of new facts. It was the principle of free enquiry for which he strove, and he would have been content to mark a stage on the road if he found he could not reach the goal.

The publication of the Introduction, though it was no new development of his views, at once marked him out as the protagonist of the 'Higher Criticism' in England, and he was exposed to all kinds of abuse from persons who were unable or unwilling to understand his work. To a man of his modest, retiring nature such a position was excessively painful. He did not resent criticism, still less did he regard it as a personal affront, but he was distressed that any one should mistake a plain issue, or misrepresent an argument. He was always willing to believe that perhaps he had not expressed himself clearly enough, that his opponent was as genuinely in search of truth as he himself, and he would take infinite pains (often by a private letter) to explain his meaning more fully. Much as one often regretted the time spent in controversy of this kind, the result of it no doubt was to spread an interest in biblical criticism, and it was in this way that Driver, in spite of himself, became known to the world outside scholarship.

One other book must be mentioned as illustrating a different side of his character. He was not by nature given to popular exposition, but his 'Parallel Psalter' was a work of this kind. He was himself scrupulous in the use of language, and had a keen appreciation of English literature, so that the beauty of the Prayer-book version of the Psalms specially appealed to him. At the same time his scholarly instincts were troubled by its manifest defects as a translation. He therefore produced a translation of his own closely following that of the Prayer-book and printed opposite to it, with the minimum of notes and discussion. It shews him at his best, and one cannot doubt that it was a labour of love.

He married in 1891. Up to that time he had lived wholly for his work, taking no thought of his health. He now became less of a recluse; under the gentle care of his wife his health improved wonderfully, and he seemed younger and brighter. What is perhaps more remarkable, in spite of the distractions of domestic life, his literary activity greatly increased—in fact, nearly all his best work was done after 1890.

He received honorary degrees at Dublin (1892), Glasgow (1901), Cambridge (1905), Aberdeen (1906), and became Fellow of the British Academy in 1902. His work was no less appreciated abroad, and though he had no facility in speaking foreign languages, he was on friendly terms with most foreign scholars in his subject. When he attended (for the first time) the Oriental Congress at Algiers in 1904 he was chosen unanimously president of his section. It was a small thing, but it gave him genuine pleasure, and (such was his

modesty) caused him some surprise. In 1910 he was made a Corresponding Member of the Prussian Academy

He died in 1914 before the war was in sight, and thus was spared the peculiar distress felt by all who have had intimate relations with Germany. By his ceaseless activity he did a great work, and he lived long enough to see the fruit of his labours. Old Testament scholarship under him was entirely transformed, and by his example, his teaching, and his encouragement he built up a school to carry on his principles. The problems may change, but the spirit of free enquiry, for which he contended, must always remain the first condition of all progress.

A. COWLEY.

THOMAS KELLY CHEYNE

1841–1915

THOMAS KELLY CHEYNE was born in London on September 18, 1841. He was the second son of the Rev. Charles Cheyne, second master of Christ's Hospital, and the grandson on his mother's side of J. H. Horne, who was a distinguished Biblical scholar, and whose *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures* was, perhaps, the ablest work in English on this subject in his day.

At the age of seven Cheyne went to Merchant Taylors School, where he studied hard and read so widely that even in those early days he came to be regarded as an encyclopaedia of learning by his youthful contemporaries. He began the study of Hebrew under Dr. Hessey at Merchant Taylors From school he went to Oxford as a Meek Exhibitioner at Magdalen Hall, 1859, but he soon migrated to Worcester College as a Scholar. During all his life Cheyne suffered from bad health, and particularly when at College, where his weak digestion necessitated his use of specially prepared foods. Owing to a bad stammer he was excused from reading lessons in Chapel. On the ground of his feeble health, his omnivorous reading, his special devotion to Dante and to Oriental subjects, his College did not press him to study for the usual Honour Schools, and he took an ordinary degree in 1862. In 1863–4 he won a series of University distinctions — the Kennicott Hebrew Scholarship, the Ellerton Theological Prize, the Pusey and Ellerton Hebrew Scholarship, and the Chancellor's English Essay.

Shortly after taking his degree he discovered that he had lost the sight of one of his eyes,[1] but this did not daunt the young scholar, and at the close of his Oxford studies he went to Gottingen, where he became a pupil of Ewald.

From Gottingen he returned in due course to Oxford, filled with the enthusiastic hope that 'native scholars would resume the work of Lowth, so fruitful in Germany, so fruitless for the time in England'. In 1864 he was ordained, and in 1868 he was elected to a Semitic Fellowship established on his behalf in Balliol, which he held till 1882. At last the period of 'poverty and silence', as he pathetically writes (*Origin of the Psalter*, p. 12) was over, and from this

[1] So I was informed by a relative of Dr. Cheyne, but I have subsequently learnt from his niece, Miss Dorothy Daniel, who lived with him, that this loss occurred in 1883, when Dr. Cheyne was Rector of Tendring.

date till his death in 1915 his active brain and busy pen were never idle. His official appointments may here be mentioned briefly. He was Hebrew tutor of Balliol, 1870–81; Rector of Tendring, 1880–5; Oriel Professor of Interpretation of Holy Scripture and Canon of Rochester, 1886–1908. He served also as one of the Old Testament revisers, and was Bampton Lecturer for 1889. In 1908 he was elected Hon. Fellow of Oriel and Worcester Colleges.

In the course of this period of literary activity he became the recipient of honours from various Universities—honours which in every instance but in that of Edinburgh were far too tardily accorded. That two of our three chief Universities withheld such recognition serves only to blazon the narrowness of their theological outlook, and that the British Academy did not elect him till the eleventh hour was a reflection alike on its Fellows and their methods of election. Cheyne was twice married, and was fortunate in both his marriages. In 1882 he married Frances E. Godfrey, daughter of D. R. Godfrey, formerly Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, who died in 1907, and in 1911 he married Elizabeth Gibson—the sister of the poet and herself no unknown writer in the same field, who nursed him devotedly till his death on February 16, 1915.

Turning now to his theological writings, his first work was *Notes and Criticisms on the Hebrew Text of Isaiah*, 1868, which was followed in 1870 by *The Book of Isaiah chronologically arranged.* These two books won him a reputation as a Biblical scholar in England and abroad, but the 'seventies were not easy years for the disinterested study of the Old Testament. The English Church and Universities had as a whole declared themselves against Colenso, and yet in 1871 we find Cheyne prophesying in a review in the old *Academy* that the most important results common to Graf, Kuenen, and Colenso would be confirmed, notwithstanding the theological prejudices of England, and the critical prepossessions of Germany. This was the time when Biblical criticism in England was beginning to try its wings, and Cheyne and his younger contemporary Robertson Smith, following in the wake of Graf and Kuenen, were the first in this country to apply the principles of scientific investigation to problems of the Old Testament. 'Without were fightings, within were fears': for during this period, as Cheyne writes, 'Church and University would none of those things which criticism had discovered'. The marks of these difficult years are discoverable in his next work, *The Prophecies of Isaiah* (2 vols.), 1880–1, which went into its third edition in 1884. There are some elements of compromise in this work, but the three principles of interpretation he lays down are sound, and of these the

most important is that it is the first and supreme duty of the scholar to ascertain the exact meaning of each section of his text, and, however conflicting the exegetical data may turn out to be, to set them down impartially; for that without taking account of all such data no final critical solution of the problems is possible.

Naturally in such a work the thesis that the Second Isaiah was the work of a single author was abandoned, and a number of independent documents not only in Chapters xl–lxvi but also in i–xxxix were brought to light.

In 1880 he became Rector of Tendring, and here he attained a peace and hopefulness he had not hitherto found in the province of criticism. 'He needed', he writes, 'for himself, both inwardly and outwardly, a fuller experience of truth. And so he was unconsciously prepared to receive a new and unexpected call. On the eve of a journey to the East he turned back and bound himself to the obligations of a country pastor. He had his reward; the sense of spiritual isolation passed from him, and he gained the pastoral spirit.' The new spirit he won from his pastoral duties passed into all his subsequent works, and enriched by such experience he undertook, as Oriel Professor and Canon of Rochester, the obligations of 'another priesthood, not less of divine appointment than that of the Church—the priesthood of study and of teaching'. Before he left Tendring he had published commentaries on Micah, Hosea, and Jeremiah, and a vigorous and beautiful translation of the Psalms in the Parchment Library.

His next great work was the *Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter*, 1891, which was an expansion of his Bampton Lectures of 1889. In this work (which together with his *Introduction to Isaiah*, 1895, forms the high-water mark of his original scholarship) Cheyne puts aside the traditional views of the Psalter, and strives to prove, and with no little success, as subsequent research has shown, that a development of religious thought can be traced within the Psalter, the composition of which, in his view, began several centuries after David's time and extended down to the Maccabean period. The storm that had been called forth by Cheyne's earlier works now burst forth with redoubled vehemence, but it found him undismayed. Shortly afterwards Dr. Sanday[1] came forward in his Bampton Lectures on 'Inspiration' in 1893, an unlooked-for and powerful adherent of

[1] Dr. Sanday, by his courageous and whole-hearted acceptance of the chief results of the higher criticism in the Old Testament, made life easier in Oxford and elsewhere for all sincere researchers in the Old Testament and later Jewish writings, as the present writer can testify

the higher criticism, and thenceforward the violence of the storm began to abate, and the freedom that students of Theology now enjoy was in large measure won by this indomitable protagonist of truth and freedom in the 'eighties and 'nineties, seconded in the latter period by Dr. Sanday, a scholar of the most fearless courage and purest disinterestedness, as well as by that most able, sound, and cautious of Hebrew scholars, Dr. Driver.

Before we pass to his later works attention should be called to the preface in his Bampton Lectures, where Cheyne gives us a short but enlightening autobiography[1] dealing with his critical and spiritual growth from 1860 to 1890. In most cases this would be a hazardous enterprise. But it was not so with Cheyne.

Other works of the 'nineties are *Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism*, 1892; *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, 1893—valuable for its criticism of the critics as well as for the insight it gives into Cheyne's own temper and outlook; *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, 1895—a work which has not yet been wholly assimilated by students of Isaiah; *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, 1898; *Hebrew Text of Isaiah critically revised*, 1899.

But the most remarkable monument of Cheyne's immense erudition is the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (4 vols., 1899–1903). Of this work he was not only the editor-in-chief but also the chief contributor. The whole work bears the impress of Cheyne's personality and of his keen, crisp, and encyclopaedic scholarship. Years were spent on the revision of the work of his contributors, and in this great task his joint-editor, Dr. Sutherland Black, and a most scholarly staff of sub-editors and assistants rendered yeoman service. When through failure of health or some unforeseen incident, a contributor failed to send in a promised article, not once or twice but repeatedly Dr. Cheyne stepped into the breach, and almost always within a couple of days or so supplied the missing article in a contribution which showed its writer's mastery of the subject down to the latest monograph.[2]

Here, however, a *caveat* must be entered against a statement made by certain reviewers who should have known better, and accepted in the outer circles of learning that had no easy means of learning better. This statement was that the Encyclopaedia was 'essentially the work of Canon Cheyne', and that he 'laid down advanced principles to be observed by the contributors'. As a large contributor and as an

[1] From this autobiography several quotations are given in the present short memoir

[2] This information was given to me by the late Professor Hogg, who was one of the sub-editors.

intimate friend of Dr. Cheyne, the present writer must give a flat contradiction to this statement. The Encyclopaedia is not an exposition of Dr Cheyne's views, though it was throughout carefully revised and enriched in nearly every article by him. The attentive reader will recognize that often the contributor and the editor-in-chief are at variance, and that they are always at variance in respect of Cheyne's strange critical prepossession, which, appearing only slightly in the first volume, gathers strength as it advances in the three that follow, and becomes a dominant obsession in all his subsequent writings. This prepossession—a sign of an overtaxed and in certain respects fatally injured brain—was a source of deep sorrow to his friends. They regretted also that a scholar so hopelessly devoid of judgement and historical insight as Van Manen should be invited to write important New Testament articles. Against the inclusion of this scholar in their ranks some of the contributors protested, but in vain. However, notwithstanding its many obvious defects, this Encyclopaedia is the most scholarly, compact, and best-edited Encyclopaedia that the present writer is acquainted with on any subject or in any language, and the bulk of its articles are of first-rate importance.

We now come to the last period of Cheyne's scholarly activities, reaching from 1904 to 1915. This period is unfortunately dominated by the new theory of Israel's religion and history, which had already seriously injured his contributions in the Encyclopaedia. By his pursuit of this theory all his subsequent Old Testament and New Testament studies were radically vitiated. In book after book, beginning with a wholly new *Commentary on the Psalms* in two large volumes, he set himself with a ceaseless and fiery energy to rewrite the work of a lifetime, and to reconstruct the entire development of religious thought in Israel from the standpoint of this new theory. In setting it forth he felt he was delivering a prophetic message to his times, and in spite of ever-growing physical infirmities he toiled on—an undaunted spirit with the whole world against him, including his most intimate friends. Even in this short appreciation of Cheyne the nature of this theory can hardly be passed over.

Starting with the hypothesis first put forward by Winckler—the discoverer of many a mare's nest—that the term Mizraim (i.e. Egypt) in the Old Testament often refers, not to Egypt, but to a North Arabian kingdom, the land of Musri, Cheyne developed this theory and, identifying Mizraim in every case with Musri, sought to show that Israel had never been in Egypt, and that the story of their sojourning there was due to the confusion of these two words. On

the confines of Musri he held there was an Ishmaelite tribe that worshipped a local deity, the tribe and deity alike bearing the name Jerachmeel. The opposition and severities of the Jerachmeelites form a constant subject of complaint in the Psalms. It is true, Cheyne admitted, that Jerachmeel and the Jerachmeelites are not mentioned a dozen times in the Old Testament, but this, he urged, was due to the drastic treatment to which the ancient text had been subjected. Such a theory demanded a revolutionary re-editing and rewriting of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and this Cheyne undertook and in part carried out. The fatal objection to this theory is that Winckler's proof for the confusion of Mizraim and Musri is wholly inadequate except in a few passages, and for the further elaboration of this hypothesis there is no evidence at all. And yet in this hopeless crusade, to which he devoted his closing years, Cheyne wrote the following works: a new *Commentary on the Psalms*, 1904; *Bible Problems*, 1904; *Traditions or Beliefs of Ancient Israel*, 1907; *Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Israel*, 1908, *Veil of Hebrew History*, &c.

But this great scholar's work is not to be judged by the books which were written during this period, when his *judgement* had undergone a fatal eclipse, and the mind that had hitherto exercised so keen a critical faculty alike on its own productions as on those of others, had now lost wholly the power of self-criticism, wherever the baneful influence of this theory intruded, and subsequently even in his New Testament studies, where no such intrusion was possible. Oxford has of late years seen some of its greatest sons sink into hopeless and complete mental incapacity and imbecility. But this was not so in Cheyne's case. His religious and devotional side, his unfailing courage and patience, his kindness and courtesy, his literary interests, his passion for knowledge, his imaginative powers, were unaffected to the last.

But this notice would be culpably incomplete unless some account was taken of the man apart from his literary work. All who knew him, even in the slightest degree, were aware of his loftiness of aim, his zeal for truth, his detachment from considerations of place and profit. But few of those who had heard his name, or even of those who had studied his books, had any idea of the vast disabilities under which he carried on his work. The thought of these disabilities reminds us of Browning's *Grammarian*, who pursued his task of research with eyes heavy as lead, with a body shaken with convulsive coughs and racked by calculus, and already 'dead from the waist down'. But in this and other respects Cheyne's disabilities were all

but incomparably greater. For over thirty years he had only one eye, and that an eye that could only be preserved by long chemical ablutions morning and evening. It almost baffles the imagination to conceive what Cheyne achieved with such imperfect vision. But this was only the beginning of sorrows. Often in his later years he spent half the night in convulsive fits of coughing, during which he had to be supported in an upright position, and yet next day he always greeted his friends with a pleasant smile and never a word of self-pity or complaint. He too was 'dead from the waist down' for many years before he died, and during most of these his fingers were so immovably clenched together that with difficulty a pen was inserted between two of them, and in this fashion he wrote his five last books. But this was not all. The paralysis at last attacked his throat, and for the last three or four years he was cut off from converse with his friends. There were other ailments too, any one of which would have been enough to make a permanent invalid of most men. But none of these nor all combined could subdue this unconquerable heroic heart. The heavier the outward burthens grew, the greater became the triumph of the spirit, as he went on undauntedly as of old with his reading and writing, taking but little account of the infirmities of the body through his increasing preoccupation with the things of the mind and the spirit, and filled with the larger hope that included all, and excluded none, that sought in however diverse ways to find God and live unto Him in a dispensation yet to come.

'Was it not great? did not he throw on God,
(He loves the burthen)—
God's task to make the heavenly period
Perfect the earthen? . . .
He ventured neck or nothing—heaven's success
Found, or earth's failure:
"Wilt thou trust death or not?" He answered "Yes
Hence with life's pale lure!"
That low man seeks a little thing to do,
Sees it and does it:
This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
Dies ere he knows it. . . .
That, has the world here—should he need the next,
Let the world mind him!
This, throws himself on God, and unperplexed
Seeking shall find Him.'

The poet's ideal has, as in many another case, been realized in Cheyne, orientalist and theologian, humanist and servant of God.

R. H. CHARLES.

LORD JUSTICE KENNEDY

1846–1915

The sudden death of Lord Justice Kennedy on the morning of Sunday, January 17th, deprived a wide circle of friends and admirers of one who, in addition to his professional eminence, was an accomplished scholar and a charming personality.

William Rann Kennedy, born on March 11th, 1846, was the eldest son of the Rev. W. J. Kennedy, Vicar of Barnwood, Gloucester, and winner of the Porson Prize at Cambridge, previously won by his three elder brothers, each of whom had also been the Senior Classic of his year The future judge, after passing from Eton to a scholarship at King's College, continued the family tradition by accumulating University scholarships and medals, and by taking his degree, in 1868, as Senior Classic. He obtained a Fellowship at Pembroke College, entered at Lincoln's Inn, and, while a student there, was for a time Mr. Goschen's private secretary at the Poor Law Board In 1871 he was called to the bar, and, joining the Northern Circuit, soon acquired a large practice as a 'local' at Liverpool. Returning to London in 1882, he took silk in 1885, and was engaged especially in commercial and Admiralty cases. He was unsuccessful in parliamentary contests at Birkenhead in 1885 and 1886, as also at St. Helens in 1892, but in the last-mentioned year was nominated by Lord Herschell to a judgeship in the King's Bench Division. His promotion to be a Lord Justice of Appeal took place in 1907. On the bench, as at the bar, his strength was best, though by no means exclusively, displayed in commercial and shipping cases.

The present is hardly a suitable occasion for dwelling upon the technical points involved in the cases with which his name is most commonly associated, but I will just mention a few of these. He was counsel in *Cooke* v. *Eshelby* (12 App. Ca. 271), on a question of agency, in the collision case of *The Ocean Steamship Co.* v. *Apcar & Co.* (15 App. Ca. 37); and in *Shaw Savill & Co.* v. *Timaru Harbour Board* (ib. 429), on the liability of a pilot. As Judge of the High Court, he had to do with the first stage of the Trade Union controversy raised by *Flood and another* v. *Jackson and others* (1895, 2 Q. B. 21),

which developed into *Allen* v. *Flood* (1898, A. C. 1); his judgement on a point of the Conflict of Laws in *Risdon Iron Works* v. *Furness* (1905, 1 K. B. 304) was affirmed on appeal; and his decision in *Ashby's Cobham* v. *Ashby's Staines, Brewery Companies* (1906, 2 K. B 754) became well known in discussions upon the Licensing Act, 1904, as the 'Kennedy Judgement'. As Lord Justice, he put clearly in *Ex parte Sekome* (1910, 2 K. B. 576) that a protectorate is no part of H.M. dominions; and in *Clemens Horst Co.* v. *Biddell Bros.* (1912, A. C. 18), as to liability for payment against shipping documents, the House of Lords unanimously reversed the majority judgement of the Court of Appeal, adopting the dissenting opinion of Kennedy L.J., which was characterized by Lord Loreburn C. as 'that remarkable judgement, illuminating, as it does, the whole field of controversy'.

Kennedy's main contribution to legal literature was a much-needed treatise upon *Civil Salvage*, published in 1891, for the second edition of which, published in 1907, his son, A. R. Kennedy, seems to have been solely responsible. But he was also the author of valuable monographs upon topics to which his attention had been especially directed, e.g. a paper, read at the St. Louis Exhibition Congress, of 1904, upon a question of the Conflict of Laws (*Journ. Comp. Legisl.* xiv, p. 106), and papers upon 'private property at sea', 'contraband' (*L. Q. R.* xxiv, p. 59), and 'blockade', written for meetings of the 'International Law Association' held in 1903, 1907, and 1908. Kennedy long played a leading part in the gatherings of this useful body, frequented, as they are, by ship-owners and insurers as well as lawyers, and he presided over its meeting at Buffalo, U.S., in 1899. He also shared the Presidency of the Committee which works for the unification of Maritime Law, at Liverpool in 1905, and at Hamburg in 1909. It was only fitting that in 1910 he was elected 'associé', and in 1913 was promoted to be 'membre', of the 'Institut de Droit International'. He had, however, never lost touch with the studies of his youth, and in 1912 published an admirable translation into English verse of the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, describing it as 'the pleasant work of leisure hours', and expressing a hope 'that some sparks of Aristophanic wit may be found to lie among the ashes of translation'.

Remarkable tributes were paid to Kennedy's varied merits in the full Court of Appeal, on January 19th, before the delivery of an important judgement in the case of *Porter* v. *Freundenberg* (1915, 1 K. B. at p. 866), in the preparation of which he had taken an active part, dealing with questions as to the civil rights of alien enemies. The Lord Chief Justice, in putting on record the appreciation

by the whole Court of Kennedy's 'life, his work, and his genius', alluded to the already richly stored mind with which he had come to the bar, and said that as a judge 'his most dominant characteristic was his conscientious devotion to duty and his high conception of the duty of a judge, accompanied by a rare modesty and diffidence, which sometimes misled those who little knew the depth of his learning and knowledge'. He spoke of him as 'ever courteous, ever ready to listen, ever anxious to do justice to a cause', adding that, 'as a man, those privileged to know him esteemed and respected him highly. Those who were nearest to his fellowship have the warmest affection for him. His was a most lovable temperament, generous, ever chivalrous, so generous that at times he found it difficult to believe that men could be mean in their views of life.' The Attorney-General described him as 'a scholar, bearing a name revered by scholars, who never made a parade of his scholarship . . known as a commercial lawyer who had done as much as any one of his time to show how the practical solution of practical problems was best attained by the study and application of first principles'

Kennedy had married in 1874 Cecilia Sarah, daughter of the late George Richmond, R.A., who survives him, as do three sons, the eldest of whom is following in his father's footsteps on the Northern Circuit, and one daughter.

The deceased judge was an honorary Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and honorary LL.D. of the Victoria University. In 1909 we had the pleasure of welcoming him into the British Academy, which to-day mourns the loss of so distinguished a Fellow.

T. E. HOLLAND.

PROFESSOR JOHN COOK WILSON

1849-1915

THE death on August 10, 1915, of Professor John Cook Wilson is a heavy loss to philosophy in England, and particularly in Oxford, where since 1889 he had held the Wykeham Chair of Logic. He was less known to the world than many thinkers with less than a tithe of his power, for he published little, and that little seldom on strictly philosophical problems. But for many years he had been by far the most influential philosophical teacher at Oxford. The present writer is unable to compare his influence with that of T. H. Green; but certainly since him no one there has held a place so important in these studies. He was the teacher not only of several generations of undergraduates but in a marked degree of his younger colleagues, 'to have been' his 'pupil', wrote one of them, 'I count the greatest of philosophical good fortunes'.[1] Many of them felt towards him something of the sentiment which belongs in India to the relation of scholar to master, and one of these, who has undertaken to write this notice, is fully conscious how far short it will fall of displaying what he was in the living intercourse of teaching.

John Cook Wilson was born on June 6, 1849. he was the only son of the Rev. James Wilson, a minister of the Methodist New Connexion, and a man, according to report, of strong and independent character, who on one or two circuits, being unwilling to adapt his teaching to the wishes of his congregation, was brought for a time to great poverty. Mr. and Mrs. James Wilson in their old age retired to the village of Islip, near Oxford, where the Rev. T. W. Fowle was rector, a notable and broad-minded man, with whom John contracted a warm friendship, and wrote a memoir of him in 1903. They had two other children, daughters. All are now buried in Islip churchyard. John used to boast connexion with the family of Oliver Cromwell, and possessed a Bible and a little cabinet supposed to have belonged to the Protector.

John went in September 1862, at the age of thirteen, to the Grammar School at Derby, as a boarder in the house of the head master, the Rev. Walter Clark. He become captain of the school

[1] H. A. Prichard, *Kant's Theory of Knowledge*, p. iii

1865–7, and of the cadet corps 1866–7. There were 35 to 40 boys in the house, and 140 or under in the school. A schoolfellow some three years his junior[1] writes of him as head of the school, 'He was a kind, high-spirited, cheerful-minded boy, always ready to suppress any disorder which he happened to consider it desirable to suppress. No one resented the forcible measures to which he promptly applied himself, for he enjoyed a singular reputation amongst the rest of us boys for sincerity of character and directness of method. In fact, I have never met anybody who excelled him in these particulars.' His Oxford friends will see in a story which another schoolfellow[2] relates the very features of the man. He was much interested even then in the drilling of volunteers, and was set one day, in the absence of the drill-sergeant, to drill the small boys, who expected to have an easy time. They soon found themselves mistaken: he 'turned out to be quite a martinet, who compelled us to do everything with extreme care'.

From Derby School Wilson passed with a 'Local Examinations' exhibition to Balliol in January 1868. He had come out third in the Oxford Senior Local Examination of the previous year, and Balliol had offered two exhibitions 'to those among the senior candidates who shall obtain the highest places in the first division of the general list, provided that they are also placed in the first division of the section "Languages"'. He was elected to a scholarship in Mathematics at the College on November 29, 1869, and continued to reside till Easter Term, 1873. He read both Classics and Mathematics, and obtained first classes in each, both in Moderations and in the Final Examination. In 1873 he became a Fellow of Oriel, and remained so till in 1901 he migrated to New College, which then completed with a fellowship the establishment of the Wykeham Chair of Logic. In 1873 also he won the Chancellor's Latin Essay Prize, with a Ciceronian dialogue on the subject 'Quaenam fuerit revera Epicureorum philosophia', and in 1882 the Conington Prize, on a subject to which he had already devoted much work.[3] Besides being a Fellow of the British Academy, he was an Honorary Doctor of Laws at St. Andrews University. His main teaching, before he became Professor, was done at Oriel, though he also acted as philosophical lecturer or tutor at different periods for divers other colleges, certainly for Balliol, Christ

[1] Mr. J. W. Sharpe, formerly Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge

[2] Dr. E W Hobson, F.R.S., Sadlerian Professor of Pure Mathematics, Cambridge.

[3] 'The manner in which the writings attributed to Aristotle have received their present form, to be illustrated especially from the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the *Politics*, and the *de Anima*.

Church, Pembroke, and Hertford. He showed himself from his migration a most loyal member of New College, yet without abatement of his affection for Oriel; and it was a source to him of great pleasure and pride when, in April 1909, Oriel elected him to an Honorary Fellowship.

As a young man (1873-4) he studied in Germany, when that was less common than it became later, and was a pupil of Hermann Lotze, for whom he entertained a great veneration. While studying at Gottingen, he made the acquaintance of his future wife, Charlotte Schneider, whom he married in 1876. She belonged to an official family in Hannover, and her relatives were, so far as the writer knows, the only connexions left to him after his parents' death. It is characteristic at once of his affection, and of a certain unpractical vein there was in him, that when the war broke out, his wife being then dead, he tried to induce some of them to come and live with him in Oxford.

He had by his marriage one son, who emigrated to South Africa shortly after taking his degree, and survives him there. In one sense no marriage could have been happier, for his wife and he were everything to each other. But Mrs. Wilson's health, after her child was born, failed at intervals for many years, and latterly she was continuously a great invalid. This threw upon him a burden of daily nursing and household duty, to which, upon the top of his studies and his teaching, only a very strong man could have been equal, but which he shouldered with an unvarying fortitude and patience. His gentleness never failed; but in the last few years of her life (she died in January 1914) the strain was obviously telling on him. When it was plain that her end was near, his friends hardly knew whether the longer endurance of the strain or the agony of losing her would break him most. None who watched it closely will forget the depth of his devotion to her and to her memory. Not long after her death the mischief which proved fatal to him declared itself. He developed pernicious anaemia, but lingered for over a year. During this time, lying mostly in bed, he still worked privately with a few pupils, and even in the spring of 1915 came down to New College and delivered half a dozen lectures. He undertook, and made some progress with, the preparation for publication of Professor Ingram Bywater's papers, with whom he had been long united by close friendship and common interests He also did a good deal, with his nurse's help, in the way of arranging his own papers. Almost until the last he retained his keen interest in his friends and studies and the events passing in the world; but he was unconscious for a few days before he died

Such a life presents not many features of public interest. Wilson

took little part in University business. He was Proctor in 1885, and Public Examiner in Literae Humaniores in 1887; but he found the responsibility of deciding on men's classes so harassing that he held his office for only one year of its three years' term. At all times and in all matters he was incapable of doing things by halves. That had its advantages; as a school-friend already quoted[1] writes, 'Nothing depressed him, and no prospect of work appalled him, and hardly ever indeed proved too much for him'. It had also its ludicrous side, and its serious drawbacks. When he read a paper to some learned society, its length was apt to exceed the power of most listeners' attention, and the introductory matter alone would often occupy the evening. The same tendency led him in his lectures to elaborate a detail of subtlety which often tired his class, and in other connexions to waste energies that might have been better employed. This was especially so when he thought criticism, of himself or others, had been unjust. In his small tale of published matter are included a pamphlet, *On Military Cycling, or Amenities of Controversy* (1890), and another, of 145 pages, *On the Interpretation of Plato's Timaeus* (1889). The former was provoked by a review of his *Manual of Cyclist Drill for the Use of the Cyclist Section of the O.U.R.V.C.* (1889). For he retained in later life the enthusiastic interest in volunteering which he displayed at school, and compiled what was probably the first book on cyclist drill, insisting on the military value of cycling long before it was recognized by the War Office. And he defended himself against the reviewer of his manual with a fullness and an energy that the issue hardly deserved. The pamphlet on the *Timaeus* was a more serious matter. It arose out of an unfavourable review by him of R. D. Archer-Hind's edition of that dialogue in the *Classical Review*, wherein he more particularly complained that the editor had insufficiently acknowledged his obligations to Stallbaum and Martin. The editor made a contemptuous reply, which Wilson considered to evade his charge. The pamphlet which he produced in the ensuing six months, in order to justify his strictures, contains only a part of what he intended to publish; 'the parts which treat of the philosophy and what may conveniently be called the scientific subjects in the *Timaeus*' were never written, or at least never issued. But it is an astonishing example of wide and precise knowledge of his subject, and of close reasoning applied to the thought both of Plato and of his editors. It would be a pity to revive a dead controversy. Happier relations between Wilson and another editor of Plato are seen in Adam's edition of the *Republic*.[2] Wilson's indefatigable thoroughness was

[1] Mr. J. W. Sharpe. [2] Vol. ii, p. 470 sq.

always at the disposal of his friends, even to the neglect of more important matters; and in this instance it has enriched a valuable book with a valuable appendix. 'I never knew Wilson to listen willingly to blame nor to contemptuous speech of anybody,' writes a friend,[1] 'nor would he use such speech himself, except for sins of philosophy or scholarship; and there he would break out and become violent, even were the matter but a Greek particle.' This tendency was reinforced, in the pamphlet on the *Timaeus*, by the belief that earlier editors had been unfairly treated and his own criticisms unfairly met. Of the same ready indignation at anything he thought unjust he gave evidence later in connexion with his old school, when he had become a Governor, and the local authority, which was taking over the government, seemed to him to be treating unjustly the then head master.

Justice and indefatigability in study are among the qualities which Plato looks for in the genuine philosopher In several other respects as well Wilson satisfied Plato's exacting requirements He was full of courage and high spirit, and at the same time one of the kindliest of men. His tastes were of the most temperate and simple. He took an unaffected pleasure in common things, and no social prejudices determined his interest in persons. In the pursuit of truth there was nothing, small or great, that he would willingly let go; and certainly he entered not ἀγεωμέτρητος within the portals of philosophy. He combined, in fact, in an unusual degree three qualifications for doing good work as a philosopher. He was a capital scholar, with a special knowledge of the thought and style of Plato and Aristotle. He was a competent and instructed mathematician, who, if he had not kept pace with the recent developments of mathematics, could at any rate grapple with the problems of its first principles.[2] And he was a clear and original philosophic thinker. He would follow an argument like a sleuth-hound, and delighted in exposing the sources and ramifications of error. In his lectures he was comparatively sparing of criticism, and seldom mentioned living men by name; but in private conversation, or in his informal instruction, he practised less restraint. It was here that his great gifts as a teacher showed to most advantage. He would take, in his informal instruction, what men thought simple questions, and show how much lay in their solution. His mind, said a pupil after one of these discussions, was like a vice; so hardly could slovenly thought or uncriticized phrase escape from the

[1] Mr. J W. Sharpe.

[2] Mr. J. W. Sharpe writes that 'he could certainly have done plenty of original work in mathematics' if he had given himself to the subject.

tenacity of his attack. Much popular contemporary doctrine came under this examination; it is the more to be regretted that he published so few of his results. For it would have been of great value that he should have put his criticism in the best and a permanent form, and have submitted it to others for reply. Among logical and philosophical issues on which he was specially qualified to render service are the doctrines of the metageometricians, and of the mathematical logicians, like Mr. Bertrand Russell in this country, whom Henri Poincaré called logisticians. From time to time in lectures or letters or conversation he dealt with these, but not so that they or the public could consider his strictures. Similarly, in his course on Logic he used to submit to a very searching criticism the doctrine of judgement associated with the names of Mr. F. H. Bradley and Dr. Bosanquet.

During the last few years of his life he did indeed put into print large portions of his Logic Lectures. A collation of the printed text with a student's manuscript notes of 1907–8 shows how much his thought was developing to the end. He printed partly for his students' sake, because the course had grown beyond what he could deliver in the year, partly to assist his own self-criticism; and he hoped by printing but not publishing to retain full freedom of modification. In a preface inserted in some copies of one of the parts, for distribution to a few friends, he gives an interesting and characteristic justification of this procedure. 'Those of my colleagues', he writes, 'who were kindly anxious that I should publish my lectures years ago—one of them, to whom my obligations are infinite, at last proposing to see them through the press himself without giving me any kind of trouble—will be, I am certain, well content now that I did not comply with their wishes. I really felt that there was too much of what required a more thorough treatment; and this uneasiness has had time to develop into (I think) a clearer consciousness and to produce considerable changes in the old matter as well as additions to it.*

'There is a greater danger of fixing one's thoughts by publication, and arresting one's own progress, than is generally recognized. I have often noticed that quite able thinkers have the greatest reluctance in retracting anything to which they have committed themselves by publication, though the mistake may be perfectly obvious to the critic (whose work is incomparably the easier), and the author could only

* 'In A. E. W. Mason's novel *The Turnstile* there is a trenchant passage on the anxiety of politicians to prove that they have never changed their opinions, which exactly expresses my own feeling about a similar tendency in philosophy.'

gain by admitting it. But the (printed) letter killeth, and it is extraordinary how it will prevent the acutest from exercising their wonted clearness of vision.

'I remember that once when I had been pointing out to an intelligent pupil the very palpable contradictions in a book by a certain popular philosopher, I was amused to be met by the question, quite sincerely put, "But why didn't somebody tell him?" The obvious mistakes had indeed remained unaltered in various editions, but young students probably have no idea of the power of what one may call "the obsession of print", the effects of which are not confined to philosophical writing.

'I hope, by my present method, to gain that greater clearness which is usually the result of printing for others to read, and at the same time to preserve the comparative freedom one enjoys as long as one's thoughts are only in manuscript.

'I hope, also, it will enable me at least—for I dare not count on more—to remain nearly as amenable to reason as if I had printed nothing

'Of one thing I am fairly sure, and that is, that I shall want to revise both these pamphlets and the others which I have printed while it is fairly probable, and certainly desirable, that several stages yet may precede publication, if I ever publish at all.'

Whatever the force of these considerations, it is a thousand pities that Wilson did not live to complete this *δοκιμασία*, and proceed to publication. Though there are nearly 300 pages of the print, and a further portion of the course exists in type-script, final revision is lacking, and reply to criticism now impossible These lectures, however, will, it is hoped, be published; and there are other remains, type-written or in manuscript, which may be available. His papers include much work on hyperbolic geometry, which he sought to overthrow by the discovery of internal contradiction. In the opinion of his mathematical friends, this endeavour offered little prospect of success, and probably a more important line of attack on non-Euclidean geometries is developed in his lectures 'On Hypothetical Thinking', where he examines the relation of imagination to thinking, and the nature of genuine and of problematical or hypothetical conception, and argues that the only genuine conception of space which such geometries use is still the Euclidean. A type-written copy of a good note-book version of these lectures exists. So also does the manuscript of two public lectures on Symbolic Logic. These deal with nothing much later than the theories of Boole and Venn, which they examine with great acuteness. Their general conclusion is that

the equations by which that Logic represents premisses, and with which it works, all involve a simple predicational form, and upon this predicational element the forms of inference expounded rest. 'The equational element is not employed at all. The element is not only surplusage but incorrect, and if developed leads to contradictions, and to the destruction of the calculus altogether. The predicational element is correct, and the argument is sound because depending on this alone, and in no way involving the erroneous part. The equational form then is a mere sham; to get at the truth we must strip it away and fall back on the simple form of predication, and what we strip away is not only useless but wrong.' Into the doctrines of the 'logisticians' it is to be feared he never entered exhaustively on paper, though he had at one time intended to deal with Mr. Bertrand Russell's Logic, the paradoxes of which he regarded as akin to those of the Megarian eristic, and as springing largely from an uncritical use of symbols The following argument is condensed from a paper, dated 1902–3, 'On the paralogism that the class of classes is a member of itself'. The fallacy arises, Wilson urges, from making the class of classes a class. *A* class is a totality of units connected by a common principle. The several classes *A*, *B*, *C* are each a totality connected by a special principle α, β, γ, which is not mere 'classness'. *X*, the class of classes, is simply *the* totality of all those totalities. There cannot be other such totalities; but if we call it *a* totality, it appears to be co-ordinated with those, and they and it to be connected by the common principle of 'classness'. It cannot, however, really be a part of the totality which it is. By the same verbal tricks it might be shown that the class of all polygons is a member of itself. For the pentagons, the hexagons, &c., are each a class of polygons; and the totality of these classes is a class of polygons; hence, like them, it is a member of the class of polygons, i.e. of itself. Moreover, we may develop against the paradox the argument of the τρίτος ἄνθρωπος Let the classes *A*, *B*, *C*, &c., be each a class $_1$, and the class of classes be class $_2$; if then class $_2$ is a class like any class $_1$, there will be a class containing it and them, a 'class of classes and the class-of-classes', which we may call class $_3$. Similarly there will be a class $_4$ containing classes $_1$, class $_2$, and class $_3$, and so *ad infinitum*.

Besides the writings already referred to, Wilson published separately only his *Aristotelian Studies I*, being a small volume *On the Structure of the Seventh Book of the Nicomachean Ethics, Chapters I–X*, which appeared in 1879 and was reissued in 1912. his inaugural lecture of 1889 on 'An Evolutionist Theory of Axioms' (to wit, on Herbert Spencer's), which was reprinted in 1912: a memoir of David Binning

Monro, Provost of Oriel, in 1907. and a book *On the Traversing of Geometrical Figures*, in 1905. The last arose out of his interest in the 'four-colour problem' in maps. He was, however, a fairly constant contributor to learned periodicals, such as the *Classical Review* and *Classical Quarterly*, the *Journal of Philology*, the *Academy*, the *Transactions of the Oxford Philological Society*, the *Archiv fur Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie*, and the *Philologische Rundschau*. These papers are chiefly on the problems of text, interpretation, or doctrine in Plato and Aristotle; but a few concern other classical authors, one is a review, and one an obituary notice of his old head master, the Rev. Walter Clark. Some years ago he consented to allow the lectures which, before becoming Professor, he used to give on Plato's *Republic* to be reproduced from notes, and circulated in type-written copies; and he revised the proof of these, though he did not give them literary form One or two copies of a short but valuable course on Aristotelian Logic were made in the same way. And among his remains, which, owing to the claims of other work during the war, have not yet been fully examined, are papers on the existence of God, on the conception of life, on Homer, on Greek musical modes, on Greek tactics, on the ὑποζώματα of Greek ships and the beaks of triremes, on universals, and on the good will. The last two were written for the British Academy, but neither was ever completed or presented. Most, if not all, are unrevised or fragmentary, and some perhaps fanciful. But the list will illustrate the direction of his interests.

Doubtless Wilson's main work was done in Logic. It has been already mentioned that he was revising and developing it to the last. In his earlier years he would have called himself an idealist. From this position, or at least from any easy or ordinary form of it, he gradually moved away. He insisted that it is involved in the nature of knowledge, that the being of what is known is independent of our knowing it; that knowing is not making, and that there can be no theory of knowledge (nor yet of perception either); for 'apprehension itself is obviously ultimate. Everything we can say about it, or indeed about anything else, presupposes it.' No study of the forms of thinking can 'be in the way of either doubting or establishing their validity. For in such an examination Logic would have to presuppose the validity of what it would be criticizing.' Logic can only disentangle the universal form from the particulars in which it is manifested. Some parts of Logic, therefore, are very simple. But the truth often has to be recovered from the incrustations of erroneous theory, and it needs very careful statement. In particular, it is

important to recognize the limits to defining. We are apt to be imposed upon by specious phrases that can only be interpreted through what they profess to explain. We cannot define knowing, and it is imposture to disguise the fact by using a term like cognition, but we can recognize its nature in examples. Similarly, we cannot define judgement, and when it is said to be a reference to reality, if we ask what kind of reference, the only answer is, the reference that there is in judging. The same tendency which leads men to offer as definitions what are not such leads them also to a pretended reduction of irreducible differences. Knowledge and opinion are improperly unified under the title of judgement. There are forms of thinking which are not knowing, they are unified by their relation to knowing, but not by reduction along with it to a common genus. What has concealed from logicians the heterogeneity of the forms of thinking which they have attempted to deal with together is the identity of the propositional form in which they are expressed. 'The logic which in modern phrase is to be a logic of judgement is, quite unconsciously, a logic of statement.' This view Wilson developed only latterly with full emphasis. The section which, as recently as 1907–8, was headed 'Theory of Judgement' is headed in print 'Of Statement, and its Relation to Thinking and Apprehension (subjects comprised under the traditional title of "the theory of judgement")'. Great attention is paid to the true meaning of different forms of statement; the inadequacy of the symbolism which reduces all propositions to the form '*A* is *B*' or '*A* is not *B*' is exhibited, for the form of thinking is different for example in 'Men are fallible' and 'Men are animals'. Wilson could have done first-rate work in philosophical grammar Again, the true basis of the logical distinction between subject and predicate is laboriously examined, and it is shown to lie in the movement of the thinker's interest. The same form of statement may be used when this is different, and you cannot determine the meaning of a statement without regard to what a speaker would express through accent, accent being as much a part of our means of expression as words, or rather as the other characters of words. Thus the lectures were often concerned with what might be called grammatical discussions, and again with metaphysical; and grammar and metaphysics are not Logic. Wilson takes great pains to discover the proper province of Logic. In a very valuable introduction he examines the way in which a particular science or branch of study develops; not starting from a general definition, but from particular problems, between which an affinity comes later to be recognized. And whatever is required for the solution of these problems, though it may be ἄλλης

σκέψεως, belongs to the inquiry. Inference, however, seems to be pre-eminently the subject of Logic, because all inference is knowing. For there is no real inference which is not self-evident, or in which we do not know the connexion of premisses and conclusion. Unfortunately the treatment of inference in the lectures is not so full as he might have made it; but there are important discussions on syllogism, which is shown to be no more than a particular sort of calculus, and on induction, and on mathematical thinking.

The above is no more than an indication of the general position which Wilson took up, and of some of the doctrines which he expounded. It should be added that the lectures, and indeed all his work, are written in language singularly simple. Abstract and bald or unadorned the discussions indeed are, and they would be improved by more frequent concrete illustration, such as might have been supplied orally, or in a published book, but there is a resolute avoidance of technical terminology In this he followed Plato rather than Aristotle He had a great respect for the unconscious logic of common language, and never thought it waste of time to ask what the ordinary forms of speech imply, though he did not deny that they might on occasion embody erroneous doctrine. But what is clearly thought, it seemed to him, can be simply expressed. And nothing was more valuable in the discipline of his instruction than the way in which, as one of his most intimate pupils has put it, 'he was always pricking some bubble of language or thought', and implanting 'a cultivated distrust of phrases and formulae'.[1] There is much philosophic writing which seems to develop the consequences of some accepted terminology with little regard to the facts that the terminology is supposed to cover; and a sort of mythology results, wherein disputants seek consistency as the mythologists sought to introduce it into the accounts of the doings and relations of the gods, but they were gods whom men had created. In Wilson's estimation, this was in philosophy as the sin of witchcraft. He sought the truth for himself in independent scrutiny of facts Others also no doubt endeavour this. But the language of many men's philosophies is as it were a veil before our eyes, through which the sight can with difficulty pierce. It was Wilson's singular merit, that his vision could not only pierce with greater penetration than most other men's, but also that he made his pupils realize the difficulty and necessity of the task, and even taught them to perform it with better success.

H. W. B. JOSEPH.

[1] Mr S Ball, in the *Oriel Record*, reprinted in the *Oxford Magazine*, Oct. 22, 1915.

HENRY FANSHAWE TOZER

1829–1916

THE REV. HENRY FANSHAWE TOZER, who died at Oxford on June 2, 1916, at the ripe age of eighty-seven, exhibited qualities both of mind and character which are not likely to be combined again. He has been said in the columns of *The Times* to have been at the time of his death both the *doyen* of Oxford scholarship, and the last and not least distinguished of the classical tourists. Both natural gifts and education contributed to determine his bent. In the following brief sketch an attempt will be made to give some account of the influences by which he was moulded, of his personal characteristics, and of his literary performances.

He was a scion of an old Devonshire family, and was born at Plymouth on May 18, 1829. His father, Aaron Tozer, who attained the rank of Post-captain in the Navy, was an officer of considerable distinction. In his earlier life he had served in the Mediterranean, in the West Indies, and afterwards in the expedition to Walcheren, and again in the Mediterranean. He had behaved with great gallantry and been twice desperately wounded, on each occasion when boarding a French frigate captured by him and his party. Being disabled from active service he held for a time a shore appointment at Plymouth, but retired finally some years before his death. Tozer's mother was a Lincolnshire lady, a daughter of Henry Hutton, Esq., of Lincoln He was an only son, but had one sister who died many years before him. Captain Tozer bestowed much care on his son's education After his retirement he frequently took him on country expeditions in Devon and Cornwall. A botanist himself, he found an apt pupil in his son, who turned this accomplishment to account in his future travels

Tozer also became something of a draughtsman. Though he never painted in water-colour or oil he was able to make outline drawings sufficiently accurate to supply the material for a finished picture to be executed by more skilful hands. Some of these pictures were done by his sister. Some were the work of his friend Edward Lear, who also painted on his own account many of the scenes familiar to himself as well as to Tozer. A number of these pictures passed into Tozer's

possession, and are now in the University Galleries to which Tozer bequeathed them.

To Tozer's ancestry and his father's training many of his characteristics are doubtless traceable. He had that fearlessness and love of adventure hereditary in many Devonshire families, and strongly developed in his father. He had also that loyalty to duty, precision, and sense of order and neatness which are instilled by the discipline of the Navy. Captain Tozer died in 1853. His memory was always cherished by his son, who by his will distributed between the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford and the British Museum the naval trophies won or acquired by his father.

Tozer received his earliest training at Plympton School, and was sent thence to Winchester as a commoner, under the head-mastership of Dr. Moberly. At Winchester he was contemporary with George Ridding, who was one of the most brilliant of the Winchester scholars of that day. He and Ridding were school-friends, but became much more intimate in later years when they were both Fellows of Exeter College. Tozer was not in the first flight amongst his contemporaries at school. He was a conscientious and accurate worker, but neither then nor in his later days as a tutor at Oxford did his composition in Latin and Greek exhibit those brilliant qualities for which Ridding's classical exercises, especially in Greek and Latin verse, were conspicuous. Nor had he the physical strength necessary for attaining the highest excellence in games. He was a manly youth and a fair cricketer, but he was slight in figure, though, as he afterwards proved in foreign travel, he possessed considerable powers of endurance. By his steadiness and character he earned his promotion to be a prefect, which showed the estimation in which he was held by the authorities of the school. On leaving Winchester he matriculated as a commoner at University College, Oxford, in March, 1847. At University he came under the influence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, then a leading tutor of that College. Stanley made a deep impression on Tozer, and stimulated his nascent desire for travel and exploration. He was one of those undergraduates whom Stanley occasionally took with him for a walk; and the intercourse between them continued after Tozer had left his first College. Stanley also may well have been regarded by Tozer as a model in his kindness and attention to the needs of his pupils. After the end of his second year Tozer migrated as a Devon scholar to Exeter College, with a view to a Fellowship in the future. He obtained a Second Class in the School of Literae Humaniores in 1850, having been forced by a somewhat unreasonable College rule to enter for the examination before he was quite ready for it. He was elected to

a Fellowship in 1850 and ordained in 1852, but had no College work until three years later. He thus had time to gain his first experience in foreign travel, which was hereafter to be the chief pleasure of his life. His first travelling companion was the Rev. H. H Winwood, his friend and companion both at Winchester and at Exeter College, and a first-rate cricketer, who still survives. They made their way through Italy to Sicily, where travelling was still very rough as well as somewhat dangerous. After exploring Sicily they returned to Rome, and proceeded to Greece by way of Malta. Their tour in Greece was most comprehensive. After seeing Athens and the neighbourhood, they thoroughly explored the Peloponnesus. Hence they went to Corfu and Albania, returning along the Gulf of Corinth and touching at the places of interest on either shore From Athens they then struck north, visiting every historic spot in Boeotia and the south of Thessaly, and finally proceeding by sea to Constantinople. The journal is extant which Tozer kept during this his first expedition to Greece. It is extraordinarily full and accurate. Nothing seems to escape his eye, and everything is recorded in a manner calculated to bring back the whole scene to the writer's mind. From Constantinople Tozer was recalled by the news of his father's fatal illness, and was thus prevented from going on to Syria and Palestine. Mr. Winwood has kindly imparted to the present writer his admiration of Tozer's qualities as a travelling companion Never for a moment ruffled in temper or put out, always careful of the comfort and convenience of his fellow traveller, and most methodical in his preparation for every contingency that might arise; so exact in his calculation of time that their party came down the hill to Volo, after many weeks' wanderings, to catch the only steamer that would suit them at the moment when she was beginning to get up steam to depart. Mr Winwood adds a characteristic trait, namely, that in none of Tozer's expeditions would he travel on a Sunday, but insisted on observing it as a day of rest. Among the very few books which formed his travelling library was the *Divina Commedia* of Dante. Thus early he had begun the study which solaced the last years of his life.

On this, his first Eastern tour, Tozer fell in for the first time with Thomas Mosley Crowder, of Wadham College, afterwards Bursar of Corpus Christi, and Colonel of the Oxford Militia, who became his most intimate friend, and the companion of his most arduous travels in after years. Crowder encountered Mr. Winwood and Tozer at Rome after their Sicilian tour, and joined them in their expedition to Greece. He was a man of exceptionally strong physique, a typical

Yorkshireman and a first-rate horseman and pedestrian. Together with J. L. G. Mowat, Fellow of Pembroke College, he walked with few intervals of rest from the Land's End to John O'Groat's house, and also through Germany along the line of the Riesen Mauer and Pfahl Grabe. An account of the latter tour was printed by Mowat for private circulation. Crowder himself did not publish any narratives or journals of his travels, but he kept a most full and accurate account of every expedition which he made either in this country or abroad. These journals, filling more than twenty volumes, are still extant, and are now deposited in the custody of Corpus Christi College. They constitute a guide-book of the highest value to any one who should desire to consult them before travelling over any of the routes traversed by the writer

In 1855 Tozer became librarian and tutor of Exeter College, resigning the former office after a tenure of three years. In both these capacities he did excellent service. The departments of geography and modern history in the Exeter College library he made, as was to be expected, the most complete of their kind in Oxford. As a College tutor he set before himself the ideals which have been frequently put into practice since the early days of Jowett and Stanley. He impressed his pupils not only by the high standard of his lectures and by his conscientious and self-denying efforts to stimulate their intellectual interest, but by his personal kindness and sympathy, which in many cases followed them through their after life. His lectures on Comparative Philology for the Honour Classical School in the First Public Examination were specially appreciated by his hearers. Notes of these made in October, 1879, have been presented to the Bodleian Library (MS Add. A. 322) by the Rev Andrew Clark, of Lincoln College, among a collection of the lecture notes that he took as an undergraduate.

It is not necessary to chronicle every expedition which Tozer made in Greece or Turkey after settling down as a tutor in Oxford. His constitution and the precautions he took enabled him to defy extremes of heat, and almost every year he made excursions in the summer, which few people would have attempted at that season, to Corsica and Spain, as well as to Greece. His works of travel were the fruit of many such expeditions. It is more to the purpose to indicate the range and character of his productiveness. His three chief books of travel were *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey, with notes on the ballads, tales and classical superstitions of modern Greeks,* in two volumes, published in 1869 , *Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor*, published in 1881 ; and *The Islands of the Aegean*, with maps, published

in 1890. Previously to his first visit to Greece he had prepared himself, as far as time permitted, by the study of Pausanias and the writings of former travellers, especially of Leake. Before publishing anything on his own account he made himself familiar with the original authorities and the best works in modern languages, on the regions and topics which he desired to treat. He thus brought to his task both a full mind and a trained faculty of observation. The country which he traversed in the Highlands of Turkey in Europe has been largely opened up since his day. Athos and its monasteries have been described by others both before and after him, but for variety of interest, literary grace, and freshness, his *Researches* will long retain the place accorded to them in the estimation of scholars on their first appearance. *The Islands of the Aegean*, though not so comprehensive, has all the qualities of his earliest book. Tozer, as has already been remarked, was a classical tourist, not an explorer of the modern type who brings to light the secrets of the past hidden in the soil. But whenever any visible remains could throw light on early history, as in Samothrace or Delos, he omitted nothing that careful investigation could discover.

His work on Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor takes us with him to the farthest point to which his travels extended. It gives full scope both to his knowledge of geographical science and to his powers of observation and description. His route lay through the greater part of the country which has been the scene of the present war in Asia Minor. Tozer is one of the few writers who have described scenery in such a manner as to enable the reader to realize the appearance of the country described. His account of Trebizond and the district round it is not to be surpassed. The remainder of his publications before he retired from the field of classical authorship exhibit considerable variety. At the invitation of the Clarendon Press he brought out in 1877 an edition of Finlay's *Greece*, with notes, in seven volumes In 1882 he edited a new edition of Wordsworth's *Greece*. Before editing these works he went carefully through all the more recent literature which could throw light on them. The treatment of Finlay was, for various reasons, a task of special difficulty. Tozer, with his usual self-effacement, was chiefly anxious to do full justice to those whose works he was editing, and the labour he bestowed upon them has secured them a permanent position. He did not make Bishop Wordsworth's personal acquaintance until after the new edition of that writer's book had been published. When they met for the first time, Wordsworth greeted him in the most cordial and even affectionate manner. Tozer had published

lectures on the geography of Greece, and a primer of classical geography at an early date. In 1893 he brought out his *Selections from Strabo*, and in 1897 his *History of Ancient Geography* in the Cambridge Classical Series, a work which may be considered his most valuable contribution to geographical science. A large number of articles in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, those for example on Attica, Euboea, and Mediaeval Greek History, were also from his hand.

Tozer's studies, however, were by no means confined within the limits of geographical exploration and description. His small volume on *The Church and the Eastern Empire* in the 'Epochs of Church History', edited by Mandell Creighton and published in 1888, is a masterpiece of lucid exposition. In many of his articles and slighter productions as well as in the *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey*, he showed that he was as much interested in the folklore and popular literature of the countries which he explored as in their geography and history. In all his travels he paid special attention to monasteries, churches, and all remains of early Christian art.[1] His labours on Dante, which occupied him in the last years of his activity, will be mentioned below.

He retained his tutorship at Exeter College for thirty-eight years—from 1855 to 1893. He vacated his Fellowship for a time in 1868, when he married Augusta Henrietta, the daughter of Mr H. D. C. Satow, of Clapton and of Sidmouth, and sister of the Right Hon. Sir Ernest Satow, G.C.M.G. With his brother-in-law Tozer maintained a close and intimate friendship until his death. For several years after Tozer's marriage the genial hospitality which he and his wife exercised was one of the chief social pleasures both of his friends and of his pupils. After some time Mrs. Tozer's health broke down, and she was ultimately compelled to spend the greater part of the winter abroad. In 1882, after the passing of the statutes of the second University Commission, Tozer was re-elected Fellow and continued to hold both Fellowship and tutorship until 1893. During almost the whole of this period, with highly characteristic generosity he placed the stipend of his Fellowship at the disposal of

[1] Tozer shortly before his death supplied a list of all his publications, including his articles in encyclopaedias and journals and reviews, to the Rector of Exeter College for his Bibliography of the Fellows and Tutors of Exeter College. Mention of some of the latter will illustrate the extent of their range. They include 'Mediaeval Rhodian Love Poems' (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*), 1880, 'The Native Land of Horace' (*Classical Review*), 1888, 'Ancient Spanish Churches', three articles (*Gentleman's Magazine*); 'Corsican Greek Ballads' (*Journal of Philology*); 'Compostella' (*Fraser's Magazine*), with many others.

the College for the payment of scholarships. Indeed his liberality in proportion to his means was always unbounded Besides the gifts above mentioned, he presented the College with the beautiful woodwork designed by Bodley with which the chapel is at present adorned, and was not less generous to the undergraduate clubs and societies. But his generosity was by no means restricted to his own College. Any one who had any good work to promote knew that in appealing to Tozer he was certain to meet with a liberal response

When he resigned his Fellowship in 1893 he was elected to an honorary Fellowship, which he held to the time of his death. He had taken short leave of absence from his College duties once or twice before 1893. He was now free to attend Mrs. Tozer in her enforced absences from England, and for several years spent the greater part of the winter at San Remo, where he made many friends Mrs. Tozer died at Oxford on May 20, 1910 After this he resided with little interruption at his house, No. 18 Norham Gardens, until the end.

In his later years he went abroad, on this occasion alone, for the last time. A visit to Syria and the Holy Land had been long overdue. He had intended to make this expedition in company with Mr. Winwood when he was recalled from Constantinople in 1853. He now saw Jerusalem, the Jordan and the Dead Sea, Palestine, Damascus, and the Lebanon, but did not think it worth while to give his impressions to the public respecting places so frequently visited and described by others He had reserved the *Divina Commedia* of Dante to be the solace of his declining years, and now set to work upon it. His English commentary on the *Divina Commedia* was published in 1901, and his translation of the poem into English prose in 1904. He was one of the original members of the Oxford Dante Society, and had already read essays before it on various aspects of the *Commedia*. The well-known Dante scholar, Dr. Edward Moore, F.B.A., was the founder of the society, but Tozer had been a student of Dante at an earlier date than Dr. Moore. Indeed he is stated on good authority to have recommended Dr. Moore to take up the critical study of Dante as his speciality. As every reader of Dante knows, the study of that poet not only opens questions literary, historical, and theological, of the deepest interest, but also presents problems which call for minute and somewhat tedious analysis and inquiry. Tozer combined to a remarkable degree the ability to deal with questions of both kinds. He made a close study of the metre of the *Commedia*, and wrote an essay on this subject which was inserted as one of the appendices in Dr. Moore's 'Contributions to

the Textual Criticism of the *Commedia*'. He also made a careful analysis of all the special linguistic and grammatical usages distinctive of the poem. In the commentary he paid special attention to the historical allusions Tozer's edition of the *Commedia* with notes may be regarded as a model of what a short commentary should be. His prose translation of the great poem is eminently praiseworthy, although it hardly reaches that level of inspiration which has been attained in recent years by some of the best translations from Classical poetry into English prose. This kind of inspiration was not Tozer's forte, but as an explanation of the meaning of the original it would not be easy to surpass it. He never ignores a difficulty of interpretation or, as some translators do, evades it by a rendering as ambiguous as the original. His language, though somewhat prosaic, is always clear, straightforward and intelligible.

After the completion of his translation of the *Divina Commedia*, Tozer announced to his friends that he had finally laid down his pen. During the remainder of his life he employed his leisure by turning to his favourite literature, especially the Greek poets, and by dwelling on the memories and incidents of the historic scenes through which he had travelled, such as his night journey in a boat across the Lake of Scutari in Montenegro, or the ceremony at midsummer dawn on Mount Athos, or his approach to the Convent of Meteora to which he was hauled up in a net by the aid of a rope and a pulley. Two of his chief pleasures had been open-air life, and converse with his friends. Until within a few years of his death even inclement weather rarely kept him from dining in his College Hall on Sundays, and enjoying the society of his juniors. For companionship in his declining years he was much indebted to one of his wife's most intimate friends, and to his wife's relatives, who were warmly attached to him. One of these writes 'His welcome was always delightful to behold. His face in repose was naturally grave; but when he was receiving his friends it lighted up with a radiance such as I have never seen in any one else, and this was accompanied by a slight raising and opening of his arms as a token of his pleasure.'

Long after he had passed his seventieth year he continued to ride on horseback. After he had given up horse exercise he walked through the Park at Oxford, or through the fields bordering the city, a practice he continued until within a few days of his death.

Tozer, as his friend Lord Bryce has termed him in a letter to the present writer, 'was eminently the type, as high a type as has been produced, of the scholar as traveller, and his services in this department are of great and permanent value'. He could not

justly be called an epoch-making writer, for his travels rather mark the close of a period in the history of exploration. But his writings also exhibit that conception of scientific scholarship which has established itself within the last fifty years. He was not one of that band of scholars who set themselves at the beginning of that epoch to persuade the University and the country that a University exists for the advancement of knowledge just as much as for education He taught by example rather than by precept, but his ideal of learning was the same as theirs. He has his clearly marked place in the long line of Oxford scholars, and he proved to the University and to the world that the aims of the younger men, with whom he warmly sympathized, were in accordance with the best traditions of their predecessors. His literary performance was both varied and extensive. Everything that he produced was of a high quality of its kind. The order and method which he displayed as a traveller marked his literary work as well He carefully surveyed and mapped out the ground beforehand, and he never began any task which he did not bring to a successful conclusion in the shape in which he had planned it.

His life, notwithstanding its share of domestic sorrow, may be deemed exceptionally happy. He was sufficiently endowed with the gifts of fortune to be quite independent of his earnings But even if this had not been the case, he would have found it irksome to throw himself into the struggle and competition of the world. It is difficult to imagine any one more completely forgetful of himself, and more ready to place all that he possessed, either of worldly goods or of knowledge and experience, at the service of others. As the friend already quoted remarks of him, 'He was absolutely free from any kind of ambition or self-seeking, finding in learning and poetry and the love of them, and the doing of his duty to others, full satisfaction for all he asked from life. An air of serene contentment enveloped him and was diffused around him.' Many men who were vastly his inferiors in attainment and performance have received more generous recognition. But if a mind at peace, and the love and respect of friends are among the chief blessings of life, he was not without his reward.

W. W. JACKSON.

EDWARD MOORE

1835–1916

EDWARD MOORE, successful throughout his life, was fortunate even in the manner of his death. This was almost sudden and painless. It took place on September 2, 1916, at Chagford on the Dartmoor which he had lately learnt to love so well. His one unmarried daughter was with him, and by a happy chance his youngest son had come back from France on a few days' leave. Dante too was his companion to the end, for up to the last he was busy with the proofs of his *Fourth Series of Studies*, and he left a devoted friend and collaborator, Dr. Paget Toynbee, to put the finishing touches to his work. He was buried at Canterbury, but, owing to the holiday season, his friends were scattered, and few knew of his death in time to be present at his funeral.

Those who saw Moore's fresh complexion and his wealth of hair, only turning grey, who heard his strong voice and cheery laugh, and who had proof of his alertness of intellect, would scarcely have guessed that he was born in 1835. His birthplace and the home of his youth was Cardiff, where his father, Dr. John Moore, practised as a physician. He was educated at Bromsgrove, and, after twice failing to win an Open Scholarship, was given a Bible Clerkship at Pembroke College by Dr. Jeune, who had formed a higher opinion of his worth than his unappreciative examiners. He won a Double First in Moderations in 1855, and again in Greats, Classical and Mathematical, in 1857. Next year he was elected to a Fellowship at Queen's, standing second to John Percival, now Bishop of Hereford, who also, as a member of the College, had amassed four Firsts. They are often described as the two first Open Fellows of the College, and were, indeed, the first elected on the new Consolidated Foundation. But things are not always what they seem or statutably read, for their three brilliant predecessors, W. W. Capes, Jex Blake, and Lewis Campbell, did not hail from the privileged Northern Counties. Moore became a College Tutor, was ordained in 1861, and in 1864 was elected, though only twenty-nine, to the Principalship of St. Edmund Hall, which already enjoyed a high reputation, to be increased by the industry and growing prestige of its new Head. For very many years

he continued to lecture, his chief subjects being Aristotle's Ethics and Poetics, on each of which he wrote a Handbook, which may still be used with advantage. Orally he was not impressive or stimulating to the generality of his pupils, but good men who wanted to learn appreciated his clearness and careful accuracy. He dwelt mainly on distinct points whether of language or subject-matter, collecting and comparing authorities, and delighting especially in the solution of a problem. He showed in fact, says one of his best pupils, the qualities of a mathematical mind; in the Poetics he would enter sometimes into the general consideration of philosophical terms, but seldom or never into the wider issues involved; his method was rather that of a Scholiast. These remarks are of interest, because they can be applied to the work on Dante, on which his fame must rest.

It is often not easy to trace the motives or accidents which have caused men to establish a reputation on lines far removed from those of their ordinary vocations. How came it that Moore, fully occupied as Head of a House and a hardworking tutor, came to place himself in the first rank of Dante scholars? His bent was, as has been seen, somewhat mathematical. He showed little taste for literature in general or poetry in particular. One of his earliest and most intimate friends has told me that, as a young man, he never expressed keen appreciation of any poet except Wordsworth, whom he later so frequently quoted in his *Studies*; Tennyson had no charm for him, and he disliked Browning's obscurity, but he was well versed in Shakespeare. Fiction attracted him not at all, and History very little; he had no unusual knowledge of or talent for foreign languages; to the end he had slight acquaintance with the Provençal and early French writers, who count for so much in the literary history of Dante's age. In spite of his lecturing on the Poetics, it seemed most unlikely that he would have chosen a poet for his life's work. The first push was perhaps the indirect result of a visit to Italy with R. G. Livingstone in 1863. For this purpose they both learnt Italian from De Tivoli, the then Taylorian Teacher, a patriot exile and fine scholar with a passionate love for Dante. In him is probably to be seen the primary motive power, but it is said that it was H. F. Tozer who first induced Moore to take up Dante as a serious study. The next stage was the foundation of the Oxford Dante Society. Of this Moore may fairly be called the author. De Tivoli perhaps gave the inspiration, while Kitchin contributed a valuable store of literary experience, but the project was clinched and actualized by Moore's energy and perseverance. He may certainly claim the credit for the unusually long life of a Society not connected with the normal studies of the University, for until his death he was without question

its guiding spirit. The original number of members was nine, afterwards increased to twelve, and lately to fifteen. They dined with each other in turn, and after the terminal dinner a paper was read, also according to a *rota*, and two or three passages were discussed. Moore had no constitutional position, but he undertook the secretarial work, and utilized this for purposes of discipline. It needed much pressure from above to induce members, mostly busy men with varying degrees of Dante knowledge and enthusiasm, to produce elaborate papers according to the *rota*, and to keep up the supply of passages for discussion Moore insensibly became the despot of the Society, a despot of the cleverest and most amiable Italian type. But if Moore created and brought up the Dante Society, he also owed much to it. The aid and criticism of such fine scholars as Jackson and Tozer, of Bryce, Shadwell, and Liddon, must have been invaluable. Earle and Yorke Powell contributed an imaginative, suggestive element, while of later years Paget Toynbee's membership led to a close friendship and continuous collaboration. The Society played no small part in the preparation of the several editions of the Oxford Dante, for disputed readings were regularly brought before it for discussion. Not only this, but the division of labour, which the Society, not formally but actually, encouraged, made it possible for Moore to devote himself more closely to those aspects of Dante which particularly appealed to him. No poet has so many facets as Dante, and, if Moore had set himself to polish all, he must have failed.

Textual criticism took by degrees the first place among his interests. This might have been the case under any circumstances; for as early as 1889 he had published his *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia*; but the proposal of the University Press that he should edit the complete works of Dante in one volume gave a more definite impulse. This suggestion was communicated to the Dante Society by Dr. Shadwell at its meeting of November 22, 1892. Moore's chief strength, perhaps, really lay in textual work. He had the indispensable patience and thoroughness, was seldom or never carried away by alluring fancies of what Dante ought to have said, but more and more pinned his faith to MS. authority. In recent years most of his visits abroad were made with the object of collating MSS. in foreign libraries, and he acquired a matchless knowledge of them. His principles could not be better expressed than in the opening pages of the *Textual Criticism of the Convivio* in the fourth volume of his *Studies in Dante*, posthumously published. These should be read by any scholar who wishes for a sane, educational introduction to the examination of mediaeval MSS.

Moore's long labours in textual study led to the closest knowledge of Dante's *ipsissima verba* whether in prose or poetry. His readiness in this respect gave him a great advantage in controversy. It was not only a matter of a normal good memory, but of an early acquired habit of concentrating the full weight of his mental artillery upon sector after sector of the position attacked. In addition to this he made full use of his superior knowledge of Aristotle and the other classical sources from which Dante directly or indirectly drew. The thorough argumentative treatment to which as classical lecturer he had subjected Aristotle's views in the Poetics stood him in good stead against actual living opponents whom he had to combat. Usually courteous, he could hit hard at need, as in his treatment in the *Textual Criticism of the Convivio* of Giuliani's emendations. Moore's real force lay in his power of concentration and matchless perseverance. He rarely failed in anything on which he set his mind, even when success seemed most unlikely. Though occupied in pursuits of much variety, he was not mentally versatile. In such time as he could spare from administrative duties his mind was wholly absorbed on the question relating to Dante with which he was for the time concerned. This characteristic, apart from a pleasant voice and manner, enabled him to hold large and comparatively uninstructed audiences on the most difficult portions of the *Divina Commedia*, though he was not, in the ordinary sense, a skilful lecturer. This concentrated absorption also in part explains the limitations of his studies which are elsewhere mentioned It would have been physically impossible to vent so much energy on the whole field which it requires so many scholars to till His limitation was really his strength rather than, as cursory hearers or readers often thought, his weakness It was intensive cultivation in the strictest sense, and within the given area produced the most remunerative harvest, though it might not bulk as large as the produce of the wider expanse tilled on ordinary methods by men of equal intellectual ability.

There is no marked distinction in Moore's literary style. It is lucid, and often shows a lively sense of humour, but it is not incisive nor yet alluring. He was a reasoner rather than a rhetorician; he aimed at proof rather than at persuasion. He seems to have been conscious of its lack of attractiveness; more than once in his controversy with Earle on the real existence of Beatrice he refers to the advantage inherent in his adversary's brilliant style. Feeling this defect, he wisely refrained from any approach to fine writing, though this subject above all others must have tempted him. He had a romantic, almost passionate love for Beatrice, and nothing would

rouse him more than scepticism as to her reality. This much-vexed, and perhaps vexing, question at one time took a powerful hold upon him, and he could not throw it off. In the breathless walk up Shotover with a friend wholly ignorant of the lady's antecedents he would not for a yard stray from his discourse on Beatrice. Yet the fervour of his utterance cooled upon his pen. In his Essay Beatrice is subjected to the same exhaustive, closely reasoned method that is to be found in those upon Dante's Astronomy, or the assumed date of the *Divina Commedia*. He discusses the symbolical, the ideal, and the realistic theories of Beatrice in all their bearings; he tabulates the arguments drawn from external and internal sources, showing with marked moderation the points of contact between the three opposing views. Many readers accustomed to the mellifluous sweetness of some English writers upon things Italian, and especially on things Dantesque, must have felt disappointed, especially as in his first volume of *Studies* he had raised the hope that those reserved for the second, of which Beatrice was one, were of a more popular character. Yet his treatment is more consonant with Dante's own handling of an argumentative subject, and to those who regard Italians of all ages as a practical and materialistic race it is a comfort to strike upon unsweetened sense.

Moderation, the fruit of reason, was among the chief of Moore's merits. If this appears in a subject on which he had such a personal feeling as that of Beatrice, it is yet more obvious in his Study on *Dante as a Religious Teacher especially in relation to Catholic Doctrine*. This is, by the way, perhaps the most literary in form of all his articles Dante, as is well known, has been claimed as a precursor of Luther, or, at the least, of Savonarola. Moore had been brought up in the straitest sect of the Evangelical party, his principles had been fortified by the atmosphere, in those days, of Cardiff and Liverpool. To the Oxford branch of this party he acceded on his ordination in 1859. At the time of writing this Essay he would probably still have been classed as a Low Churchman, though his practices had undergone some modification. If prejudice apart from proof could have counted for anything with Moore, this subject would have given prejudice its chance Yet he almost pours scorn on the Lutheran or even Savonarolist claims to Dante, and his whole treatment of Dante's attitude towards the Blessed Virgin, as he himself always calls her, would lead readers to believe that it was a Catholic apologia. This was, doubtless, in the main due to the force of proof, but there was, perhaps, something beyond this. Moore, in spite of occasional strong language against religious, as against political practices, of which he disapproved, had the grace of

reverence. Thus, as he was gradually attracted by the reverent order of a somewhat higher ritual than that to which he had been accustomed, so, I venture to think, he was affected by Dante's worship for the Virgin. It is at all events remarkable that in this article there is more of true feeling for the personality of Dante than in any other, so much so that it has a marked influence upon his style. It may be doubted if, as a rule, it was chiefly the poetry of Dante that appealed to Moore. He rarely spoke even to his friends of the aesthetic values of the *Commedia*, the *Canzoniere*, or the *Vita Nuova*. At the meetings of the Society he never discussed a passage from a literary point of view, of literary criticism or appreciation there is scarcely a trace in all his writings. He must have been fully conscious of Dante's poetic beauty, possibly too fully for facile expression, but he was emphatically a worker and was attracted by the difficulty of Dante, by the numerous problems open for solution. The work to which he devoted most time was undoubtedly the textual emendation of the *Commedia*, and latterly of the *Convivio*. None but the closest students are able to realize the full values of this spadework, though his book on the *Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia*, and the last volume of his *Studies*, the greater part of which is concerned with the emendations of the text of the *Convivio*, will give some faint idea of it. Had he lived he would doubtless have given to Dr. Toynbee in his important work on the Letters the same aid which he had received from him in re-editing the *Convivio* and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, or the third edition of the Oxford Dante. His valuable MS. of the *Convivio*, together with one of the *Commedia*, were bequeathed to the Bodleian Library.

Apart from textual emendation, Moore's most striking contribution is his defence of the authenticity of the *Quaestio de aqua et terra*. It may be claimed that he has decided this question once for all in favour of Dante's authorship. This has all along had its defenders, but the sceptics were much the stronger party until Moore pulverized his antagonists by his argumentative power, by his matchless knowledge of Dante's modes of thought and expression, and of the sources from which he drew his quotations. He could not here rely on his favourite weapon, MS. authority, because there is no MS. extant. This article may be noted as an admirable example of Moore's method in attacking one of those problems which had attracted him ever since he was at once a Classical and Mathematical Scholar. On this question he had found within the Dante Society a valuable ally in Dr. Shadwell, who had simultaneously and independently come to the same conclusion, and who read a paper thereon to the Dante Society in June 1895, and to whom the conjectural emendations in

the third edition of the Oxford Dante are mainly due. With Moore's article on the *Quaestio* may be connected his defence of the Epistle to Can Grande in vol. iii of the *Studies*, and his discussion of the 'Battifolle' Letters attributed to Dante in vol. iv. The other Essays of most permanent importance are the *Time References in the Divina Commedia*, afterwards enlarged in the Italian translation by Cino Chiarini as the *Accenni al tempo nella Divina Commedia*, the Studies on the Astronomy and Geography of Dante, and on his Classical and Scriptural sources, especially the section dealing with Aristotle All these were original contributions to Dante criticism, and, taken in conjunction with his work on the texts, have served to place the study of Dante on a distinctly higher plane. In a lighter vein are the Barlow Lectures published as *Dante and his Early Biographers*, comprising his final lecture on Dante's Personal Characteristics. These were published in 1890, and would now require some modification, especially the view taken that Boccaccio's shorter life of Dante, the so-called *Compendio*, was a réchauffé by another hand, whereas, as he later became aware, the MS. exists in Boccaccio's own handwriting. It is to be regretted that he did not write a companion volume on Dante's Early Commentators, though it is not so popular a subject. Those who enjoyed the article on the Tomb of Dante in the *English Historical Review* of October, 1888, will be glad to find it reprinted with omissions and corrections in vol. iv of the *Studies*. In this volume, too, are printed for the first time *Dante's Theory of Creation*, the *Introduction to the Study of the Paradiso*, and *Santa Lucia in the Divina Commedia*.

In weighing Moore's literary output it must be remembered that he was always a man of affairs, that he never had the leisure vouchsafed to a Professor who has nothing to distract him from the subject he professes. For nearly forty years he had to administer St. Edmund Hall with only a Vice-Principal to aid him. He lectured for Queen's College and the Hall, and that on many subjects. He was for long Curator of the Sheldonian Theatre, exposed on great occasions to the blandishments or subterfuges of ladies who plied him for tickets or tried to evade their presentation. From February 1879 until his death he was a Curator of the Taylor Institution, and Secretary to the Curators from the beginning of 1890 to the end of 1903. Here he did excellent service, adding greatly to the usefulness of the Institution both as a library and a teaching centre. He was an active member of the Hebdomadal Council, taking a keen part in all University business or controversies. Once he was Senior Proctor, once Select Preacher, often an Examiner. On his removal to

Canterbury in 1903 he was still responsible for the administration of the Hall, since the controversy with Queen's College as to its future constitution delayed his resignation. Thus he had frequently to be in residence, though the main burden fell upon his capable Vice-Principal. Into the painful controversy itself it is unnecessary to enter, as it was brought to a happy conclusion in 1912, in memory of which he bequeathed to the College his precious library of books relating to Dante. It was only from that time until his death that he was able to divide his time between the Chapter and his Dante studies. Meanwhile the value of these latter had received warm recognition. As early as 1892 he had received the Doctorate of Letters at Dublin; in 1906 he was elected Fellow of the British Academy, and earlier in the same year Corresponding Member of the Accademia della Crusca, a distinction but rarely conferred upon an English scholar, and which gave him intense pleasure. For seventeen years between 1886 and 1909 he held the Barlow Lectureship at University College, London, and the Lectureship on Dante, which was created for him at the Taylor Institution, from 1895 to 1906. Another source of keen gratification to one who seemed unaware of his own reputation was the warmth of the welcome accorded to him at Canterbury. 'It was felt', writes Canon Mason, 'to be a high compliment to the Metropolitical Church that a man of such distinction should be associated with the foundation. Perhaps the roll which contains the names of the Casaubons and of Vossius, of Gunning and Beveridge and Stillingfleet and David Wilkins, has received no modern name which stands so high in the history of erudition as Edward Moore's.' His official residence claimed another great name in history, if not in literature, for it was the beautiful house remodelled by Queen Elizabeth for the use of Coligny's exiled brother, the great Cardinal Châtillon.

Moore was old as a young man and very young as an old one. In spite of two bad accidents, his vitality to the end was surprising. Pleasure and annoyance were those of youth, keenly felt and openly expressed. His warmth in meeting a friend, after however short an absence, was infectious. The terminal Dante meeting was a never-failing source of delight to him. Here he was quite at his best, as eager to receive as to give information, warmly appreciative of the work of others, even of that of novices or *dilettanti*. During a long paper, worshippers of Dante have been known to nod, but never Moore. It was hard to persuade him to let a meeting have a timely end; walking home he would enthusiastically discuss its result to his very door, and perhaps beyond it. Many friends and guests were surprised at the impression given in the obituary notice

in *The Times* as to his being a votary of an austere simplicity of life. They could testify that he would enjoy and dispense good cheer. It is possible that the impression was an echo of a protest made by him as Senior Proctor against the rising standard of luxury in the dinners given by a brilliant group of junior Fellows in the University. But then many a one of us is an *ex officio* Cato He was an admirable host, with a capital memory for personalities and events and a store of good anecdotes told with gusto. The last which I heard was against himself. He had at Canterbury a deerhound who was quite beyond the power of discipline over his dietary or his escapades. Only once was he known to obey the repeated orders to come to heel, and then it transpired that he had walked solemnly through the City and the Precincts behind his master with a captured cat in his mouth. Moore's fierce invectives against politicians or others, especially men who smelt of smoke, were provocative of amusement, if not always productive of conviction. Canon Mason, in writing on his life at Canterbury, dwells on his happy blend of sociability and hard work and says, 'One of the purposes of a cathedral which were most insisted upon in old days was "the keeping of hospitality". No canon of Canterbury has ever performed this duty more generously than Dr. Moore—very often to guests not of his own choosing. Never, on the other hand, did he fall into the error which Cranmer dreaded for the prebendaries of his cathedral. A prebendary, he said, was commonly "a good viander", but "neither a learner nor a teacher". Dr Moore's industry in learning, and in setting forth the results of his learning, never flagged till the day when he corrected the last proof-sheet of his last volume of *Studies*, and found that he could not sign his name.'

Many of Moore's friends doubted how he would bear the change from academic to ecclesiastical life. For more than forty years he had, by virtue of his Principalship, been Rector of Gatcombe in the Isle of Wight, a small and very rural parish. During Term time he was necessarily an absentee, and that being so, he was perhaps wise in leaving his curate in full possession throughout the year. But he had no real call for parochial life; full of kindliness for those with whom he was brought into actual contact, and full of gratitude for any small services, he was not a man of wide and ready sympathy, nor, in spite of long years of successful administration, was he a born ruler of men. This was due, I think, rather to a certain lack of imagination than of feeling, he could not easily project himself into space. As was to be expected, therefore, he did not throw himself into the work of the diocese at large, but concentrated his devotion upon the cathedral, its fabric and its services. Here his close

attention, his accurate knowledge, his clear and definite decisions, even his knowledge of music, were invaluable, whether shown in his notes of Chapter meetings, in the trouble taken over testimonials and appointments, salaries and pensions, or in the humbler details of cleaning, lighting, and organ-tuning. In the library, which was his special province, though no expert in the documents, he obtained advice on their arrangement from the Bodleian and British Museum, and was mainly instrumental in obtaining a grant from public sources for this purpose.

During his long residence at Oxford Moore never seemed to covet a reputation as a preacher. He was nervously organized, and it is possible that he was alarmed at two nervous attacks in the pulpit in his earlier years. 'The pulpit', writes Canon Mason, 'was not to him, as it was to George Herbert's *Country Parson*, "his joy and his throne". He always groaned a little over the production of sermons. He found the two continuous months of residence, customary at Canterbury, very trying, and always endeavoured to break them up by exchange with brother canons. One year, in search for the quietest place to prepare a month's sermons in, he took refuge at Frau Krupp's, near Essen. The sermons were always thoughtful, often illustrated from the great poet who formed his life's study. They never failed to contain some interpretation of Scripture, some instruction in practical ethics, some devotional suggestion, which were of great value to a sympathetic listener. But he was not an effective preacher. His extreme modesty stood in his way. He spoke in a half-apologetic manner. He seemed to be afraid that his hearers would be bored, and this affected his delivery. It was this modesty, however, which made his life, to those who knew him, more powerful than any sermons. It was a lesson to hear him speak and speak again with an admiration unstinted and unfeigned of a lecture on Dante by some one else whose knowledge of the subject, compared with his own, was like a schoolboy's.'

All Moore's friends will appreciate this fine expression of Moore's modesty. It was, perhaps, of all his merits the most uncommon in one so learned and so highly placed. At times it might almost seem to be a foible; but Moore will be missed, not only for his great learning and his many virtues, but even for the little foibles which made him so very human.

E. ARMSTRONG.

JOSIAH ROYCE

1855–1916

JOSIAH ROYCE, who died on September 14, 1916, was for a short time only one of our Corresponding Fellows. In this capacity he had followed his close friend William James as a representative of American philosophy.

He was born on November 20, 1855, in a Californian mining village situated in the upper foot-hills on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. The village was five or six years older than himself. But there were vestiges of former diggings in the neighbourhood and a miner's grave not far from his own house, so that he wondered why it should be called a new community, and 'gradually came to feel that part of [his] life's business was to find out what all this wonder meant'. His earliest education was got at the village school kept by his mother, where he learned fascinating Bible stories and offered a mildly stubborn resistance to the Sunday observance sanctioned by his home. 'Without being aware of the fact, I was a born nonconformist,' he says. 'My earliest great patriotic experience came at the end of the Civil War, when the news of the assassination of Lincoln reached us. Thenceforth, as I believe, I had a country as well as a religious interest.'[1] From 1866 to 1871 he was at a grammar school in San Francisco and experienced at the hands of his schoolfellows some of the trials that beset the young nonconformist. From it he passed to the University of California, and there he received his first degree in 1875. At the time there was no regular undergraduate course in philosophy at the University of California, but he read J. S. Mill and Spencer and was influenced by them as well as by his teachers. Afterwards he studied in Germany, where he heard Lotze at Göttingen and came under the influence of Schopenhauer and of the Romantic School. Returning to America he continued his post-graduate studies at Johns Hopkins University, and for four years taught English literature and logic in his first university. In 1882 he was called to Harvard, where he remained till his death, passing through the usual grades of instructor, assistant-professor, and professor, and holding a succession of chairs in the philosophical faculty.

[1] *The Hope of the Great Community*, pp. 124–5; cp. *California*, p 5

'When I review this whole process', he wrote in the last year of his life, 'I strongly feel that my deepest motives and problems have centred about the Idea of the Community, although this idea has only come gradually to my clear consciousness. This was what I was intensely feeling in the days when my sisters and I looked across the Sacramento Valley and wondered about the great world beyond the mountains. This was what I failed to understand when my mates taught me those instructive lessons in San Francisco. This was that which I tried to understand when I went to Germany. I have been unpractical—always socially ineffective as regards genuine "team play", ignorant of politics, an ineffective member of committees, and a poor helper of concrete social enterprises. Meanwhile I have always been, as in my childhood, a good deal of a nonconformist, and disposed to a certain rebellion. An English cousin of mine not long since told me that, according to a family tradition current in his community, a common ancestor of ours was one of the guards who stood about the scaffold of Charles the First. I can easily mention the monarch in modern Europe, in the guard about whose scaffold I should most cheerfully stand, if he had any scaffold. So much of the spirit that opposes the community I have and have always had in me, simply, elementally, deeply. Over against this natural ineffectiveness in serving the community, and over against this rebellion, there has always stood the interest which has taught me what I nowadays try to express by teaching that we are saved through the community.'[1]

At Harvard Royce rapidly made a name for himself as a teacher and author, and he soon came to be recognized as the most outstanding representative in America of what is known as absolute idealism—though he tells us that it had not occurred to him, in the years before 1890, that he was under any strong influence from Hegel. He was also a familiar figure in many parts of the United States as a lecturer on philosophy, literature, and life, and he often returned to his native California. He loved travel for its own sake and enjoyed a tempestuous voyage by sea; and he loved meeting all sorts and conditions of men, observing their ways and interests, and plying the art of conversation. He was himself a great talker, and his talk was not unlike his books. Lucid, copious, and free, often humorous, it flowed like a river, carrying away on its surface the wreckage of an opponent's arguments, or swirling round some more persistent obstacle. Several times in the last twenty years he visited this country, where he had many friends: in 1899 and again in 1900 to give Gifford Lectures at Aberdeen; for the last time in the spring of 1913, when

[1] *The Hope of the Great Community*, p 129 f.

he gave a course of Hibbert Lectures at Manchester College, Oxford. The books founded on these courses of lectures may be regarded as his most important contributions to philosophical literature.

The first of Royce's numerous works[1] is significant of much that followed All his books have a personal note: not that they express his desires or prejudices, his private hopes or hates; they are often severely argumentative and logical, but their manner is individual, and they record the fortunes of an explorer making his own way in the realms of thought. The characteristic is conspicuous in *The Religious Aspect of Philosophy.* It is a fragment of philosophical autobiography. The sincere and radical nonconformist is in search for a positive principle, the thinker feels himself alone in an intractable environment, and looks about for a creed which will bring his life and its ideals into harmony with the universe. There are many systems of conciliation before him to show that the power or powers of the universe are on the side of goodness; but the arguments which support these systems are found worthless when they are tested. He is determined to follow wherever the argument leads him, he will not put aside his scepticism, but he will make that scepticism thorough and carry his doubts to their legitimate conclusion So he pictures his world of doubt, and finds that it is not the world of the ordinary agnostic or positivist, which preserves a little garden of conventionally agreed upon facts and theories and fences it off from the wilderness of the unknowable. Royce's scepticism is more far-reaching and affects the assumptions of science as well as of theology A certain *modus vivendi* may be arrived at by allowing science to make her postulates and claiming a similar liberty for morals and religion. But philosophy must be more searching in its method and allow denial to do its utmost—even to deny that there is such a thing as truth. It is at this extreme limit of inquiry that the author makes

[1] The following is a list of his books *The Religious Aspect of Philosophy,* 1885, *California* (in the American Commonwealths Series), 1886, *The Feud of Oakfield Creek* [a novel of Californian life], 1887, *The Spirit of Modern Philosophy,* 1892, *The Conception of God,* 1897; *Studies of Good and Evil,* 1898; *The World and the Individual* (two series of Gifford Lectures), 1900, 1901, *The Conception of Immortality,* 1900, *Outlines of Psychology,* 1903; *Herbert Spencer an estimate and review,* 1904; *The Philosophy of Loyalty,* 1908, *Race Questions, Provincialism, and Other American Problems,* 1908; *William James, and Other Essays on the Philosophy of Life,* 1911; *The Sources of Religious Insight,* 1912; *The Problem of Christianity* (lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute in Boston, and at Manchester College, Oxford), two volumes, 1913; *War and Insurance,* 1914; *The Hope of the Great Community,* 1916. The last of these was in the press at the time of his death, and was published by his widow. He also contributed a large number of articles to philosophical and literary journals (some of them being republished in the volumes of essays named above), including a mathematical memoir on the relation of the Principles of Logic to the foundation of Geometry

one of those surprising little turns in which he delighted. If you deny that there is any objective truth, you claim that this denial at least is objectively true; if not, your denial falls to the ground: in either case truth remains. If only we are sceptical enough we reach certitude at last; and error itself gives us the clue to truth. An error, he argues, is an incomplete thought, a thought that fails to reach its intended object; each error 'implies a judgement whose intended object is beyond itself, and is also the object of the corresponding true judgement'; and from this he soon passes to the conclusion that 'there is an infinite unity of conscious thought to which is present all possible truth'.[1]

Too much space would be needed to give a full account of his argument, which depends at each stage on the results of his previous analysis. But the outcome is an absolute idealism, reached in a new way. It will be noted also that it is purely 'intellectualist', not only in method but as regards the material on which it is based. It is a system of pure thought. The ethical ideals which occupy a prominent place in the earlier portion of the book, and which were always prominent in the author's interest, play no part in the decisive argument. He brings the result to bear upon the ethical problem, but, in this volume at any rate, perhaps in a way which is unsatisfactory, if not perfunctory. Evil—so we may read his solution—is real but eternally overcome in the eternal life of God. 'The imperfection of the finite is but the fragment of the Infinite Whole where there is no true imperfection.'[2]

The Religious Aspect of Philosophy was Royce's 'voyage of discovery'; in his Gifford Lectures on *The World and the Individual* he gives a pretty complete survey of the country into which he had entered. The first volume is an elaborate argument for the 'constructive idealism' in which his thinking had issued; in the second volume he applies this point of view to the explanation of nature, man, and the moral order. His problems are old problems, but there is novelty in his manner of approaching them. The subtitle of the first series of lectures is 'the four historical conceptions of being'. The question he puts, however, does not concern the nature or quality of what is, but the meaning of the existential predicate itself. Like Hegel he seeks to evolve his whole philosophy out of the conception 'being'; but his method is not the same as Hegel's. He is obviously dealing throughout (though this is made clear only towards the end) with the relation of the idea or thought to its object, and his question concerns the signification of the being or reality ascribed to the object of the idea. He finds four logically

[1] *The Religious Aspect of Philosophy*, pp. 424–5. [2] Ibid. p. 474.

possible and historically actual explanations of what is meant by being—the explanations given by Realists, by Mystics, by Critical Rationalists, and by Idealists respectively. The first three are set aside as imperfect, and the last remains triumphant. To its elaboration he then devotes himself. But his interpretation of Idealism has an individual quality about it. Reference has already been made to the 'intellectualism' of his argument in his earlier book. But even there this intellectualism was modified by the way in which he spoke of the idea as intending its object. Here the idea is definitely recognized as an act of will as well as an act of knowledge;[1] it is creative, and what it creates—the full expression of its meaning or purpose—is reality. According to Royce's Idealism the ontological predicate signifies the fulfilment of purpose or meaning. The idea may be poor enough in its conscious purpose—a mere 'conscious thrill', perhaps. But, however slight its 'internal meaning', however apparently dependent on some outside object which gives it its 'external meaning', this dependence is only apparent. The external meaning is continuous with the internal meaning and evolved out of it;[2] and thus, in the end, 'what is, or what is real, is as such the complete embodiment, in individual form and in final fulfilment, of the internal meaning of finite ideas'.[3]

This is not the place to enter upon a critical discussion of these views or of their applications in the second volume. It must suffice to mention some of the more striking characteristics. His doctrine of the absolute contains a view of infinity founded on the conception of the infinite which modern mathematicians have derived from the theory of numbers, and combines this with a view of eternity based on his own teaching, that purpose or meaning gives unity to temporal experience. His doctrine of individuality makes it consist in the uniqueness of the expression which it gives to the absolute purpose: and this also forms the fundamental thesis of his Ingersoll Lecture on *The Conception of Immortality*. Again, knowledge of the external world and of the individual self—the world of description and the world of appreciation—is made to depend upon the social consciousness. Finally, throughout the whole argument, with an ingenuity which appears almost unconscious, the explanation of the predicate 'is' is made to determine also the nature of that which is.

The ethical interest was always strong in Royce; we have already noted the epistemological importance which he ascribed to the social consciousness, in his later writing the idea of the community is the leading thought. It appears, though as yet imperfectly defined, in *The Philosophy of Loyalty* (1908), in which he seeks to show that in

[1] *The World and the Individual*, i. 434. [2] Ibid. i. 33 [3] Ibid. i. 339.

loyalty 'is the fulfilment of the whole moral law '.[1] The finite individual, that unique expression of the absolute thought and will, attains goodness only by serving a cause, and by promoting the spirit of service. The conception here worked out has its value in avoiding the appearance of egoism which is found in some statements of idealist ethics. But, so far as this book goes, it is far too formal a principle, for it affords no criterion of the claims of different causes, good or evil, and the author's fluency and abundance of metaphor have betrayed him into too rhetorical a style. Yet the conception had taken firm hold of his mind, and he returned to it again, in much more thorough and impressive fashion, in his next—and last—important book.

This book is *The Problem of Christianity*, published in 1913. In it we are in presence of concrete material; the community which demands our loyalty is something actual. the Christian Church is an example of it. Reviewing his work as a whole, it is not too much to say that Royce was pre-eminently a religious philosopher, and his interest in the historical religions was also marked. We see traces of it in his references to the Buddhist scriptures in *The Religious Aspect of Philosophy*, while in *The World and the Individual* the discussion of mysticism is based almost entirely on the Upanishads. In all his works, moreover, Christian ideas enter at places into his doctrine, and the style is coloured throughout by the language of the Bible. But he had not previously made any express study of Christian doctrines. The book breaks new ground, therefore. The features of Christian experience on which he comments are not selected arbitrarily, yet they are not chosen simply for their prominence in the documents or in the history of the Church. It is fair to believe that they owe their place in the book to their fitness for illustrating a philosophical theory. The doctrines in question are those of the Community or Church, of the lost state of man by nature, and of the Atonement. The essay on the last is very striking and suggestive, whereas it would be difficult to vindicate the account of the second as a fair statement of the Pauline doctrine, and it appears as a mere antithesis to the doctrine of the Community. This is central in the whole exposition. One might not have been prepared to predict that he would be specially sympathetic with the theology of St. Paul; but it is the latter's doctrine of the brotherhood of believers as a corporate life that is followed throughout, and this is taken as meaning that man is saved through the Community, the Founder being regarded simply as its indwelling spirit. The account, it seems to me, is inadequate and fails duly to appreciate the work of

[1] *The Philosophy of Loyalty*, p. 15.

the person who is at once the basis and the bond of Christian brotherhood. But it is stimulating, and it provides an object for the loyalty which Royce preaches—a community, extended, in his conception, so as to cover the whole history of the race. It is made also to lead to a novel statement of his philosophical position when he proceeds, in the second volume of his work, to elaborate its metaphysical basis and results. There we find a theory of interpretation as a type of knowing additional to, and equally essential with, perception and conception, and also a doctrine of signs. By means of these logical discussions he reaches a definition of the real world as a Community of Interpretation, and gives what may perhaps be called the final statement of his philosophy in the following words: 'The very being of the universe consists in a process whereby the world is interpreted, not indeed in its wholeness at any one moment of time, but in and through an infinite series of acts of interpretation This infinite series constitutes the temporal order of the world with all its complexities. The temporal order is an order of purposes and of deeds, simply because it is of the essence of every rational deed to be an effort to interpret a past life to a future life; while every act of interpretation aims to introduce unity into life, by mediating between mutually contrasting or estranged ideas, minds, and purposes. If we consider the temporal world in its wholeness, it constitutes in itself an infinitely complex Sign. This sign is, as a whole, interpreted to an experience which itself includes a synoptic survey of the whole of time.'[1] And as to the religious import of the doctrine, 'what it means is that, for every estrangement that appears in the order of time, there somewhere is to be found, and will be found, the reconciling spiritual event; that for every wrong there will somewhere appear the corresponding remedy; and that for every tragedy and distraction of individual existence the universal community will find the way—how and when we know not—to provide the corresponding unity, the appropriate triumph. We are saved through and in the community. There is the victory which overcomes the world.'[2]

As one glances over the succession of books that mark Royce's life-work, one is struck by certain characteristics. At each stage there is some novelty of presentation, usually due in its origin to mathematical or purely logical interests. The theory of infinity in *The World and the Individual*, and the doctrine of interpretation in *The Problem of Christianity*, are instances; and they affect not only the presentation of the doctrine but the doctrine presented, which becomes more concrete and definite under these formal influences At the same time, his thought forms a continuous develop-

[1] *The Problem of Christianity*, ii. 285-6. [2] Ibid. ii. 389-90.

ment; it is always a spiritual rendering of life; and all his inquiries in special departments of knowledge contributed to the deepening and enrichment of his idea of reality as a whole. He spoke of himself as by nature a nonconformist; but, from the days when he stood on his native hillside and strained his eyes towards the Sacramento Valley, he always 'looked for a city'. The idea of the community takes shape only in his later works, but it appears there as a conception that he had all along been seeking.

In the last fortnight of July 1914, Royce gave a course of six lectures at Berkeley, California, on the philosophical topics dealt with in the second volume of his *Problem of Christianity.* These lectures do not seem to have been published. The outbreak of war greatly moved him, and occupied all his thoughts. In a small volume on *War and Insurance,* published in the autumn, he sketched a project for the prevention of international conflicts. The scheme, it appears to me, relies too much on the force of financial restraints; and recent history had already proved their weakness. He saw, however, from the first, the magnitude of the issues involved; and indeed they touched very closely the point at which his own speculations had arrived. A great community, backed by the loyal devotion of its citizens, had undertaken an enterprise which he characterized as 'deliberate hostility to the cause of the community of mankind'.[1] But he was a loyal citizen of his own country. He obeyed the President's behest to be neutral, if not in spirit—for that was impossible—yet in speech; till the *Lusitania* outrage unsealed his lips. Then, in various letters and addresses, some of them now republished, he stated simply and impressively his view of the case. 'The outcome of the war', he said, 'promises to be either a victory or a defeat not for any one of the warring nations nearly so much as for humanity in its wholeness, and hence for what I shall venture to call also the church universal.'[2] He felt deeply 'the bitterness of being unable to do anything for the Great Community'.[3] Perhaps he did more than he knew; but his death occurred before his country took the step for which he longed.

W. R. SORLEY.

[1] *The Hope of the Great Community*, p. 32 [2] Loc cit. [3] Ibid p. 132.